ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME I

119

The YMCA Co.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LITERARY
POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY
THE ARCHÆOLOGY GEOGRAPHY
AND NATURAL HISTORY
OF THE BIBLE

EDITED BY

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VOLUME I

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TO THE

MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH

PREFACE

Genesis of the Encyclopædia.

THE idea of preparing a new Dictionary of the Bible on critical lines for the benefit of all serious students, both professional and lay, was prominent in the mind of the many-sided scholar to whose beloved memory the present volume is inscribed. It is more than twelve years since Prof. Robertson Smith began to take steps towards realising this idea. As an academical teacher he had from the first been fully aware of the importance of what is known as Biblical Encyclopædia, and his own earliest contributions to the subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* carry us as far back as to the year 1875. If for a very brief period certain untoward events arrested his activity in this direction, the loss of time was speedily made up, for seldom perhaps has there been a greater display of intellectual energy than is given in the series of biblical articles signed 'W. R. S.' which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* between 1875 and 1888. The reader who is interested in Bible study should not fail to examine the list, which includes among the longer articles BIBLE, CANTICLES, CHRONICLES, DAVID, HEBREW LANGUAGE, HOSEA, JERUSALEM, JOEL, JUDGES, KINGS, LEVITES, MALACHI, MESSIAH, MICAH, PHILISTINES, PRIEST, PROPHET, PSALMS, SACRIFICE, TEMPLE, TITHES, ZEPHANIAH: and among the shorter, ANGEL, ARK, BAAL, DECALOGUE, ELI, EVE, HAGGAI, LAMENTATIONS, MELCHIZEDEK, MOLOCH, NABATÆANS, NAHUM, NAZARITE, NINEVEH, OBADIAH, PARADISE, RUTH, SABBATH, SADDUCEES, SAMUEL, TABERNACLE, VOW.

Nor should the students of our day overlook the service which this far-seeing scholar and editor rendered to the nascent conception of an *international* biblical criticism by inviting the co-operation of foreign as well as English contributors. That names like those of Nöldeke, Tiele, Welhausen, Harnack, Schürer, Gutschmid, Geldner, appeared side by side with those of well-known and honoured British scholars in the list of contributors to the *Encyclopædia* was a guarantee of freedom from dangerous eccentricity, of comprehensiveness of view, of thoroughness and accuracy of investigation.

Such a large amount of material illustrative of the Bible, marked by unity of aim and consistency of purpose, was thus brought together that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* became, inclusively, something not unlike an *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The idea then occurred to the editor and his publishers to republish, for the guidance of students, all that might be found to have stood the test of time, the lacunae being filled up, and the whole brought up, as far as possible, to the high level of the most recent scholarship. It was not unnatural to wish for this; but there were three main opposing considerations. In the first place, there were other important duties which made pressing demands on the time and energy of

the editor. Next, the growing maturity of his biblical scholarship made him less and less disposed to acquiesce in provisional conclusions. And lastly, such constant progress was being made by students in the power of assimilating critical results that it seemed prudent to wait till biblical articles, thoroughly revised and recast, should have a good chance of still more deeply influencing the student world.

The waiting-time was filled up, so far as other occupations allowed, by pioneering researches in biblical archæology, some of the results of which are admirably summed up in that fruitful volume entitled *The Religion of the Semites* (1889). More and more Robertson Smith, like other contemporary scholars, saw the necessity of revising old work on the basis of a more critical, and, in a certain sense, more philosophical treatment of details. First of all, archæological details had their share — and it was bound to be a large share — of this scholar's attention. Then came biblical geography — a subject which had been brought prominently into notice by the zeal of English explorers, but seemed to need the collaboration of English critics. A long visit to Palestine was planned for the direct investigation of details of biblical geography, and though this could not be carried out, not a little time was devoted to the examination of a few of the more perplexing geographical problems and of the solutions already proposed (see *e.g.* APHEK, below, col. 191 *f.*). This care for accuracy of detail as a necessary preliminary to a revision of theories is also the cause of our friend's persistent refusal to sanction the republication of the masterly but inevitably provisional article BIBLE in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to which we shall return later. The reader will still better understand the motive of that refusal if he will compare what is said on the Psalter in that article (1875) with the statements in the first edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1880), in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article PSALMS (1885), and in the second edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1892).

It is only just, however, to the true 'begetter' of this work to emphasise the fact that, though he felt the adequate realisation of his idea to be some way off, he lost no time in pondering and working out a variety of practical details — a task in which he was seconded by his assistant editor and intimate friend, Mr. J. S. Black. Many hours were given, as occasion offered, to the distribution of subjects and the preparation of minor articles. Some hundreds of these were drafted, and many were the discussions that arose as to the various difficult practical points, which have not been without fruit for the present work.

In September, 1892, however, it became only too clear to Prof. Smith that he was suffering from a malady which might terminate fatally after no very distant term. The last hope of active participation in his long-cherished scheme of a Bible Dictionary had well-nigh disappeared, when one of the present editors, who had no definite knowledge of Prof. Smith's plan, communicated to this friend of many years' standing his ideas of what a critical Bible Dictionary ought to be, and inquired whether he thought that such a project could be realised. Prof. Smith was still intellectually able to consider and pronounce upon these ideas, and gladly recognised their close affinity to his own. Unwilling that all the labour already bestowed by him on planning and drafting articles should be lost, he requested Prof. Cheyne to take up the work which he himself was compelled to drop, in conjunction with the older and more intimate friend already mentioned. Hence the combination of names on the title-page. The work is undertaken by the editors as a charge from one whose parting message had the force of a command.

Such is the history of the genesis of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which is the result primarily of a fusion of two distinct but similar plans — a fusion desired by Prof. Robertson Smith himself, as the only remaining means of realising adequately his own fundamental ideas. With regard to details, he left the editors entirely free, not from decline of physical strength, but from a well-grounded confidence that religion and the Bible were not less dear to them than to himself, and that they fully shared his own uncompromisingly progressive spirit. The Bible Dictionary which he contemplated was no mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible, as illuminated by criticism — a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archæological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be, to human eyes, most adverse. The importance of the newer view of the Bible to the Christian community, and the fundamental principles of the newer biblical criticism, have been so ably and so persuasively set forth by Prof. Robertson Smith in his Lectures that his fellow-workers may be dispensed from repeating here what he has said so well already. 'There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.' Let us assume, then, that the readers of this *Encyclopædia*, whatever be their grade of knowledge or sphere of work, are willing to make an effort to take this widely extended land in possession.

Principles of the Encyclopædia.

Every year, in fact, expands the narrow horizons which not so long ago limited the aspirations of the biblical scholar. It is time, as Prof. Robertson Smith thought, to help students to realise this, and to bring the standard books on which they rely more up to date. It may seem hopeless to attempt this with an alphabetically arranged encyclopædia, which necessarily involves the treatment of points in an isolated way. By an elaborate system of cross references, however, and by interspersing a considerable number of comprehensive articles (such as, in Part I, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, CAINITES, DRAGON), it has been sought to avoid the danger of treating minute details without regard to their wider bearings. Many of the minor articles, too, have been so constructed as to suggest the relation of the details to the larger wholes. Altogether the minor articles have, one ventures to hope, brought many direct gains to biblical study. Often the received view of the subject of a 'minor article' proved to be extremely doubtful, and a better view suggested itself. Every endeavour has been used to put this view forward in a brief and yet convincing manner, without occupying too much space and becoming too academic in style. The more comprehensive articles may here and there be found to clash with the shorter articles. Efforts, however, have been made to mitigate this by editorial notes in both classes of articles.

It will also doubtless be found that on large questions different writers have sometimes proposed different theories and hypotheses. The sympathies of the editors are, upon the whole, with what is commonly known as 'advanced' criticism, not simply because it is advanced, but because such criticism, in the hands of a circumspect and experienced scholar, takes account of facts and phenomena which the criticism of a former generation overlooked or treated superficially. They have no desire, however, to 'boycott' moderate criticism, when applied by a critic who, either in the form or in the substance of his criticism, has something original

to say. An 'advanced' critic cannot possibly feel any arrogance towards his more 'moderate' colleague, for probably he himself held, not very long ago, views resembling those which the 'moderate' critic holds now, and the latter may find his precautionary investigations end in his supporting, with greater fulness and more complete arguments, as sound the views that now seem to him rash. Prof. Robertson Smith's views of ten years ago, or more, may, at the present day, appear to be 'moderate' criticism; but when he formulated them he was in the vanguard of critics, and there is no reason to think that, if he had lived, and devoted much of his time to biblical criticism, his ardour would have waned, and his precedence passed to others.

There are, no doubt, some critical theories which could not consistently have been represented in the present work; and that, it may be remarked, suggests one of the reasons why Prof. Robertson Smith's early *Encyclopædia Britannica* article, BIBLE, could not have been republished, even by himself. When he wrote it he was still not absolutely sure about the chronological place of P (Priestly Code). He was also still under the influence of the traditional view as to the barrenness and unoriginality of the whole post-exilic period. Nor had he faced the question of the post-exilic redaction of the prophetic writings. The fundamental principles of biblical criticism, however, are assumed throughout that fine article, though for a statement of these we must turn to a more mature production of his pen. See, for example, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*[2], pp. 16 *ff.* (cp 1st ed. pp. 24 *ff.*), and notice especially the following paragraph on p. 17:—

'Ancient books coming down to us from a period many centuries before the invention of printing have necessarily undergone many vicissitudes. Some of them are preserved only in imperfect copies made by an ignorant scribe of the dark ages. Others have been disfigured by editors, who mixed up foreign matter with the original text. Very often an important book fell altogether out of sight for a long time, and when it came to light again all knowledge of its origin was gone; for old books did not generally have title-pages and prefaces. And, when such a nameless roll was again brought into notice, some half-informed reader or transcriber was not unlikely to give it a new title of his own devising, which was handed down thereafter as if it had been original. Or again, the true meaning and purpose of a book often became obscure in the lapse of centuries, and led to false interpretations. Once more, antiquity has handed down to us many writings which are sheer forgeries, like some of the Apocryphal books, or the Sibylline oracles, or those famous Epistles of Phalaris, which formed the subject of Bentley's great critical essay. In all such cases the historical critic must destroy the received view, in order to establish the truth. He must review doubtful titles, purge out interpolations, expose forgeries; but he does so only to manifest the truth, and exhibit the genuine remains of antiquity in their real character. A book that is really old and really valuable has nothing to fear from the critic, whose labours can only put its worth in a clearer light, and establish its authority on a surer basis.'

The freedom which Prof. Robertson Smith generously left to his successors has, with much reluctance, yet without hesitation, on the part of the editors, been exercised in dealing with the articles which he wrote for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The editors are well assured that he would have approved their conduct in this respect. Few scholars, indeed, would refrain from rewriting, to a large extent, the critical articles which they had produced some years previously; and this, indeed, is what has been done by several contributors who wrote biblical articles for the former Encyclopædia. The procedure of those who have revised our friend's articles has in fact been as gentle and considerate as possible. Where these articles seemed to have been destined by himself for some degree of per-

manence, they have been retained, and carefully revised and brought up to date. Some condensation has sometimes been found necessary. The original articles were written for a public very imperfectly imbued with critical principles, whereas now, thanks to his own works and to those of other progressive scholars, Bible students are much more prepared than formerly to benefit by advanced teaching. There is also a certain amount of a new material from Prof. Smith's pen (in two or three cases consisting of quotations from the MS of the second and third courses of Burnett Lectures), but much less, unfortunately, than had been expected.

Freedom has also been used in taking some fresh departures, especially in two directions — viz., in that of textual criticism of the Old Testament, and in that of biblical archæology. The object of the editors has been, with the assistance of their contributors, not only to bring the work up to the level of the best published writings, but, wherever possible, to carry the subjects a little beyond the point hitherto reached in print. Without the constant necessity of investigating the details of the text of the Old Testament, it would be hard for any one to realise the precarious character of many details of the current biblical archæology, geography, and natural history, and even of some not unimportant points in the current Old Testament theology. Entirely new methods have not indeed been applied; but the methods already known have perhaps been applied with somewhat more consistency than before. With regard to archæology, such a claim can be advanced only to a slight extent. More progress perhaps has been made of late years in the field of critical archæology than in that of texual criticism. All, therefore, that was generally necessary was to make a strong effort to keep abreast of recent archæological research both in Old Testament and in New Testament study.

The fulness of detail with which the data of the Versions have been given may provoke some comment. Experience has been the guide of the editors, and they believe that, though in the future it will be possible to give these data in a more correct, more critical, and more condensed form, the student is best served at present by being supplied as fully as possible with the available material. It may also be doubted by some whether there is not too much philology. Here, again, experience has directed the course to be pursued. In the present transitional stage of lexicography, it would have been undesirable to rest content with simply referring to the valuable new lexicons which are now appearing, or have already appeared.

With regard to biblical theology, the editors are not without hope that they have helped to pave the way for a more satisfactory treatment of that important subject which is rapidly becoming the history of the movement of religious life and thought within the Jewish and the Christian church (the phrase may be inaccurate, but it is convenient). Systems of Prophetic, Pauline, Petrine, Johannine theology have had their day; it is perhaps time that the Bible should cease to be regarded as a storehouse of more or less competing systems of abstract thought. Unfortunately the literary and historical criticism of the New Testament is by no means as far advanced as that of the Old Testament. It may not be long before a real history of the movement of religious life and thought in the earlier period will be possible. For such a history for the later period we shall have to wait longer, if we may infer anything from the doubtless inevitable defects of the best existing handbook of New Testament theology, that of the able veteran critic, H. J. Holtzmann. The editors of the present work are keenly interested in the subject at

present called 'Biblical Theology'; but, instead of attempting what is at present impossible, they have thought it better to leave some deficiencies which future editors will probably find it not difficult to supply. They cannot, however, conclude this section without a hearty attestation of the ever-increasing love for the Scriptures which critical and historical study, when pursued in a sufficiently comprehensive sense, appears to them to produce. The minutest details of biblical research assume a brightness not their own when viewed in the light of the great truths in which the movement of biblical religion culminates. May the reader find cause to agree with them! This would certainly have been the prayerful aspiration of the beloved and lamented scholar who originated this *Encyclopædia*.

Acknowledgments.

To the contributors of signed articles, and to those who have revised and brought up to date the articles of Prof. Robertson Smith, it may seem almost superfluous to render thanks for the indispensable help they have so courteously and generously given. It constitutes a fresh bond between scholars of different countries and several religious communities which the editors can never forget. But the special services of the various members of the editorial staff require specific acknowledgment, which the editors have much pleasure in making. Mr. Hope W. Hogg became a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in 1894, and in 1895 became a regular member of the editorial staff. To his zeal, energy, and scholarship the work has been greatly indebted in every direction. In particular, Mr. Hogg has had the entire responsibility for the proofs as they passed in their various stages through the hands of the printer, and it is he who has seen to the due carrying out of the arrangements—many of them of his own devising—for saving space and facilitating reference as have been specified in the subjoined 'Practical Hints to the Reader.' Mr. Stanley A. Cook joined the staff in 1896, and not only has contributed various signed articles, which to the editors appear to give promise of fine work in the future, but also has had a large share in many of those that are of composite authorship and unsigned. Finally, Mr. Maurice A. Canney joined the staff in 1898; he also has contributed signed articles, and has been eminently helpful in every way, especially in the reading of the proofs. Further, the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance to the Septuagint*, who placed his unrivalled experience at their disposal by controlling all the proofs at a certain stage with special reference to the LXX readings. He also verified the biblical references.

T. K. Cheyne.
J. Sutherland Black.

20th September 1899.

PRACTICAL HINTS TO THE READER

Further Explanations. — The labour that has been bestowed on even minor matters in the preparation of this *Encyclopædia* has seemed to be warranted by the hope that it may be found useful as a students' handbook. Its value from this point of view will be facilitated by attention to the following points: —

1. Classes of Articles. — The following notes will give a general idea of what the reader may expect to find and where to look for it: —

i. *Proper Names.* — Every proper name in the Old and the New Testament canons and the OT Apocrypha (Authorised Version or Revised Version, text or margin) is represented by an article-heading in Clarendon type, the substantive article being usually given under the name as found in the AV text. *Adoraim*, on the same line as ADORA (col. 71), and *Adullamite*, three lines below ADULLAM (col. 73), are examples of space-saving contrivances.

ii. *Books.* — Every book in the OT and the NT canons and the OT Apocrypha is discussed in a special article — *e.g.* Acts, Chronicles, Deuteronomy. The 'Song of Solomon' is dealt with under the title CANTICLES, and the last book in the NT under APOCALYPSE.

iii. *General Articles.* — With the view, amongst other things, of securing the greatest possible brevity, many matters have been treated in general articles, the minor headings being dealt with concisely with the help of cross-references. Such general articles are: ABI AND AHI, names in AGRICULTURE, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, APOCRYPHA, ARMY, BAKEMEATS, BREAD, CANON, CATTLE, CHRONOLOGY, CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, COLOURS, CONDUITS, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, DISPERSION, DIVINATION, DRESS.

iv. *Other Subjects.* — The following are examples of important headings: — ADAM AND EVE, ANGELS, ANTICHRIST, BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, CIRCUMCISION, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, CREATION, DELUGE, DEMONS, DRAGON.

v. *Things.* — The *Encyclopædia Biblica* is professedly a dictionary of things, not words, and a great effort has been made to adhere rigidly to this principle. Even where at first sight it seems to have been neglected, it will generally be found that this is not really the case. The only way to tell the English reader what has to be told about (*e.g.*) CHAIN is to distinguish the various things that are called, or should have been called, 'chain' in the English Version, and refer him to the articles where they are dealt with.

vi. *Mere Cross-references* (see above, **1**, i.; and below, **2**).

2. Method of Cross-References. — A very great deal of care has been bestowed on the cross-references, because only by their systematic use could the necessary matter be adequately dealt with within the limits of one volume. They have made possible a conciseness that [illegible] attained at the expense of incompleteness, repetition of the same matter under different he[illegible] being reduced to a minimum. For this reason the articles have been prepared, not in alphabe[illegible] order, but simultaneously in all parts of the alphabet, and have been worked up together constantly and kept up to date. The student may be assured, therefore, that the cross-references have not been inserted at random; they have always been verified. If any be found to be unwarranted (no such is known), it must be because it has been found necessary, after the reference was made, to remove something from the article referred to to another article. The removed matter will no doubt be represented by a cross-reference (cp, *e.g.*,).

The method of reference employed is as follows: —

i. *Identification of Article.* (*a*) *Long Names.* — To save space long headings have been curtailed in citations — *e.g.*, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE is cited as APOCALYPTIC.

(*b*) *Synonymous Articles.* — Persons of the same name or places of the same name are ranged as 1, 2, 3, etc., under a common heading and cited accordingly. In other cases (and even in the former case when, as in ADNAH in col. 67, one English spelling represents different

Hebrew spellings (the articles usually have separate headings, in which case they are cited as i., ii., iii., etc., although they are not so marked. Usually geographical articles precede biographical, and persons precede books. Thus SAMUEL i., 2 is the second person called Samuel; SAMUEL ii. is the article SAMUEL, BOOKS OF. If a wrong number should be found the reason is not that it was not verified, but that the article referred to is one of a very small number in which the original order of the articles had to be changed and the cross-reference was not detected. Thus in the article ALUSH the reference to BERED ii., 1, ought to be to BERED i., 1.

ii. *Indication of Place in Article Cited.* — Articles of any length are divided into numbered sections (§§ 1, 2, etc.) indicated by insets containing a descriptive word or phrase. As convenience of reference is the great aim, the descriptive phrases are limited to, at most, three or four words, and the sections are numbered consecutively. Logical subordination of sections, therefore, cannot appear. Divisions larger than sections are sometimes indicated in the text by I., II., etc., and subdivisions of sections by letters and numbers (*a*, *b*, *c*, *α*, *β*, *γ*, i., ii., iii.). References like (BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. *β*) are freely used. Most of the large articles have prefixed to them a table of contents.

iii. *Manner of Citation.* — The commonest method is (see DAVID, § 11, (*c*) ii.). EZRA (*q.v.*, ii. § 9) means the article EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, § 9. Sometimes, however, the capitals or the *q.v.* may be dispensed with. CHAIN printed in small capitals in the middle of an article would mean that there is an article on that term, but that it hardly merits *q.v.* from the present point of view. In articles (generally on RV names) that are mere cross-references *q.v.* is generally omitted; so, *e.g.*, in ABADIAS in col. 3.

3. Typographical Devices. i. *Size of Type.* — (*a*) *Letters* — Two sizes of type are used, and considerable care has been devoted to the distribution of the small-type passages. Usually the general meaning of an article can be caught by reading simply the large-type parts. The small-type passages generally contain such things as proofs of statements, objections, more technical details. In these passages, and in footnotes and parenthesis, abbreviations (see below, 8), which are avoided as much as possible elsewhere, are purposely used. (*b*) *Numbers.* — Two sizes of Arabic numerals are used. (Note that the smallest 6 and 8 are a different shape from the next larger 6 and 8). In giving references, when only the volume is given, it is usually cited by a Roman number. Pages are cited by Arabic numbers except where (as is often the case) pages of a preface are marked with Roman numbers. When numbers of two ranks are required, two sizes of Arabic numbers (5_5) are used irrespectively of whether the reference be to book and chapter, volume and page, or section and line. If three ranks are needed, Roman numbers are prefixed (v. 5_5).

ii. *Italics.* — Italic type is much used in citing foreign words. In geographical articles, as a rule, the printing of a modern place-name in italics indicates that the writer of the article identifies it with the place under discussion. For the significance of the different kinds of type in the map of Assyria see the explanations at the foot of the map. On the two kinds of Greek type see below, **4** ii. (*b*).

iii. *Small Capitals.* — Small Roman capitals are used in two ways: (1) in giving the equivalent in RV for the name in AV, or *vice versa*, and (2) in giving a cross-reference (see above, 2 iii.). On the use of small italic capitals see below, **4** ii. (*b*).

iv. *Symbols.* — (*a*) *Index Figures.* — In 'almost always[6] clear,' '6' indicates footnote 6. In 'Introd.[(6)],' '(6)' means sixth edition. In 'D_2' '2' means a later development of D (see below,).

(*b*) *Asterisk.* — B* means the original scribe of codex B. *ca*nho means that the consonants are known but the vowels are hypothetical. *v.* 5_5* means *v.* 5 (partly).

(*c*) *Dagger.* — A dagger † is used to indicate that all the passages where a word occurs are cited. The context must decide whether the English word or the original is meant.

(*d*) *Sign of Equality.* — 'AALAR, 1 Esd. 5_{36} AV = Ezra 2_{59} IMMER, i.,' means that the two verses quoted are recensions of the same original, and that what is called Aalar in the one is called Immer in the other, as will be explained in the first of the articles entitled IMMER.

(*e*) *Sign of Parallelism.* — ‖ is the adjective corresponding to the verb =. Thus 'Aalar of 1 Esd. 5_{36} AV appears as Immer in ‖ Ezra 2_{59}.'

(*f*) *Other devices.* — '99 means 1899. 1 Ch. 6_{81} [66] means that verse 81 in the English version is the translation of that numbered 66 in Hebrew texts. √ is used to indicate the 'root' of a word.

v. *Punctuation.* — No commas are used between citations, thus: 2 K. $6_{21\,25}$ Is. 21_7. Commas are omitted and semicolons or colons inserted whenever ambiguity seems thus to be avoided — *e.g.*, the father Achbor [1] is called 'Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom,' and the son Baal-hanan [1] is called 'ben Achbor [1]: one of the kings of Edom.'

4. Text-Critical Apparatus. — As all sound investigation must be based, not on the ancient

texts as they lie before the student, but on what he believes to be the nearest approach he can make to their original reading, the soundness of every text is weighed, and if need be, discussed before it is used in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

i. *Traditional Original Text.* — In quoting the traditional Hebrew text the editions of Baer and of Ginsburg have been relied on as a rule; similarly in the case of the New Testament, the texts of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort (see below,).

ii. *Evidence of Versions.* — The Vulgate (ed. Heyse-Tischendorff) and the Peshitta (ed. Lee and London Polyglott) and the minor Greek versions (Field, *Hexapla*: Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance*) have been quoted quite freely; the testimony of the Septuagint has been attended to on every point.

In exceptional cases 'Holmes and Parsons' has been consulted; ordinarily Swete's manual edition (including the variants) and Lagarde's *Pars Prior* have been considered sufficient. In general (for the main exception see next paragraph) only variations of some positive interest or importance have been referred to. Almost invariably a quotation from the LXX is followed by symbols indicating the documents cited (thus *ιωα* [BAL]). This does not necessarily imply that in some other MS or MSS a different reading is found; it is simply a guarantee that Lagarde and Swete's digest of readings have both been consulted. The formula [BAL] standing alone means that the editors found no variant in Lagarde or Swete to report. In the parts, therefore, where Swete cites ℵ or other MSS as well as BA, BAL includes them unless the context indicates otherwise; BAL might even be used where B was lacking. When BAL stands alone the meaning is everywhere the same; it is a summary report of agreement in Lagarde and Swete.

Proper names have been felt to demand special treatment; the aim has been to give under each name the readings of Lagarde and all the variants of BℵA as cited in Swete. The commonest, or a common form for each witness is given at the head of the article, and this is followed at once or in the course of the article by such variants as there are. Where all the passages containing a given name are cited in the article, the apparatus of Greek readings (as in Swete and Lagarde) may be considered absolutely complete. In other cases, completeness, though aimed at, has not been found possible.

The distinction between declinable and indeclinable forms has generally been observed: but different cases of the same declinable form have not as a rule (never in the case of common nouns) been taken note of. Where part of one name has been joined in the LXX to the preceding or succeeding name, the intruding letters have usually been given in square brackets, though in some very obvious cases they may have been ignored.

When MSS differ only in some giving *ι* and others *ει* that is indicated concisely thus. '*αβεια* [B], *αβ α* [AL],' becomes '*αβ*[*ε*]*ια* [BAL].' Similarly, *-τ.*, *-ττ.* becomes *-*[*τ*]*τ*.

A great deal of pains has been bestowed on the readings, and every effort has been made to secure the highest attainable accuracy. In this connection the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance* to the Septuagint, who has placed his unrivalled experience in this department at their disposal by controlling the proofs from the beginning with special reference to the LXX readings. He has also verified the biblical references.

Unfortunately, misprints and other inaccuracies — inaccuracies sometimes appearing for the first time after the last proof reading — cannot be avoided. Corrections of errors, however minute, addressed to the publishers, will always be gratefully received.

Some typographical details require to be explained: —

(*a*) In giving proper names initial capitals, breathings, and accents are dispensed with; they were unknown in the oldest MSS (see Swete, I p. xiii 2).

(*b*) The Greek readings at the head of an article are given in uncials, and the Vulgate readings in small italic capitals; elsewhere ordinary type is used.

(*c*) The first Greek reading is given in full; all others are abbreviated as much as possible. Letters suppressed at the beginning of a word are represented by a dash, letters at the end by a period. In every case the abbreviated form is to be completed by reference to the Greek form immediately preceding, whether that is given in full or not. Thus, *e.g.*, '*αβελσαττειμ, β. . . . ττιμ, -ττειν, βελσα.*'[1] means '*αβελσαττειμ, βελσαττιμ, βελσατταειν, βελσαττειν.*' That is to say, the abbreviated form repeats a letter (or if necessary more) of the form preceding. Two exceptions are sometimes made. The dash sometimes represents the *whole* of the preceding form — *e.g.*, in cases like *αβια, -ς*, — and one letter has sometimes been simply substituted for another: *e.g.*, *ν* for *μ* in *ειμ, -ν*. These exceptions can hardly lead to ambiguity.

(*d*) The following are the symbols most commonly quoted from Swete's digest with their meaning: —

[1] This is a misprint in the art. ABEL-SHITTIM. '*βελσα.*' should be '*βελσα*', without the period.

*	= original scribe.
i	= his own corrections.
a, b, c	= other correctors.
ab	= first corrector confirmed by second.
a? b?	= a or b.
a? b	= b, perhaps also a.
a(vid)	= prob. a.
a vid	= a, if it be a *bona fide* correction at all.
D	= testimony of the Grabe-Owen collation of D before D was partly destroyed (see Swete, 1 p. xxiv).
*D*vii	= readings inferred from the collation (*D*)*e silentio*.
ℵc.a	= a corrector of ℵ belonging to the 7th cent. (Sw., a p. viii; cp 1, p. xxi).
Bedit	= *e.g.*, on Sirach 461, p. 471.
ℵc b.	= see Sw., a p. viii.
ℵc.c.	= *e.g.*, Sir. 107, p. 663.

(*e*) The following are the MSS most commonly cited: —

ℵ	Sinaiticus (see Swete, 1 p. xx).	F	Cod. Ambrosianus (Swete, 1 p. xxvi).
A	Alexandrinus (Swete, p. xxii).	87	Cod. Chisianus (Swete, 3 xii).
B	Vaticanus (Swete, 1 p. xvii).	Syr.	Cod. Syro. Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (3 xiii).
C	Cod. Ephraemi (Swete, 2 p. xiii).	V	Cod. Venetus (= 23, Parsons; Swete, 3 p. xiv).
D	Cod. Cottonianus Geneseos (Swete, 1 p. xxiii).	Q.	Cod. Marchalianus (Swete, 3 p. vii).
E	Cod. Bodleianus Geneseos (Swete, 1 p. xxvi).	T	Cod. rescriptus Cryptoferratensis (Swete, 3 p. ix *f.*).

5. Proper Name Articles. — Proper name articles usually begin thus. The name is followed by a parenthesis giving (1) the original; (2) where necessary, the number of the section in the general article NAMES where the name in question is discussed or cited; (3) a note on the etymology or meaning of the (personal) name with citation of similar names; (4) the readings of the versions (see above, 4 ii.).

6. Geographical Articles. — The interpretation of place-names is discussed in the article NAMES. The maps that are issued with Part I. are the district of Damascus, the environs of Babylon, and 'Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia' (between cols. and). The last-mentioned is mainly designed to illustrate the non-Palestinian geography of the Old Testament. It is made use of to show the position of places outside of Palestine mentioned in Part I. which happen to fall within its bounds.

In all maps biblical names are assigned to sites only when the article discussing the question regards the identification as extremely probable (the degree of probability must be learned from the article).

The following geographical terms are used in the senses indicated: —

Dēr, deir, 'monastery.'	*Khirbet*-(*Kh.*), 'ruins of —.'
Hajj(*j*), 'pilgrimage to Mecca.'	*Nahr* (N.), 'river.'
Jebel (J.), 'mountain.'	*Tell*, 'mound' (often containing ruins).
Kefr, Kafr, 'village.'	*Wādi* (W.), 'valley,' 'torrent-course.'
Khān, 'caravanserai.'	*Welī, wely*, 'Mohammedan saint,' 'saint's tomb.'

7. Transliteration, etc. — Whilst the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is meant for the student, other readers have constantly been kept in view. Hence the frequent translation of Hebrew and other words, and the transliteration of words in Semitic languages. In certain cases transliteration also saves space. No effort has been made at uniformity for its own sake. Intelligibility has been thought sufficient. When pronunciation is indicated — *e.g.*, Behēmōth, Leviāthān — what is meant is that the resulting form is the nearest that we can come to the original as represented by the traditional Hebrew, so long as we adhere to the English spelling.

In the case of proper names that have become in some degree naturalised in an incorrect form, that form has been preserved: *e.g.*, Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser. Where there is an alternative, naturally the closer to the original is selected: therefore Nebuchadrezzar (with *r* as in Ezek., etc.), Nazirite. Where there is no naturalised form an exact transliteration of the original has been given — *e.g.*, Asur-rēs-isi — and the component parts of Assyrian names are thus separated by hyphens, and begin with a capital when they are divine names.

In the case of modern (Arabic) place-names the spelling of the author whose description has been most used has generally been retained, except when it would have been misleading to the student. The diacritical marks have been checked or added after verification in some Arabic source or list.

On the Assyrian alphabet see BABYLONIA, § 6, and on the Egyptian, EGYPT, § 12. One point remains to be explained, after which it will suffice to set forth the schemes of transliteration in tabular form. The Hebrew h (ה) represents philologically the Arabic h and h, which are absolutely distinct sounds. The Hebrew spoken language very likely marked the distinction. As the written language, however, ignores it, ה is always transliterated h. The Assyrian guttural transliterated with an h, on the other hand, oftenest represents the Arabic h, and is therefore always transliterated h (in Muss.-Arn. *Dict.*, *x*, for χ), never h. There is no h in transliterated Assyrian; for the written language did not distinguish the Arabic h from the Arabic h 'g or', representing them all indifferently by ', which accordingly does not, in transliterated Assyrian, mean simply ע but ע or ח or h or ג or g. Hence *e.g.*, Nabū-nahid is simply one interpretation

of Nabū-na'id. Egyptian, lastly, requires not only h, h, and h, like Arabic, but also a fourth symbol h (see EGYPT, §).

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW (AND ARABIC) CONSONANTS

'	א	ء		z	ז	ز		l	ל	ل		ṣ	צ	ص
b	ב	ب		ḥ	ח	ح	h	m	מ	م		k (q)	ק	ق
bh (b)	ב						ḥ	n	נ	ن		r	ר	ر
g	ג	ج	j, g					s	ס	س		s	ס	س
gh (g)	ג			ṭ	ט	ط		'	ע	ع	'	sh, š	ש	ش
d	ד	د		y	י	ي						t	ת	ت
dh (d)	ד			k	כ	ك		p	פ	ف	g	th (t)	ת	
h	ה	ه		kh (k)	כ			phi	פ		f			
w, v	ו	و	w, u											

Extra Arabic Consonants: ث, th, *t*; ذ, dh, *d*; ض, ḍ; ظ, z.

VOWELS.

'long'	'short'	very short	mere glide
Heb. ā ē ī ō ū	a e i o u	ă ĕ ŏ *or* a e o	ĕ *or* ' *or* '
Ar. ā ī ū	a (e)	i (e)	u (o)

Ar. diphthongs: ai, ay, ei, ey, ē; aw, au, ō.

8. Abbreviations, Symbols, and Biographical Notes.—The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above **3** i. (*a*)) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and for the most part it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will be not unwelcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Jos., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezr., Neh., Est., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (*i.e.* 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Ecclus., Baruch, cap. 6 (*i.e.*, Epistle of Jeremy), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3_{23}), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1-4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thes., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1-3 Jn., Jude, Apoc. [or Rev.]. An explanation of some of the symbols (A, ℵ, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. vx. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached; thus $OTJC^{(2)}$ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions $RP^{(2)}$, $AOF^{(2)}$: see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D_2, etc.

When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation.

It is suggested that the *Encyclopædia Biblica* itself be cited as *EBi*. It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections; or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above, p. xiv. **3** i. [*a*]) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and, for the most part, it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will, it is hoped, be welcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezra, Neh., Esth., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (*i.e.* 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Ecclus., Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy (*i.e.* Bar. ch. 6), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3_{24}), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1–4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1–3 Jn., Jude, Rev. [or Apoc.].

An explanation of some of the symbols (A, ℵ, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. xvi. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached: thus *OHJC*[2] *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions *RP*[2], *JOF*[2]; see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D_2, E_2, J_2, P_2.

When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation.

It is suggested that this work be referred to as the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and that the name may be abbreviated thus: *Ency. Bib.* or *EBi*. It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections (§§); or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

Abulw.	Abulwalīd, the Jewish grammarian (b. *circa* 990), author of *Book of Roots*, etc.
Acad.	*The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art.* London, '69 *ff.*
AF.	See *AOF.*
AHT.	*Ancient Hebrew Tradition.* See Hommel.
Alt[*test*]. *Unt.*	See Winckler.
Amer. Journ. of Phil.	*American Journal of Philology*, '80 *ff.*
A[*mer.*]*J*[*ourn.*] *S*[*em.*] *L*[*ang.*]	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing *Hebraica* ['84–'95]), '95 *ff.*
Am. Tab.	The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (= *KB*5)
Ant.	Josephus, *Antiquities.*
AOF	*Altorientalische Forschungen.* See Winckler.
Apocr. Anecd.	*Apocrypha Anecdota*, 1st and 2nd series, published under the general title 'Texts and Studies' at the Cambridge University Press.
Aq.	Aquila, Jewish proselyte (temp. revolt against Hadrian), author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament. See TEXT.
Ar.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic. See ARAMAIC.
Arch.	*Archæology* or *Archäologie.* See Benzinger, Nowack.
Ar. Des.	Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, '88.
Ar. Heid., or *Heid.*	*Reste arabischen Heidentums.* See Wellhausen.
Arm.	Armenian.
Ass.	Assyrian.
Ass. HWB	*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.* See Delitzsch.
As. u. Eur.	W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, '93.
AT, *ATliche*	*Das Alte Testament, Alttestamentliche.* Old Testament.
AT Unters.	*Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen.* See Winckler.
AV.	Authorised Version.
b.	*ben*, *b'ne* (son, sons, Hebrew).
Bä.	Baer and Delitzsch's critical edition of the Massoretic Text, Leipsic, '69, and following years.
Bab.	Babylonian.
Baed., or Baed. *Pal.*	Baedeker, *Palestine* (ed. Socin), (2), '94; (3), '98 (Benzinger) based on 4th German ed.
Baethg., or Baethg. *Beitr.*	Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religions-geschichte*, '88.
BAG	C. P. Tiele, *Babylonische-assyrische Geschichte*, pt. i., '86; pt. ii., '88.
Ba. *NB.*	Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, i., '89; ii., '91; (2) '94.
Baraitha	See LAW LITERATURE.
BDB *Lex.*	[Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Lexicon*] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, based on the Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, '92, and following years.
Be.	E. Bertheau (1812–88). In *KGH*; *Richter u. Ruth*, '45; (2) '83; *Chronik*, '54; (2), 73; *Esra, Nehemia u. Ester*, '62; (2), by Ryssel, '87.
Beitr.	*Beiträge*, especially Baethgen (as above).
Beitr. z. Ass.	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*: ed. Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, i., '90; ii., '94; iii., '98; iv. 1, '99.
Benz. *HA.*	I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, '94.

Kön. . *Könige* in *KHC*, '99.
Bertholet, *Stellung* . A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.
Bi. . . . Gustav Bickell:
Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik, '69 *f.*; ET, '77.
Carmina VT metrice etc., '82.
Dichtung u. der Hebräer, '82 *f.*
Kritische Bearbeitung der Prov., '90.
Biblioth. Sac. . *Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 *ff.*
BJ . . . *De Bello Judaico.* See Josephus.
BL . . . Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*: Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder, 5 vols., '69–'75.
Boch. . . S. Bochart (1599–1667):
Geographia Sacra, 1646;
Hierozoicon, sive de Animalibus Scripturæ Sacræ, 1663.
Boeckh . . Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.*, 4 vols., '28–'77.
BOR . . *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 *ff.*
Böttch. . . Friedrich Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '60–'68.
Böttg. *Lex.* . Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, '79.
BR . . . *Biblical Researches.* See Robinson.
Bu. . . . Karl Budde:
Urgesch. . *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1–124), '83.
Ri.Sa. . *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90.
Sam. . . *Samuel* in *SBOT* (Heb.), '94.
Das Buch Hiob in *HK*, '96.
Klagelieder and *Hohelied* in *KHC*, '98.
Buhl . . See *Pal.*
Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* Johann Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.
Buxt. *Lex.* . Johann Buxtorf, son (1599–1644), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, 1639, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.

c., circ. . . *circa.*
Calwer Bib. Lex. . *Calwer Kirchelexikon, Theologisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89–'93.
c. Ap. . . *contra Apionem.* See Josephus.
CH . . . *Composition des Hexateuchs.* See Wellhausen.
Chald. Gen. . *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.
Che. . . T. K. Cheyne:
Proph. Is. . *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80–'81; revised, (5), '89).
Job and Sol. *Job and Solomon*, or *The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87).
Ps. . . *The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming).
OPs. . . *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures, '89), '91.
Aids . . *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92.
Founders . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94.
Intr. Is. . *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).

Is. SBOT. *Isaiah* in *SBOT* [Eng.], ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
Jeremiah, his Life and Times in 'Men of the Bible' ('88).
Jew. Rel. Life *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98.
CIG . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. Dittenberger), '82 *ff.* See also Boeckh.
CIL . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '63, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.
CIS . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 *ff.* Pt. i., Phoenician and Punic inscriptions; pt. ii., Aramaic inscriptions; pt. iv., Arabian inscriptions.
Class. Rev. . *The Classical Review*, '87 *ff.*
Cl.-Gan. . . Clermont-Ganneau:
Rec. . . *Recueil d'Archéologie*, '85 *ff.*
Co. . . . Cornill:
Ezek. . *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '86.
Einl. . *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, '91; (2), '96.
Hist. . *History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.
COT . . *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* See Schrader.
Crit. Mon. . A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, '94.
Cr. Rev. . . *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* [ed. Salmond], '91 *ff.*

D . . . Author of Deuteronomy; also used Deuteronomistic passages.
D_2 . . . Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.
Dalm. *Gram.* . Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94.
Worte Jesu *Die Worte Jesu*, i., '98.
Aram. Lex. *Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch*, Teil i., '97.
Dav. . . A. B. Davidson:
Job . . *Book of Job* in Camb. Bible, '84.
Ezek. . *Book of Ezekiel* in Cambridge Bible, '92.
DB . . . W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '63; *DB*(2), 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93.
or, J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology*, vol. i., '98; vol. ii., '99.
or, F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, '95 *ff.*
de C. *Orig.* . Alph. de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (4), '96. ET in the *International Scientific Series.*
De Gent. . . *De Gentibus.* See Wellhausen.
Del. . . Delitzsch, Franz (1813–90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc.
or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of:
Par. . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81).
Heb. Lang. *The Hebrew Language viewed*

in the light of Assyrian Research, '83.

Prol. . *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT*, '86.

Ass. HWB *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, '90.

DHM *Ep. Denk.* D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, '89.

Die Propheten in ihren ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie, 2 bks., '96.

Di. . . . Dillmann, August (1823–94), in *KGH*: *Genesis*, 3rd ed. of Knobel, '75; (4), '82; (6), '92 (ET by Stevenson, '97); *Exodus und Leviticus*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80, 3rd ed. by Ryssel, '97; *Numb., Deut., Josh.*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '86; *Isaiah*, (5), '90; (edd. 1–3 by Knobel; 4th ed. by Dietel; 6th ed. by Kittel, '98).

Did. . . *Didachè*. See APOCRYPHA, § 31, 1.

Dozy, *Suppl.* . *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, '79 *ff*.

Dr. . . . Driver, S. R.:

HT. . *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, '74; (3), '81; (3), '92.

TBS . *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, '90.

Introd. . *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, (1), '91; (6), '97.

Par. Ps. . *Parallel Psalter*, '98.

Deut. . *Deuteronomy* in *The International Critical Commentary*, '95.

Joel and Amos in the *Cambridge Bible*, '97.

Lev. SBOT *SBOT* (Eng.), *Leviticus*, assisted by H. A. White, '98.

'Hebrew Authority' in *Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane*, ed. David G. Hogarth, London, '99.

Is. . *Isaiah, His Life and Times*, in 'Men of the Bible,' (2), '93.

Drus. . . Drusius (1550–1616) in *Critici Sacri*.

Du. . . . Bernhard Duhm:

Proph. . *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion*, '75.

Is. . . *Das Buch Jesaia* in *HK*, '92.

Ps. . . *Die Psalmen erklärt*, in *KHC*, '99.

E . . . Old Hebrew historical document.

E_2 . . . Later additions to E. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

EB[9] . . *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., '75–'88.

Ebers, *Aeg. BM* Georg Ebers ('37–'98), *Aegypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, i., '68.

Einl. . . *Einleitung* (Introduction). See Cornill, etc.

Eng. Hist. Rev. *The English Historical Review*, '86 *ff*.

Ent[*st*]. . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*. See Ed. Meyer.

ET . . . English translation.

Eth. . . . Ethiopic.

Eus. . . . Eusebius of Cæsarea (2nd half of 3rd to 1st half of 4th cent. A.D.):

Onom. or *OS* *Onomasticon*: 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'

HE . . *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

P[*præp.*]*E*[*v.*] *Præparatio Evangelica*.

Chron. . *Chronicon*.

EV . . . English version (where authorised and revised agree).

Ew. . . Heinrich Ewald (1803–75):

Lehrb. . *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '44; (8), '70.

Gesch. . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*; (3) i.–vii., '64–'68; ET (2) 5 vols. (pre-Christian period), '69, '80.

Dichter . *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes* (1), '96 *f*.

Proph. . *Die Propheten*, '40 *f*.; (2), '67 *f*.; ET '76 *f*.

Expos. . . *Expositor*, 5th ser., '95 *ff*.

Exp[*os*]. *T*[*imes*] *Expository Times*, '89–'90 *ff*.

f. and *ff.* . . following (verse, or verses, etc.).

FFP . . *Fauna and Flora of Palestine*. See Tristram.

Field, *Hex.* . F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Græcorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta* ('75).

F[*r.*]*HG* . . *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ed. Müller, 5 vols., '41–'72.

Fl. and Hanb. *Pharm.* F. A. Flückiger and D. Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*.

Floigl, *GA* . Floigl, *Geschichte des semitischen Altertums in Tabellen*, '82.

Founders . . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*. See Cheyne.

Fr. . . . O. F. Fritzsche (1812–96), commentaries on books of the Apocrypha in *KHG*.

Frä. . . . Sigismund Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, '86.

Frankenb. . W. Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche* in *KH*, '98.

Frazer . . J. G. Frazer:

Totemism ('87).

Golden Bough ('90); (2) in prep.

Pausanias's Description of Greece (translation and notes, 6 vols., '98).

Fund. . . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

𝔊 . . . Greek Version, see above, p. xv. *f*. and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

GA . . . *Geschichte d. Alterthums* (see Meyer, Floigl.).

GÄ . . . *Geschichte Ägyptens* (see Meyer).

GBA . . *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens* (see Winckler, Hommel).

GASm. . . George Adam Smith. See Smith.

GAT . . Reuss, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, '81; (2), '90.

Gei. *Urschr.* . A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums*, '57.

Ges. . . F. H. W. Gesenius (1786–1842):

Thes. . *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti*, '35–'42.

Gramm. . *Hebräische Grammatik*, '13; (25), by E. Kautzsch, '96; ET '98.

Lex. . . *Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch*, '12; (11) (Mühlau u. Volck), '90; (12) (Buhl, with Socin and Zimmern), '95; (13) (Buhl), '99.

Ges.-Bu. . . Gesenius Buhl. See above, Ges.

Gesch. . . *Geschichte* (History).
GGA . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, '74 *ff*.
GGN . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*, '45 *ff*.
GI . . . *Geschichte Israels*. See Winckler.
Gi[nsb]. . . Ginsburg, *Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, '94, *Introduction*, '97.
GJV . . *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. See Schürer.
Glaser . . Eduard Glaser:
Skizze . . *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, '90.
Gr. . . . K. Grimm (1807–91). *Maccabees* ('53) and *Wisdom* ('60) in *KGH*.
Grä. . . . Heinrich Grätz:
Gesch. . *Geschichte der Juden*, i.–x., '74 *ff*.; ET i.–v., '91–'92.
Ps. . . *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, '82 *f*.
Gr Ven. . . Versio Veneta. See TEXT.
GVI . . *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*. See Ewald, Stade, etc.

H . . . 'The Law of Holiness' (Lev. 17–26). See LEVITICUS.
HA or *Hebr. Arch.* *Hebräische Archäologie*. See Benzinger, Nowack.
Hal. . . Joseph Halévy. The inscriptions in *Rapport sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Yémen* ('72) are cited: Hal. 535, etc.
MH. . . *Mélanges d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, '74.
Hamburger [*RE*] Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, i. '70, (2) '92; ii. '83, suppl. '86, '91 *f*., '97.
Harper, *ABL* . R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K*[Kuyunjik] *collection of the British Museum*, '93 *ff*.
HC . . . *Hand-Commentar zum Neu. Testament*, bearbeitet von H. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, '89–'91.
Heb. . . Hebrew.
Hebraica . . Continued as *AJSL* (*q.v.*).
Heid. . . *Reste arabischen Heidentums*. See Wellhausen.
Herst. . . Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israël in het Perzische Tijdvak*, '03; Germ. transl. *Die Wiederherstellung Israels*, '95.
Herzog, *RE* . See *PRE*.
Het Herstel . See *Herst.*
Hex. . . *Hexateuch* (see Kuenen, Holzinger, etc.).
Hexap. . . See Field.
HG . . . *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. See Smith, G. A.
Hierob. . . See Bochart.
Hilgf. . . A. Hilgenfeld, NT scholar (*Einl.*, etc.), and ed. since '58 of *ZWT*.
Hist. . . See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.
Hist. Proph. Mon. J. F. M'Curdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*: i. To the Downfall of Samaria ('94); ii. To the Fall of Nineveh ('96).
Hi[tz]. . . F. Hitzig (1807–75), in *KGH*: *Prediger* ('47), *Hohelied* ('55), *Die kleinen Propheten* ('38; (3), '63), *Jeremias* ('41; (2), '66). Also *Die Psalmen* ('35–'36; (3), '63–'65).
HK . . . *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Nowack, '92 *ff*.

Holz. *Einl.* . H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ('93), *Genesis* in the *KHC* ('98).
Hommel . . Fritz Hommel:
AHT *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung*, '97, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, '97.
GBA . *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, '85 *ff*.
Hor. Hebr. . Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, 1684.
HP . . . Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus*, 1798–1827.
HPN . . G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, '96.
HPSm. . . Henry Preserved Smith, *Samuel* in *International Critical Commentary*.
HS . . . *Die Heilige Schrift*. See Kautzsch.
HWB . . Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums*, 2 vols., '84; (2), '93–'94. See also Delitzsch (Friedr.).

IJG . . . *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*. See Wellhausen.
Intr[od]. . . Introduction.
Intr. Is. . . *Introduction to Isaiah*. See Cheyne.
It. . . . Itala. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.
It. Anton. . *Itinerarium Antonini*, Forti d'Urban, '45.

J . . . Old Hebrew historical document.
J_2 . . . Later additions to J.
J[*ourn.*] *A*[*m.*] *O*[*r.*] *S*[*oc.*] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, '51 *ff*.
Jastrow, *Dict.* M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, etc., and Midrashim*, '86 *ff*.
J[*ourn.*] *As.* . *Journal Asiatique*, '53 *ff*.; 7th ser., '73; 8th ser., '83; 9th ser., '93.
JBL . . *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, '90 *ff*.; formerly ('82–'88) called *Journal of the Society of Biblical Lit. and Exeg.*
J' . . . *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft* ('49–'65).
JDT . . *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, '56–'78.
JE . . . The 'Prophetical' narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E.
Jensen, *Kosm.* . P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, '90.
Jer. . . Jerome, or Jeremiah.
Jon. . . Jonathan. See Targum.
Jos. . . Flavius Josephus (b. 37 A.D.), *Antiquitates Judaicæ*, *De Bello Judaico*, *Vita*, *contra Apionem* (ed. Niese, 3 vols., '87–'94).
J[*ourn.*] *Phil.* . *Journal of Philology*, i. (Nos. 1 and 2, '68), ii. (Nos. 3 and 4, '69), etc.
JPT . . *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, '75–'92.
JQR . . *Jewish Quarterly Review*, '88–'89 *ff*.
JRAS . . *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (vols. 1–20, '34 *ff*.; new ser., vols. 1–24, '65–'92; current series, '93 *ff*.).
JSBL . . See *JBL*.
KAT . . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*. See Schrader.
Kau. . . E. Kautzsch:
Gram. *Grammatik des Biblischen-Aramäischen*, '84.
HS . . *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, '94.

Apokr. . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, '98 *f.*

KB. . . *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von ass. u bab. Texten in Umschrift u. Uebersetzung*, 5 vols. (1, 2, 3 *a*, *b*, 4, 5), '89–'96. Edited by Schrader, in collaboration with L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, and H. Winckler.

Ke. . . . K. F. Keil (d. '88).

Kenn. . . B. Kennicott (1718–83), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vols., 1776–80.

KG . . . *Kirchengeschichte.*

KGF . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.* See Schrader.

KGH . . *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.* See Di., Hitz., Knob., Ol.

KGK . . *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten u. Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen*, ed. H. Strack and O. Zöckler, '87 *ff.*

KHC . . *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Marti, '97 *ff.*

Ki. . . . Rudolf Kittel:

Gesch. . *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 2 vols., '88, '92; Eng. transl., *History of the Hebrews*, '95–'96.

Ch. SBOT *The Book of Chronicles*, Critical Edition of the Hebrew text, '95 (translated by Bacon).

Kim. . . R. David Kimhi, *circa* 1200 A.D., the famous Jewish scholar and lexicographer, by whose exegesis the AV is mainly guided.

Kin[s]. . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.* See W. R. Smith.

Kl. Proph. . *Kleine Propheten* (Minor Prophets). See Wellhausen, Nowack, etc.

Klo[st]. . . Aug. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* ('87) in *KGK.*

GVI. . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia*, '96.

Kn[ob]. . . Aug. Knobel (1807–63) in *KGH*: *Exodus und Leviticus*, (2) by Dillmann, '80; *Der Prophet Jesaia*, '43, (3), '61. See Dillmann.

Kö. . . . F. E. König, *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebraischen Sprache*, 3 vols., '81–'97.

Köh. . . Aug. Köhler.

Kr. . . . Krē (lit. 'to be read'), a marginal reading which the Massoretes intended to supplant that in the text (Kĕthīb); see below.

Kt. . . . Kĕthīb (lit. 'written'), a reading in the MT; see above.

Kue . . . Abr. Kuenen (1828–91):

Ond . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, 3 vols., '61–'65; (2), '85–'89; Germ. transl., *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, '87–'92; vol. i., *The Hexateuch*, translated by Philip Wicksteed, '86.

Godsd. . *De Godsdienst van Israel*, '69–'70; Eng. transl., 3 vols., '73–'75.

De Profeten en der Profetie onder Israel, '75; ET, '77.

Ges. Abh. . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur bibl. Wissenschaft*, German by Budde, '94.

L . . . . de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum, Pars Prior Græce*, '83.

Lag. . . Paul de Lagarde ('27–'91):

Hag. . *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, '73.

Syr. . . *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, '61.

Ges. Abh. . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, '66.

Mitt. . *Mitteilungen*, i.–iv., '84–'89.

Sym. . *Symmicta*, ii., '80.

Prov. . *Proverbien*, '63.

Übers. or *B.V* *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen, und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, '89.

Beitr. . *Beiträge z. baktrischen Lexikographie*, '68.

Proph. . *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, '72.

Sem. . *Semitica*, '78 *f.*

Arm. St. . *Armenische Studien.*

Or. . . *Orientalia*, i., '79.

Lane . . E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, '63 *ff.*

L [and] B . W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, '59; new ed. '94.

LBR . . *Later Biblical Researches.* See Robinson.

Levy, *NHWB* J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, '76–'89.

Chald. Lex. *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, '67 *ff.*

Lehrgeb. . . See König.

Leps. *Denkm.* . R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, '49–'60.

Lightf. . . John Lightfoot (1602–75), *Horæ Hebraicæ* (1684).

Joseph B. Lightfoot ('28–'89); commentaries on *Galatians* ((4), '74); *Philippians* ((3), '73); *Colossians and Philemon* ('75).

Lips. 1 *f.* . . Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, '83–'90.

Löw . . . J. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, '81.

Luc. . . See L.

LXX or 𝔊 . Septuagint. See above, p. xv f., and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Maimonides . Moses Maimonides (1131–1204). Exegete, author of *Mishneh Torah*, *Mōrē Nebōkhim*, etc.

Mand. . . Mandaean. See ARAMAIC, § 10.

Marq. *Fund.* . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

Marti . . K. Marti:

Gram. . *Kurzgefasste Grammatik d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, '96.

Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion(3), '97 (a revision of A. Kayser, *Die Theol. des AT*).

Jes. . . *Das Buch Jesaia*, in *KHC*, '99.

Masp. . . G. Maspero:

Dawn of Civilisation, Egypt and Chaldea ((2), '96).

Les premières Mêlées des Peuples; ET by McClure.

The Struggle of the Nations —Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient ('99 *ff.*).

MBBA . . *Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.*

MDPV . . *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* '95 *ff.*

Merx . . A. Merx, *Archiv f. wissenschaftliche Erforschung d. AT* ('69).

Mey . . . Ed. Meyer:

GA . . *Geschichte des Alterthums;* i., *Gesch. d. Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs* ('84); ii., *Gesch. des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege* ('93).

Entst[*eh*]. . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums,* '96.

Meyer . H. A. W. Meyer (1800–73), founder of the series *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament.*

MGWJ . . *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums,* '51 *ff.*

MH . . . Mishnic Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, Tosephta, Midrashim, and considerable parts of the Talmud.

MI . . . Mesha Inscription, commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone.' See MESHA.

Midr. . . Midrash. See CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).

Mish. . . Mishna, the standard collection (completed, according to tradition, by R. Judah the Holy, about 200 A.D.) of sixty-three treatises (representing the Jewish traditional or unwritten law as developed by the second century A.D.), arranged in six groups or Sēders thus: — i. *Zĕrā'īm* (11 tractates), ii. *Mō'ĕd* (12), iii. *Nāshīm* (7), iv. *Nĕzikīn* (10), v. *Ḳodāshim* (11), vi. *Ṭohŏrōth* (12).

Ābōdā zārā, iv. 8	Mikwā'ōth, vi. 6
Ābōth, iv. 9	Mō'ĕd Kāṭān, ii. 11
'Ārākhin, v 5	Nāzir, iii 4
Bābā Bathrā, iv. 3	Nĕdārim, iii. 3
Bābā Kammā, iv. 1	Neg'ā'īm, vi. 3
Bābā Mĕṣi'ā, iv. 2	Niddā, vi 7
Bĕkhōrōth, v. 4	Ōhalōth, vi. 2
Bĕrākhōth, i. 1	'Orlā, i 10
Bē ā, ii. 7	Pārā, vi. 4
Bikkūrim, i. 11	Pē'ā, i 2
Chāgigā, ii. 12	Pĕsāchim, ii. 3
Challā, i. 9	Rōsh Ha(sh)shānā, ii 8
Chullin, v. 3	Sanhedrin, iv. 4
Dĕmāi, i. 3	Shabbāth, ii. 1
'Edūyōth, iv. 7	Shĕbū'ōth, iv. 6
'Ĕrūbin, ii. 2	Shĕbi'ith, i. 5
Gittin, iii 6.	Shĕḳālim, ii. 4
Hōrāyōth, iv. 10	Sōṭā, iii. 5
Kĕlim, vi. 1	Sukkā, ii. 6
Kĕrithōth, v 7	Ta'ānith, ii. 9
Kĕthūbōth, iii. 2	Tāmid, v. 9
Ḳiddūshin, iii. 7	Tĕbul Yōm, vi. 10
Ḳil'āyim, i. 4	Tĕmūra, v. 6
Kinnim, v. 11	Tĕrūmōth, i 6
Ma'ăsĕr Shĕni, i. 8	Ṭohŏrōth, vi. 5
Ma'ăsĕrōth, i. 7	Ṭū'kin, vi. 12
Makhshirin, vi. 8.	Yādāyim, vi 11
Makkōth, iv. 5	Yĕbāmōth, iii. 1
Mĕgillā, ii 10	Yōmā, ii. 5
Mĕ'ilā, v. 8	Zābim, vi. 9
Mĕnāchōth, v. 2	Zĕbachim, v. 1
Middōth, v. 10	

MT . . . Massoretic text, the Hebrew text of the OT substantially as it was in the early part of the second century A.D. (temp. Mishna). It remained unvocalised until about the end of the seventh century A.D. See TEXT.

Murray . . *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* ed. J. A. H. Murray, '88 *ff.*; also H. Bradley, '97 *ff.*

Muss-Arn. . W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language,* '94–'99 (A–MAG).

MVG . . *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft,* '97 *ff.*

n. . . . note.

Nab. . . Nabatæan. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

NB . . . *Nominalbildung,* Barth; see Ba.

Nestle, *Eig.* . *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung,* '76.

Marg. . *Marginalien u. Materialien,* '93.

Neub. *Géogr.* . A Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud,* '68.

NHB . . *Natural History of the Bible.* See Tristram.

NHWB . . *Neu-hebr. u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch.* See Levy.

no. . . . number.

Nö[ld]. . . Th. Nöldeke:

Unters. . *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments,* '69.

Alttestamentliche Litteratur, '68.

Now. . . W. Nowack:

H[*ebr.*] *A*[*rch.*] *Lehrbuch d. Hebräischen Archäologie,* '94.

Kl. Proph. *Die Kleinen Propheten* (in *HKC*), '97.

NT . . . New Testament, Neues Testament.

Ol[sh]. . . Justus Olshausen:

Ps. . . *Die Psalmen,* '53.

Lehrb. . *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache,* '61 [incomplete].

OLZ (or *Or. LZ*) *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung,* ed. Peiser, '98 *f.*

Ond. . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek.* See Kuenen.

Onk., Onq. . Onḳelos, Onqelos. See Targ.

Onom. . . See *OS.*

OPs. . . *Origin of the Psalter.* See Cheyne.

OS. . . . *Onomastica Sacra,* containing the 'name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde, (2), '87; the pagination of (1) printed on the margin of (2) is followed).

OT . . . Old Testament.

OTJC . . *Old Testament in the Jewish Church.* See W. R. Smith.

P . . . Priestly Writer. See HIST. LIT.

P_2 . . . Secondary Priestly Writers.

Pal. . . F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina,* '96. See also Baedeker and Reland.

Palm. . . Palmyrene. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

Pal. Syr. . . Palestinian Syriac or Christian Palestinian. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

PAOS . . *Proceedings of American Oriental Society,* '51 *ff.* (printed annually at end of *JAOS*).

Par. . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* See Delitzsch.

Pat. Pal. . . Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine,* '95.

PE . . . *Præparatio Evangelica.* See Eusebius.

PEFQ[*u. St.*] . *Palestine Exploration Fund* [founded '65] *Quarterly Statement,* '69 *ff.*

PEEM[*em.*] . *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs,* 3 vols., '81–'83.

Per.-Chip. . Perrot and Chipiez: *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité. Égypte — Assyrie — Perse — Asie Mineuere — Grèce — Étrurie — Rome;* '81 *ff.*

ET: *Ancient Egypt,* '83; *Chaldæa and Assyria,* '84; *Phœnicia and Cyprus,* '85; *Sardinia, Judæa,* etc., '90; *Primitive Greece,* '94.

Pers. . . Persian.

Pesh. . . Peshitta, the Syriac vulgate (2nd–3rd cent.). *Vetus Testamentum Syriace,* ed. S. Lee, '23, OT and NT, '24.

W. E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version,* '97.

Ph., Phœn. . Phœnician.

PRE . . *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche,* ed. J. J. Herzog, 22 vols., '54–'68; (2), ed. J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, Alb. Hauck, 18 vols., '77–'88; (3), ed. Alb. Hauck, vol. i.–vii. [A-Hau], '96–'99.

Preuss. Jahrbb. *Preussische Jahrbücher,* '72 *ff.*

Prim. Cult. . E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* '71; (3), '91.

Proph. Is. . *The Prophecies of Isaiah.* See Cheyne.

Prol. . . *Prolegomena.* See Wellhausen.

Prot. KZ . . *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das Evangelische Deutschland* (vols. i.–xliii., '54–'96); continued as *Prot. Monatshefte* ('97 *ff.*).

PSBA . . *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology,* '78 *ff.*

PS *Thes.* . Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus.*

Pun. . . Punic.

R . . . Redactor or Editor.

R_{JE} . . . Redactor(s) of JE.

R_D . . . Deuteronomistic Editor(s).

R_P . . . Priestly Redactor(s).

1–5R . . H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* i.–v. ('61–'84; iv. (2), '91).

Rab. . . Rabbinical.

Rashi . . *i.e.* Rabbenu Shelomoh Yiṣhaḳi (1040–1105), the celebrated Jewish commentator.

Rec. Trav. . *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'Archéol. egypt. et assyr.* '70 *ff.*

REJ . . *Revue des Études juives,* i., '80; ii. and iii., '81; and so on.

Rel. *Pal.* . . Reland, *Palæstina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata,* 2 vols., 1714.

Rev. . . *Revue.*

Rev. Sém. . *Revue sémitique,* '93 *ff.*

Ri. Sa. . . *Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel.* See Budde.

Rob. . . Edward Robinson:

BR . *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, a journal of travels in the year* 1838 (i.–iii., '41 = *BR*(2), i.–ii., '56).

LBR or *BR* iv. or *BR*(2) iii. *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions, a journal of travels in the year* 1852 ('56).

Physical Geography of the Holy Land, '65.

Roscher . . *Ausführliches Lexikon d. Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie* ('84 *ff.*).

RP . . . *Records of the Past, being English translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia,* ed. S. Birch, vols. i.–xii. ('73–'81). New series [*KPAS*] ed. A. H. Sayce, vols. i.–vi., '88–'92. See ASSYRIA, § 35.

RS or *Rel. Sem.* *Religion of the Semites.* See W. R. Smith.

RV . . . Revised Version (NT, '80; OT, '84; Apocrypha, '95).

RWB . . G. B. Winer (1789–1858), *Biblisches Realwörterbuch,* '20; (3), 2 vols., '47 *f.*

Rys. . . Ryssel; cp. Dillmann, Bertheau.

Saad. . . R. Sa'adya (Sĕ'adya; Ar. Sa'īd), the tenth century Jewish grammarian and lexicographer (b. 892); Explanations of the *hapax-legomena* in the OT, etc.

Sab. . . Sabæan, less fittingly called Himyaritic; the name given to a class of S. Arabian inscriptions.

Sab. Denkm. . *Sabäische Denkmäler,* edd. Müller and Mordtmann.

Sam. . . Samaritan.

SBAW . . *Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

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Sin. . . Sinaitic; see ARAMAIC, § 4.

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Sym[m] . . Symmachus, author of a Greek version of the Old Testament (*circa* 200 A.D.). See TEXT.

Syr. . . . Syriac. See ARAMAIC, § 11 *f.*

Tab. Peut. . *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Desjardins, '68.

Talm. Bab. Jer. Talmud, Babylonian or Jerusalem, consisting of the text of the Mishna broken up into small sections, each followed by the discursive comment called Gĕmāra. See LAW LITERATURE.

T[ar]g. . . Targum. See TEXT.
Jer. . . The (fragmentary) Targum Jerushalmi.
Jon. . . Targum Jonathan, the name borne by the Babylonian Targum to the Prophets.
Onk. . . Targum Onkelos, the Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch (towards end of second century A.D.).
ps.-Jon. . The Targ. to the Pentateuch, known by the name of Jonathan.

TBS . . *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis:* see Wellhausen; or *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel:* see Driver.

temp. . . tempore (in the time [of]).

T[extus] R[eceptus] The 'received text' of the NT. See TEXT.

Th[e]. . . Thenius, *die Bücher Samuelis* in *KGH*, '42; (2), '64; (3), Löhr, '98.

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v. . . . verse.

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Vet. Lat. . . Versio Vetus Latina; the old-Latin version (made from the Greek); later superseded by the Vulgate. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Vg. . . . Vulgate, Jerome's Latin Bible: OT from Heb., NT a revision of Vet. Lat. (end of 4th and beginning of 5th cent.). See TEXT.

We., Wellh . Julius Wellhausen.

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MAPS IN VOLUME I

SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA . . . . . *between cols.* 352 *and* 353
PLAN OF BABYLON . . . . . " 414 *and* 417
DISTRICT OF DAMASCUS . . . . . " 987 *f.*

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A

AALAR (αλλαρ [B]). 1 Esd. 5 36† AV = Ezra 2 59, IMMER, i.; cp also CHERUB, 2.

AARON (אַהֲרֹן, § 7; see also below, § 4, end; ΑΑΡΩΝ [BAL], αρ. [A]; *AARON*). In the post-exilic parts of the OT (including Ezra, Neh., Ch., and for our present purpose some of the Psalms) Aaron is the ancestor of all lawful priests,[1] and himself the first and typical high-

1. In P. priest. This view is founded upon the priestly document in the Hexateuch, according to which Aaron, the elder brother of Moses, took a prominent part, as Moses' prophet or interpreter, in the negotiations with Pharaoh, and was ultimately, together with his sons, consecrated by Moses to the priesthood. The rank and influence which are assigned to him are manifestly not equal to those of Moses, who stood to Pharaoh as a god (Ex. 7 1). He does, indeed, perform miracles before Pharaoh—he changes his rod into a serpent which swallows up the rods, similarly transformed, of the Egyptian sorcerers; and with the same rod he changes the waters of Egypt into blood, and brings the plagues of frogs and lice—but the order to execute the marvel is in each case communicated to him through Moses (Ex. 7 *f.*). It is Moses, not Aaron, who disables the sorcerers by boils (Ex. 9 8 *f.*), and causes the final destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (14 15-18). Through his consecration by Moses, Aaron became 'the priest' (so usually) or, as he is elsewhere called, 'the anointed priest' (Lev. 4 3 5 16 6 15) or 'the high-priest' (Lev. 21 10 Nu. 35 25 28). His sons, representing the common priests, act under him (Nu. 3 4). As high-priest he has splendid vestments, different from those of his sons (Ex. 28); he alone is anointed (Ex. 29 7)[2]; he alone, once a year, can enter the holy of holies (Lev. 16). He is the great representative of the tribe of Levi; and his rod, unlike the rods taken to represent the other tribes, buds miraculously, and is laid up for ever by the ark (Nu. 17 6 *f.* [21 *f.*]). Within this tribe, however, it is only the direct descendants of Aaron who may approach the altar, so that Korah the Levite, when he claims the power of the priesthood, is consumed by fire from Yahwè (Nu. 16 35). Aaron occasionally receives the law directly from Yahwè (Nu. 18). Even his civil authority is great, for he, with Moses, numbers the people (Nu. 1 3 17), and it is against him as well as against Moses that the rebellion of the Israelites is directed (Ex. 16 2 Nu. 14 2 5 26 16 3). This authority would have been greater but for the exceptional position of Moses, for in the priestly portions of Joshua the name of Eleazar (*q.v.* 1), the next high-priest, is placed before the of Joshua. The 'priestly' writer mentions only one blot in the character of Aaron: viz., that in some way, which cannot be clearly ascertained in the present state of the text, he rebelled against Yahwe in the wilderness of Zin, when told to 'speak to the rock' and bring forth water (Nu. 20 12). In penalty he dies, outside Canaan, at Mount Hor, on the borders of Edom (*v.* 22 *f.*).

As we ascend to the exilic and pre-exilic literature, Aaron is still a prominent figure; but he is no longer

2. In earlier writers. either the high-priest or the ancestor of all legitimate priests. Ezekiel traces the origin of the priests at Jerusalem no farther back than to ZADOK (*q.v.* 1, § 3), in Solomon's time. Dt. 10 6 (which mentions Aaron's death, not at Hor but at Moserah, and the fact that Eleazar succeeded him in the priesthood) is generally and rightly regarded as an interpolation. In Mic. 6 4 (time of Manasseh?) Aaron is mentioned between Moses and Miriam as instrumental

3. In E. in the redemption of Israel. In the Elohistic document of the Hexateuch (E) he is mentioned as the brother of Miriam the prophetess (Ex. 15 20; for other references to him see Ex. 17 12 24 1 9 10 14, Nu. 12 1); but it is Joshua, not Aaron, who is the minister of Moses in sacred things, and keeps guard over the tent of meeting (Ex. 33 11), and 'young men of the children of Israel' offer sacrifice, while the solemn act of sprinkling the blood of the covenant is reserved for Moses (Ex. 24 5 6). Aaron, however, seems to have counted in the mind of E as the ancestor of the priests at 'the hill of Phinehas' (Josh. 24 33) and perhaps of those at Bethel. At all events, the author of a section added in a later edition of E speaks of Aaron as yielding to the people while Moses is absent on Mount Horeb, and taking the lead in the worship of Yahwè under the form of a golden calf. The narrator, influenced by prophetic teaching, really means to attack the worship carried on at the great sanctuary of Bethel, and looks back to the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians in 721 as Yahwè's 'visitation' of the idolatrous worship maintained in N. Israel (Ex. 32; see especially *v.* 34).

It is extremely probable that Aaron's name was absent altogether from the earliest document of the Hexateuch

4. In J. (J) in its original form. In it Aaron appears only to disappear. For example, according to our present text, Pharaoh sends for Moses and Aaron that they may entreat Yahwè to remove the plague of frogs; but in the course of the narrative Aaron is ignored, and the plague is withdrawn simply at 'the word of Moses' (Ex. 8 8-15 *a* [4-11 *a*]). Apparently, therefore, the name of Aaron has been introduced here and there into J by the editor who united it to E (cp EXODUS, § 3 n.). If that is so we may perhaps agree with Oort that the legend of Aaron belonged originally

[1] In 1 Ch. 12 27, if MT is correct, Aaron (AV AARONITES) is almost a collective term for priests said by the Chronicler to have joined David at Hebron. In 27 17† RV rightly reads 'Aaron.'

[2] On passages in P which seem to conflict with this, see the [illegible]

to the 'house of Joseph,' which regarded Aaron as the ancestor of the priests of Bethel, and that single members of this clan succeeded, in spite of Ezekiel, in obtaining recognition as priests at Jerusalem. So, doubtfully, Stade (*GVI* i. 583), who points out that no strict proof of this hypothesis can be offered.

As to the derivation of Aaron, Redslob's ingenious conjecture that it is but a more Hebrew pronunciation of *hā'ārōn*, 'the ark,' is worth considering only if we can regard Aaron as the mythical ancestor of the priests of Jerusalem (*bnê hā'ārōn* = *bnê Aharon*). So Land, *De Gids*, Nov. 1871, p. 271.

See PRIESTS; and cp, besides the works of We., St., and Ki., Oort's essay 'De Aaromieden' in *Th T* xviii. 182–235 ['91].

W. R. S.

AARONITES, RV 'the house of] Aaron' (לְאַהֲרֹן; τω ααρων [B], των α. [A], των γιων α. [L]; [illegible]; DE STIRPE AARON), 1 Ch. 12 27. See AARON, note 1.

ABACUC (*ABACUC*), 4 Esd. 1 40†. See HABAKKUK.

ABADDON (אֲבַדּוֹן, but in Prov. 27 20 Kr. אֲבַדּוֹ, by contraction[1] or misreading, though the full form is also cited by Gi., for Kt. אבדה,[2] απωλ[ε]ια [BNA], but Job 31 12 παντων των μερων [BNA] . . . . λερων [N^c.c]; Rev. 9 11, αβαδδων [NA, etc.], αβαδδ. [B etc.], αββαδδ. [some curss.] etc.; [illegible]; PERDITIO, but Rev. 9 11 *ABADDON*), RV Job 26 6, Prov. 15 11 27 20; RV mg. Job 28 22 31 12, Ps. 88 11 [12], elsewhere EV DESTRUCTION; in Rev. 9 11 Abaddon is stated to be the Hebrew equivalent of APOLLYON (απολλυων [NA]). Etymologically it means '(place of) destruction.' We find it parallel to Sheol in Job 26 6 28 22; Prov. 15 11 27 20 (see readings above). In these cases RV makes it a proper name, either Abaddon or Destruction, as being parallel to the proper names Sheol or Death. In Ps. 88 11 [12] 'Destruction' is parallel to 'the grave'; in Job 31 12 the same term (in RV) is equivalent to 'utter ruin.' Thus Abaddon occurs only in the Wisdom-Literature. There is nothing in the usage to indicate that in OT it denotes any place or state different from Sheol (*q.v.*), though by its obvious etymology it emphasises the darker aspects of the state after death. An almost identical word (אֲבַדָּן) is used in Esth. 9 5 (constr. אֲבַדַּן; 8 6) for 'destruction' in its ordinary sense as a common noun. In later Hebrew אבדון is used for 'perdition' and 'hell' (Jastrow, *Dict.* s.v.), and is explained in Targ. on Job 26 6 as בית אבדנא, house of perdition—*i.e.*, hell. The Syriac equivalent word (ܐܒܕܘܢ) has the meaning 'destruction,' and is used to translate 'ʾ.

Rev. 9 11 mentions a king or angel of the abyss, whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon and in Greek Apollyon (Ἀπολλύων, Destroyer), the *-on* being supposed to be a personal ending in Hebrew, as it is in Greek. This is, of course, poetic personification (cp Rev. 6 8 20 14), and may be paralleled in the OT (Job 28 22; cp Ps. 49 12 [15]), and in Rabbinical writers (Schottgen, *Horæ Hebr. Apoc.* ix. 11, and *PRE*[(3)] s.v.). The identification with the ASMODEUS of the Book of Tobit is a mistake. Apollyon has become familiar to the world at large through the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but Abaddon may be said not to exist outside of the Apocalypse. W. H. B.

ABADIAS (αβαδιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 45† = Ezra 8 9, OBADIAH, 11.

ABAGTHA (אֲבַגְתָא, etymology doubtful, but see BIGVAI, BAGOAS; according to Marq. [*Fund.* 71] the corresponding Gr. is αβαταζα [BNA], which [reading αβαζαρα] he regards as presupposing אבגתא; cp BIGTHA; the fifth name in the list as it stands is

[1] Ko. *Hebr. Sprachl.* ii. 479 γ, gives parallel contractions; cp BDB.

[2] On the several forms see Ba. *NB* § 124 b, c, § 224 b.

ζαθολαθα [BN], ζηβαθαθα [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Est. 1 10†). See ESTHER, ii. § 3.

ABANA, RV **Abanah** (אֲבָנָה, 2 K. 5 12† Kt., אֲמָנָה [Kr.]; αβανα [BL], αρβ. [ρ superscr.] B[vid]), ανασ. [B^vid.c], ναεβ. [A]; [illegible]; AMANA), one of the 'rivers' (נְהָרוֹת) of Damascus. The name, which occurs nowhere else, should probably be read AMANA (AV mg.) or AMANAH (RV mg.; see further AMANA, 2); in this form, as meaning 'constant,' it would be equally suitable to a river and to a mountain, though it was first of all given to the mountain range of Antilibanus, from which near Zebedāni, the Nahr Barada ('the cold') descends to refresh with its sparkling waters the city and the gardens of Damascus.[1] The romantically situated *'Ain Fijeh* (πηγή), a little to the S. of *Suk Wady Barada* (the ancient Abilā), appears from its name to have been regarded as the chief source of the Barada. It is not, certainly, the most distant one; but it does, at any rate, 'supply that stream with twice as much water as it contains before it is thus augmented' (Baed. *Pal.*[(2)] 336). Close to it are the remains of a small temple, which was presumably dedicated to the river-god. The clear waters of the Nahr Baradā have a charm which is wanting to the Jordan through the greater part of its course. This explains Naaman's question in 2 K. 5 12, as far as the Amana is concerned. It is the fate of the Barada to disappear in the swamps called the Meadow Lakes, about 18 m. to the E. of Damascus, on the verge of the desert. See PHARPAR. T. K. C.

ABARIM, THE (הָעֲבָרִים; αβαρειμ [BAL], -ιν [BL], and phrases with περαν [BAL], see below; Jos. αβαρεις), literally 'Those-on-the-other-side'—*i.e.*, of the Jordan—is employed by the latest documents of the Pentateuch (P and K) in the phrase, Mt. or Mts. of the Abarim, to describe the edge of the great Moabite plateau overlooking the Jordan valley, of which Mt. NEBO was the most prominent headland:—Nu. 27 12 [R], τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἐν τῷ πέραν [BA], τ. ὄ. . . . π. [τοῦ ἰορδανου] [L]; Dt. 32 49 (P [R]), τ. ὄ. τ. αβαριν [BL], . . . ειμ [A], 'this Mt. of the Abarim, Mt. Nebo'; Nu. 33 47 *f.* (P [R] in Israel's itinerary between the Moab plateau and the plains of Shittim), 'Mts. of the Abarim' (τὰ ὄρη τὰ αβαριμ, ὀρέων α. [BAL]). In Nu. 33 44 we find Ije-ha-abarim (AV IJE-ABARIM), 'heaps of the Abarim' (to distinguish it from the Ijim of Judah, Josh. 15 29; see IIM, 1), on the extreme SE. of Moab. Since the employment of the name thus confined to Moab occurs only in late documents, it is probably due to the fact that at the time these were written the Jews were settled only over against Moab. Josephus, too, uses the word in the same limited application (*Ant.* iv. 8 48, ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Αβαρει), and Eusebius (*OS*[(2)] 216 4, 'Αβαρείμ) so quotes it as employed in his own day. But there are traces in the OT of that wider application to the whole trans-Jordanic range which the very general meaning of Abarim justifies us in supposing to have been its original application. In Jer. 22 20 (RV), Abarim (AV 'the passages'; ⊕ BAKQ, dividing the word in two, τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης) is ranged with Lebanon and Bashan—that is to say, is probably used as covering both Gilead and Moab;—and in the corrupt text of Ez. 39 11, 'the valley of the passengers,' as AV gives it (similarly RV), most probably should rather be 'a valley of [Mt.] Abarim' (עֲבָרִים for עֵבֶר; so Hi., Co., Siegfr., Bu.). If so, that extends the name to Bashan. Thus the plural noun Abarim would denote the E. range in its entire extent, being in fact practically equivalent to the preposition עֵבֶר or usually a singular noun from the

[1] Rev. William Wright, Consul of Damascus, states that 'the river which we water is in strict parlance called the Abanias, and not the Abana' (*Palestine Illust. Hour.*, 1874, p. 54; see *PEFQS*, Oct. 1896, p. 324). Is the name due to a confusion with Nahr Bāniās (certainly not the ancient Amana)? No Abanias is mentioned in Porter's *Five Years in Damascus* or in Burton and Drake's *Unexplored Syria*.

same root). There is no instance of the name earlier than Jeremiah. Targ. Nu. 27 12 Dt. 32 49 gives מירא דקדמי.

As seen from W. Palestine this range forms a continuous mountain-wall, at a pretty constant level, which is broken only by the valley-mouths of the Yarmuk, Zerka or Jabbok, and Arnon. Across the gulf of the Jordan valley it rises with great impressiveness, and constitutes the eastern horizon (cp Stanley, *SP*; GASm, *HG* 53, 519, 548). The hardly varying edge masks a considerable difference of level behind. On the whole the level is maintained from the foot of Hermon to the S. end of the Dead Sea at a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet above the ocean. The basis throughout is limestone. N. of the Yarmûk this is deeply covered by volcanic deposits, and there are extinct craters NE. of the Lake of Galilee. Between the Yarmuk and the Wâdy Heshbân, at the N. end of the Dead Sea, run transverse ridges, cut by deep wâdies, and well wooded as far S. as the Zerkâ. S. of Wâdy Heshbân rolls the breezy treeless plateau of Moab, indented in its western edge by short wâdies rising quickly to the plateau level, with the headlands that are more properly the Mts. of Abârim between them; and cut right through to the desert by the great trenches of the wâdies, Zerkâ, Mâ'in, and Môjib or Arnon. For details see ASHDOTH-PISGAH, BAMOTH-BAAL, BETH-PEOR, MOAB, NEBO, PISGAH, ZOPHIM, etc., with authorities quoted there. On Nu. 33 47 see WANDERINGS, § 11. G. A. S.

ABBA (ΑΒΒΑ [Tischendorf WH], *i.e.* אַבָּא, Ab, 'father,' in the 'emphatic state'), an Aram. title of God used by Jesus and his contemporaries, and retained by Greek-speaking Christian Jews. See Mk. 14 36 Rom. 8 15 Gal. 4 6†; where in each case ὁ πατήρ is subjoined.

ABDA (עֲבָדָא, § 51, frequent in Phœn. and Aram. On the form cp Renan, *KEJ* v. 165 *f.* ['82], and see NAMES, §§ 37, 51).

1. Father of Adoniram (1 K. 4 6; αβαω [A]; εφρα [B]; εδραμ [L]).

2. Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5A, § 15 [ι (α)]. Neh. 11 17 ωβδιας [אℵ* corr. sup.], ωβηδ [אℵ*], ωβηδ [B], ιω. [A], αβδιας [L]). Ch. 9 16, OBADIAH, 3 (end).

ABDEEL (עַבְדְּאֵל, § 21, 'servant of God'), father of Shelemiah, Jer. 36 26†. (Not in 𝔊.)

ABDI (עַבְדִּי, § 52, abbr. for 'servant of Yahwè'? cp Palm. עבדי, and see OBADIAH; ΑΒΔΙΑ [L]).

1. Father of Kish, a Levite under Hezekiah, mentioned in the genealogy of ETHAN [*q.v.*], 1 Ch. 6 44 [29] 2 Ch. 29 12: αβδ[ε]ι [BAL].

2. One of the b'ne ELAM [*q.v.* ii. 1], in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 26 (αβδ[ε]ια [BℵA], -ι [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 27 (RV OABDI'S, AV om., ωαβδ[ε]ιος [BA]).

ABDIAS (*ABDIAS*), 4 Esd. 1 39†. See OBADIAH, 1.

ABDIEL (עַבְדִּיאֵל, §§ 21, 37, 'servant of God'; ΑΒΔΕΗΛ [B]; -ΔΙΗΛ [AL]), in genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5 15†.

ABDON (עַבְדּוֹן; ΑΒΔΩΝ [AL], see also below), one of the four Levitical cities within the tribe of Asher; Josh. 21 30 1 Ch. 6 74 (59)†. The site has not been identified, but Guérin has suggested that of *'Abdeh*, 10 m. N. from 'Akka (Acre). The same city is referred to in Josh. 19 28, where עֶבְרֹן (AV HEBRON; RV EBRON) is a graphical error for עַבְדּוֹן. Abdon, which, in fact, some MSS. read (Josh. 21 30, δαβδων [B]; 1 Ch. 6 74 [59], αβδαρων [B], om. [L]; Josh. 19 28, εβδων [B], αχραν [AL]).

ABDON (עַבְדּוֹן, § 77; dim. of EBED; ΑΒΔΩΝ [BAL]).

1. b. Hillel, one of the six minor judges (see JUDGES, §). After judging Israel eight years, he was buried at Pirathon in Ephraim, his native place. He had forty sons and thirty grandsons, 'that rode on three-score and ten ass colts'—*i.e.*, was head of a large and wealthy family (cp Judg. 5 10). Judg. 12 13 15 (Αβδων [AL], 7. 15 -ω [A]); on Ew.'s conjecture that his name should be restored in 1 S. 12 11, see BEDAN, 1.

2. b. Shashak, a Benjamite (1 Ch. 8 23), αβδων [B]).

3. b. Jeiel the father of Gibeon; 1 Ch. 8 30 (αβδων [B], αβδων [A]) 1 Ch. 9 36 (σαβδων [B], αβδων [A]).

4. b. Micah, a courtier of King Josiah (2 Ch. 34 20, αβδοβαμ [B]), elsewhere called ACHBOR (*q.v.* 2). 5. See BEDAN, 2.

ABEDNEGO (עֲבֶד נְגוֹ or עֲבַד נְגוֹא, § 86: a corruption of עֲבַד נְבוֹ, 'servant of Nebo,' which occurs in an Assyrio-Aramaic inscription, *CIOT* 2 126; ΑΒΔΕΝΑΓΩ [BA 87]; ܥܒܕܢܓܘ; *ABDENAGO*), the court name given to Azariah [10], the friend of Daniel (Dan 1 7, etc.). On name see also NERGAL.

ABEL (הֶבֶל, § 6; ΑΒΕΛ [ADL]; *ABEL*), Gen. 4 2 *ff.* There are three phases in Jewish beliefs respecting Abel. The second and the third may be mentioned first. The catastrophe of the Exile shifted the mental horizon, and made a right view of the story of Abel impossible. Abel was therefore at first (as it would seem from P) neglected. Afterwards, however, he was restored to more than his old position by devout though uncritical students of Scripture, who saw in him the type of the highest saintliness, that sealed by a martyr's death (cp Kohler, *JQR* v. 413 ['93]). The same view appears in parts of the NT (Mt. 23 35 = Lk. 11 51; Heb. 11 4; 12 24; 1 John 3 12). God bore witness, we are told (Heb. 11 4), that Abel was righteous—*i.e.*, a possessor of true faith, and it was by faith that Abel offered πλείονα (Cobet conjectures ἡδίονα) θυσίαν. Hence Magee assumes that Abel had received a revelation of the Atonement (*Atonement and Sacrifice*, i. 50 *f.*). The original narrator (J), however, would certainly wish us to regard Abraham as the first believer; the story of Cain and Abel is an early Israelitish legend retained by J as having a profitable tendency. On this earliest phase of belief, see CAIN, § 4 *f.*

Meaning of the name.—The Massorites understood Abel (Hebel) to mean 'a breath,' 'vanity' (cp Ps. 39 6 [7]); but the true meaning, both of Abel and of the collateral form Jabal, must be something concrete, and a right view of the story favours the meaning 'shepherd,' or, more generally, 'herdman.' This is supported by the existence of a group of Semitic words, some of which denote domesticated animals, while others are the corresponding words for their herdmen. Cp, *e.g.*, Ass. *ibilu*, 'ram, camel, ass' (but some explain 'wild sheep'; see Muss-Arn. *s.v.*); Aram. *halbâlâ*, 'herdman' (used widely; see PS, *s.v.*); Ar. *ibil*, 'camels,' *abbâl*, 'camel-herd.' The attempt of Lenormant (*Les origines*, i. 161) and, more definitely, Sayce (*Hibbert Lects.* 186, 236, 249), to find in the name a trace of a nature-myth, Abel (= Bab. *ablu*, 'son') being originally 'the only son Tammuz, who was a shepherd like Jabal and Abel' (Sayce), and whom Lenormant regards as, like Abel in early theology, a kind of type of Christ, is adventurous. The name 'son' is insufficient as a title of Tammuz (*Abal napšâti*); and there is nothing said of a mourning for Abel's death. The title of 'shepherd' applied to Tammuz in 4 R 27 1 is explained by the following word 'lord' (see Jeremias, *Izdubar Nimrod*, 2). In the *Testament of Abraham* (ed. James) Abel plays the part of Judge of the nether world, like the Jama (Yima) of the Aryans. T. K. C.

ABEL (אָבֵל, §§ 89-100) occurs, apparently in the sense of 'meadow,' in the place-names dealt with in the following six articles. As a place-name it is to be struck out of 1 S. 6 18, where for MT עד אבל הגדולה (so also Pesh.) 𝔊[B] reads ἕως (ἐ. τοῦ [L.] Μίθου τοῦ μεγάλου, with which the Targ. Jon. agrees (so also RV). Ew., We., and others further change the points so as to read: 'and a witness is the great stone.' Dr suggests as an alternative: 'and still the great stone, whereon'—etc. On Abel in 2 S. 20 18, see ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH. G. A. S.

ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH, RV **Abel-Beth-Maacah** (2 S. 20 14: אָבֵלָה וּבֵית מַעֲכָה, 'to Abel and Beth-maacah,' RV 'unto Abel and to Beth-maac(h)ah' (many strike out the conjunction, but the places may have been different; cp 2 S. 20 15 L.,

2 K. 15 29 BAL], εἰς Αβελ καὶ εἰς Βαιθμαχα [B]. . . Βηθμαχα [A], κ. Αβηλα κ. Βαιθμακκω [L]) Cp 2 S. 20 15, בְּאָבֵל בֵּית הַמַּעֲכָה, EV 'in Abel of Beth-maacah(h),' εν Αβελ της Βαιθμαχα [B], εν Α. εν Βηθμαχα [A], εν τη Α. κ. Βαιθμαχαιν [L]; 1 K. 15 20, אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה, Αβελμαθ [B], Αβελ ενεου (sic) Μααχα [A], Αβελμααχα [L]; 2 K. 15 29, אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה, Αβελ κ. της Μαμαχα [B], Καβελ κ. τ. Βηθμαχα [A], Αβελ κ. τ. Βαιθμαχα [L]; 2 S. 20 18 (on which see ARAM, § 5) אָבֵל, EV ABEL, (τη) Αβελ [bis] BAL].

This place, mentioned, although in now mutilated form (A)-bi-il, by Tiglath-pileser III. (cp Schr. *COT* on 2 K. 15 29), is the present *Abil*—called also *Abil el-Kamh* ('of the wheat') to distinguish it from *Abil es-Suk* (see ABILENE) a small village inhabited by Christians on the *Nahr Bareighit*, on a hill 1074 ft. above the sea, overlooking the Jordan valley, almost directly opposite to *Rimmon*, and on the main road thence to Sidon and the coast. It is a strong site, with a spring and a (probably artificial) mound; below is a broad level of good soil, whence the modern name. See Yākūt 1 56; Rob. *LBR* 372 *f.* (who argues against *Ibel el-Hawa*, a site 8 m. farther north); *PEF Mem.* i. 85 107; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 309, 315. In 2 Ch. 16 4, we have, instead of the Abel-beth-maacah of the parallel passage (1 K. 15 20), ABEL-MAIM (אָבֵל מַיִם, Αβελμαιν [A], -μαν [B] -μαειμ [L]; cp Jos. *Ant.* v. 12 4, Αβελανη), or 'Abel of Waters,' a name suitable for so well-watered a neighbourhood. On Judith 4 4 3 where Pesh. reads Abelmeholah, and ℵ apparently Abel-maim, see BELMEN (cp also BEBAI). On the ancient history of the place see ARAM, § 5. G. A. S.

ABEL-CHERAMIM (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים, 'meadow of vineyards,' § 103; εβελχαρμειν [B]; αβελ αμπελωνων [AL]: Judg. 11 33 † RV), the limit of Jephthah's pursuit and slaughter of the Ammonites. Eus. and Jer. (*OS*[2] 225 5 96 13), Ἄβελ ἀμπέλων, *Abel vinearum*) identify it with a village of their day, named Ἄβελ, 7 R. m. from Philadelphia. This Abel may be any of the many fertile levels among the rolling hills around 'Ammān, on which the remains of vineyards and of terraces are not infrequent. G. A. S.

ABEL-MAIM (אָבֵל מַיִם, 2 Ch. 16 4 †), see ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH.

ABEL-MEHOLAH (אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה, *i.e.*, 'dancing meadow'; εβελμαωλα, αβωμεουλα, εβαλμαο [B]; αβελμαουλ(α), βαϲελμεο. [A]; αβελμεουλ(α), -μαωλα [L]; *ABELMI(H)OLA*; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 7, αβελα), the home of Elisha the prophet (1 K. 19 16), and probably also of Adriel b. Barzillai 'the Meholathite' (1 S. 18 19; 2 S. 21 8), is mentioned in conjunction with Bethshean as defining the province of one of Solomon's officers (1 K. 4 12). Gideon pursued the Midianites 'as far as Beth-shittah towards Zererah as far as the border' (lit. 'lip,' probably the high bank which marks the edge of the Jordan valley proper—'of Abel-meholah, by Tabbath' (Judg. 7 22). According to Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 97 11 227 13), Abelmaula (or Ἀβελμαελαί) lay in the *Ghōr*, 10 R. m. to the south of Scythopolis (Bethshean), and was still an inhabited village in their time, with the name Bethaula, Βηθμαελά (though they mention also an *Ab lmeli*, Ἀβελμελεά). This points to a locality at or near the place where the *Wādy Milh*, coming down from 'Ain Milh, joins the Jordan valley.

ABEL-MIZRAIM (אֲבֵל מִצְרַיִם [see below], πενθος αιγυπτου [BAL]; so Pesh. Vg.), Gen. 50 11 † (J), otherwise (v. 10 *f.*) called GOREN HA-ATAD (גֹּרֶן הָאָטָד; αλωνι αταδ [B-ML], α. ταδ [B[a] vid.], α. ατατ [D]) or 'the threshing-floor of the thorn-shrub' (EV 'of ATAD,' see BRAMBLE, 1), and said to be situated 'beyond Jordan' (cp v. 10). It was there that Joseph made a second mourning for his father, whence the

etymological play on the name (v. 11). After this, Joseph and his brethren carried the embalmed body of Jacob to Machpelah for burial, and then returned to Egypt (v. 13 *f.* J and P). The words 'which is beyond Jordan' (v. 10 *f.*), however, cannot be accurate: the original text of J must, it seem, have been altered, owing to a misreading or an editorial misunderstanding. The circuitous route round the north end of the Dead Sea has no obvious motive had it really been meant, something more would have been said about it (cp Nu. 14 25). For הַיַּרְדֵּן, 'the Jordan,' J must have written either יְאוֹר (less probably יִאוֹר) *i.e.*, the most easterly arm of the Nile (a frontier of Canaan, according to Josh. 13 3)—or נָהָר, 'the stream'—*i.e.*, the *Wādy el-'Arish*, the usual SW. boundary of Canaan (cp Gen. 15 18, where J calls this Wady, not the נָהָר but the נְהַר of Egypt—*i.e.*, 'the stream on the border of Egypt' (Kautzsch-Socin), on which see EGYPT, RIVER OF).

The meaning of the narrative is this. At the first Canaanite village (the first after the border had been crossed) the 'great company' (v. 9) halted, while Joseph and his fellow-Hebrews mourned in their own way (cp v. 3*b*) in the very place where wedding and funeral ceremonies are still performed in the Syrian villages (Wetz.). The repetition of 'which is beyond Jordan' must be due to the editor.

It is remarkable that Jer. (*OS* 85 1 *f.*), though he does not question the reading 'beyond Jordan, identifies *Area Atath* with *Bethagla*—*i.e.*, BETH-HOGLAH (q.v.), which is certainly on the *west* bank of the Jordan. Dillm. is more consistently conservative, and, followed by Sayce (*Crit. and Mon.* 27 *f.*), finds in the trans-Jordanic Abel-Mizraim a testimony to the Egyptian empire in Palestine in the pre-Mosaic age, proved by the Amarna tablets. The exegetical difficulties of this view, however, are insuperable.

As to the name Abel-mizraim it is not improbable that its original meaning was 'meadow of Musri' (in N. Arabia, see MIZRAIM), but that before J's time it had come to be understood as meaning 'meadow [on the border] of Egypt.' Cp Wi. *Altor. Forsch.* 34, and see EGYPT, RIVER OF. T. K. C.

ABEL-SHITTIM (אָבֵל הַשִּׁטִּים, § 100, *i.e.*, 'the meadow of the acacias'; Samar. omits the article; αβελ-ϲαττειμ [L], β . . ττιμ [A], -ττειν [F], βελϲα [B]; *ABEL-SATIM*, Num. 33 49), or, more briefly, **Shittim** (הַשִּׁטִּים, 'the acacias, ϲαττειν [BA], -μ [L]; but Nu. 25 1 ϲαττειμ [F], -μ [L]; Josh. 2 1 εκ ϲαττει [A], εξαττειν [F], 3 1 εκαττειν [F]; Mic. 6 5† των ϲχοινων [BAQ] (for ϲχινων? cp Sus. 54); in the Arabah or Jordan basin at the foot of Mount Peor and opposite Jericho. In the time of Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 8 1, v. 1 1) a town named Abila (Ἀβέλη), rich in palm trees, occupied such a site at a distance of 60 stadia (7½ R. m.) from the river. Cp *BJ* iv. 7 6, where it is described as near the Dead Sea, and Jer. (Comm. on Joel), who locates it 6 R. m. from Livias. This seems to point to the neighbourhood of *Khirbet el-Kefrein*, where the Wādy Kefrein enters the Jordan valley, and there are ruins, including those of a fortress. It was at Abila, according to Jos., that Moses delivered the exhortations of Dt. The palm trees have disappeared, but there is an acacia grove at no great distance (Tristram, Conder). According to *RP*[2] v. 50, this is the Aubal or 'Abel' mentioned among the places conquered by Thotmes III.

In Joel 3 [4] 18 שִׁטִּים should perhaps be treated as a common noun and translated 'acacias' (so RV mg., and Marti in *HS*; cp τῶν σχοίνων [BℵAQ]). At all events the reference is not to Abel-shittim across the Jordan. Some (We., Now.) think the name has been preserved in the *Wādy es-Sant* (see ELAH, VALLEY OF), but the latter does not require the watering of which Joel speaks; and he intends, rather, some dry gorge nearer Jerusalem, perhaps (like Ez. 47 1-12) some part of the Kedron valley, *Wādy en-Nār* (cp Dr. *ad loc.*; GASm. *HG* 511; also, for acacias on W. of Dead Sea, Tristr. *Land of Isr.* 280, 298).

ABEZ. RV **Ebez** (אִבֵּץ; ΡΕΒΕΣ [B], ΑΣΜΕ [A], ·ΜΙΣ [L]; *ABES*; Josh. 19 20†),[1] one of the sixteen cities of Issachar. The site is unknown, but the name is evidently connected with that of the judge IBZAN (*q.v.*) of Bethlehem—*i.e.*, the northern Bethlehem. Thus Bethlehem, it is true, is Zebulunite, while Ebez is assigned to Issachar; but the places must have been very close to each other, and the frontiers doubtless varied. Conder's identification with *Ibzîk*, 2 m. from Beit Lahm, might suit as to position, but 'the white village' can have nothing to do with the old name.

W. R. S.

ABI (אֲבִי, so Targ. Jon.; abbrev. of *ABIJAH*, ΑΒΟΥ [BA], ·Ο [L]; Jos. Ἄβια; *ABI*), daughter of Zechariah, wife of King Ahaz, and mother of King Hezekiah (2 K. 18 2†). In the parallel passage (2 Ch. 29 1) the name is given as ABIJAH (אֲבִיָּה. αβια [B: see Swete], αβιαθιθ [A]. αβια [L]; ⟨אבי⟩ [*sic*]; *Abia*), but the probability is perhaps in favour of the contracted form in K. (So Gray, *HPN* 24.)

ABI. Names with. There has been much discussion as to the interpretation of the names compounded with *abi*, *ahi*, and some other words denoting relationship[1] (cp AMMI-, HAMU-, DOD-). Without assuming that this discussion is in all points closed (cp NAMES, § 44) the writer thinks it best to state the theory which he has himself long held, adopting certain points (with acknowledgment) from Gray's very learned and thorough exposition, and then to consider the religious and archæological aspects of the subject.

The question whether these names are sentences has long been answered by some critics in the affirmative, and the arguments of Gray (*HPN* 75-86) put the student in possession of all the points to be urged. He also ably criticises the alternative view (viz., that the two elements in Abimelech, Ammiel, etc., are related as construct and genitive). It is usual to refer on this side to such Phœnician names as אחמלך, in which the term of relation is always fem. in names of women and masc. in those of men. But this is decisive only for Phœnician names, and even in their case only for names in אחי and אחת ('brother' and 'sister'). Compounds with *ab* ('father') are used indifferently of men and women in Phœnician, just as they are in Hebrew. In the latter case, therefore, at least, the term of relation cannot refer to the bearer of the name—*i.e.*, cannot be in the construct state. No doubt in Ps. 110 4 Melchizedek (which suffers, along with other compound names containing a connective *i* [see below, § 3], from the same ambiguity as names containing a term of kinship) is understood as a construct relation, 'king of righteousness,' and the phrase אבי עד—as we should certainly read in Is. 9 5 [6] for אבי עד[2]—obviously means for the writer 'glorious father' (*i.e.*, glorious ruler of the family of Israel; cp Is. 22 21). It would seem, therefore, that in the post-exilic age some names of this type were so understood. But we must remember that in later times the original sense of a formation may be forgotten. Gray's main objections to taking *abi* etc. as originally constructs are as follows: (1) The theory will not account for names like Eliab, Joah, etc. Eliab clearly stands to Abiel as Elijah to Joel; in the latter case the

[1] On some possible but by no means clear instances of *âm*, 'mother,' in compound names, see Gray, *HPN* 4 n. 1.

[2] The interpretation of אבי עד as 'everlasting one' stands or falls with the interpretation of, *e.g.*, Abinoam as 'father of graciousness,' and of Abitub as 'father of goodness.' Though defended by reference to such names by Guthe (*Zukunftsbild des Jes.* 41 [8]), it is now generally rejected in favour of 'perpetual father' (of his people), or 'father (*i.e.* producer) of booty.' But neither of these explanations gives a satisfactory parallel to 'prince of peace.' We must read אבי שר. 'Prince of peace' suggests a reminiscence of Abšalom, which the writer may ably interpreted 'father of peace,' *i.e.*, peaceful (or prosperous) ruler.

genitive relation is excluded; inferentially it is repeatedly so in the former. (2) The use of *ab* with a noun denoting a quality is a pure Arabism[1] which should not be lightly admitted, while such an interpretation as 'father of Yah' for Abijah is unlikely. (3) A woman's name like 'brother of graciousness' (Ahinoam) is more conceivable.[2] In favour of taking the names compounded with a term of relationship as sentences Gray urges that both *ab*, *ah*, *'am*, etc., all denote a male relative, the proper names compounded with them are used indifferently of men and women; while, on the other hand, nouns with *ben* (son) prefixed are used exclusively of men, the corresponding names of women having *bath* (daughter) for *ben*. He infers, therefore, that, while in the case of names in *ben* and *bath* the element denoting kindred refers to the bearer of the name, in the case of *ab* etc. it does not.

3. Which part is predicate? Assuming that these compound names are sentences, are there grounds for determining which of the two elements is subject and which is predicate? (1) In cases like Abijah, Abijah, only the first part can be regarded as indefinite[3] and therefore as predicate. We must, therefore, render 'Yahwe is father,' etc. The same principle would apply to Joab. Joah (if these are really compounds). Quite generally, therefore, whenever one element is a proper name it must be subject.[4] But (2) a divine proper name may give place to שר (*êl*) or some divine title—*e.g.*, Lord. Hence Abiel, Abimelech, will be best explained on the analogy of Abijah, *i.e.*, 'God is father,' 'the divine king is father.' Lastly (3) the divine name or title may give place to an epithet, such as *ram*, 'lofty.' Here the syntax is at first sight open to doubt. The usages of the terms of relationship in the cases just considered would suggest that *ram* in Abi-ram is subject; but the fact that *ram* nowhere occurs by itself designating Yahwé seems to the writer to show that it must be predicate. Abram, therefore, means, not 'the exalted one is father,' but 'the (divine) father is exalted.' Cp ADONIRAM, JEHORAM.

3. Connective *i*. The question whether the connective *i*, which occurs in most of the forms, is the suffix of the first pers. sing., or an old ending, has been variously answered. Should Abinoam, Ahinoam be rendered 'my father (or my brother) is graciousness' (so Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* § 277 *e*), or 'the (divine) father, or brother, is graciousness'? Gray well expounds the reasons for holding the latter view. Thus, there are certain forms in which 'does not occur, *e.g.*, Abram, Abšalom, beside Abiram, Abišalom. We also find Abie' beside Eliab. Lastly, the analogy of יִרְמִיָּהוּ (Jeremiah), יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ (Hezekiah), etc., favours the theory that the names before us contain utterances respecting the relation of a deity to all the members of the tribe or clan which worships him. To some this may appear a slight argument; but to the writer it has long been an influential consideration. An argument on the opposite side offered by Boscawen and Hommel will be considered later (see § 5).

4. Religious conception. It is not easy at first to appreciate, or even to understand, the conception which underlies compound names of this class. The representation of a god as the father of a tribe or clan may be less repulsive to us than the representation of him as a brother or as some other kinsman. Even a prophet does not object to the expression 'sons of the living God' (Hos. 1 10 [2 1]: see the commentators); but any one can see that to substitute some other relation

[1] Is one in *ancient* Arabic (see NAMES, § 45).

[2] Is one in modern Ar. *abu* is so used of a woman (see NAMES, § 45, third note).

[3] This assumes that the connective *i* is not pronominal (see below, § 3).

[4] The same principle will apply to other compounds containing, instead of a term of kinship, a title, *e.g.*, as in MELCHIZEDEK (*q.v.*), ADONIJAH, etc., or a concrete noun, as in URIAH.

for sonship would in such a context be impossible. Names in Abi-, Ammi-, etc., are, in fact, of primitive origin and must be explained in connection with primitive ideas of the kinship of gods and men (see WRS *KS*[2] Lect. 2). Names like Ahitub, Ahinoam, etc., belong to a time when the god was regarded as brother. The question then arises, May we take 'brother' in a wide sense as 'kinsman' or did such formations descend from a remote age when society was polyandrous? Strabo (164) wrote of a polyandrous society in Arabia Felix that 'all are brothers of one' and Robertson Smith (*Kin.* 107 *f.*) was of opinion that far back in the social development of Hebrew life lay a form of fraternal polyandry. Now, supposing that the Hebrews when in this stage conceived themselves to be related to a tribal deity, it is difficult to see under what other form than brotherhood such relationship could be conceived. Of course, if names expressing this conception were coined in later ages, they would receive a vaguer and more satisfactory meaning, such as 'Yahwe is a kinsman,' or 'protector.'[1]

Lastly, to supplement the Hebraistic arguments in § 3, we must briefly consider the argument in favour of the explanation 'My father is peace' for Abishalom, 'My father is graciousness' for Abinoam, etc., based on early Babylonian and S. Arabian names.

5. Relationship individual or tribal?

Boscawen (*Hegration of Abraham*, Victoria Institute, Jan. 1880) long ago pointed out a series of primitive Babylonian names such as Husu-abisu, 'his god is his father,' Husu-abusu, 'his god made him' which—in complete correspondence with the Babylonian penitential psalms, indicate a sense of the relation of a protective god not merely to a clan but to a person; and Hommel, in the interest of a too fascinating historical theory, has more recently given similar lists (*AHT* 71 *ff.*), to which he has added a catalogue of S. Arabian names (*ib.* 83, 85 *f.*) compounded with *ili*, *abi* where these elements appear to mean 'my God,' 'my father,' etc. The present writer, however, must confess that, though aware of the names collected by Boscawen, he has long been of opinion that the course of the development of Israelitish thought and society is entirely adverse to the view that the relation of the deity described by *abi*, *ami*, etc., was primarily to the individual. This is a question of historical method—on which no compromise is possible—and not of Assyriology. We cannot argue that because the Babylonians, even in remote ages, bore names which imply a tendency to individualistic religion, the Israelites also—who, as far as our evidence goes, were much less advanced in all kinds of culture than the early Babylonians—had a similar tendency, and gave expression to it in their names. It is, therefore, wise to use these Babylonian and S. Arabian names, not as suggesting a theory to be followed in interpreting Israelitish names, but as monuments of early attainments of some traces which foreshadow those of the choicest part of the Jewish people at a much more recent period. The value of these names for explaining the formation of Hebrew proper names may be comparatively slight; but they suggest the idea that it was only the want of the higher spiritual prophecy (as known in Israel), as a teaching and purifying agent, and of somewhat different historical circumstances, which prevented the Babylonians from rivalling the attainments in spiritual religion of the later Jewish church. T. K. C.

ABIA (אֲבִיָּה). RV **Abijah**. For 1 Ch. 3 10 Mt 1 7 see ABIJAH, 1; for Lk. 1 5†, *ibid.*, 6.

ABIAH, an English variant of ABIJAH (*q.v.*) in AV of 1 Sam. 8 2 1 Ch 2 24 6 28[13] 7 8, corrected in RV to the more usual form, except in 1 Ch. 2 24 6 28[13].

ABIALBON, the Arbathite (אֲבִיעַלְבֹון הָעַרְבָתִי, § 4.

[1] Cp Barton, 'Kinship of gods and men among the ancient Semites,' *JBL* xv. 168 *ff.*, especially 179 *ff.* (90).

[ΓΑΛ]ΑΒΙΗΛ ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΑΒΩΘΑΙΟΥ [B], ΑΒΙΕΛΒΩΝ Ο ΑΡΩΒΩΘΙΤΗΣ [A], [ΓΑΛ]ΑΒΙΗΛ Ο ΣΑΡΑΙΒΑΗΙ [L]), 2 S. 23 31, the name of one of David's 'thirty,' should in all probability be 'Abiyal a man of Beth-arabah' (see Bu., and partly Klo. and Kt.), the *a'* (ע) in *Abi-albon* being a relic of *Baal* (בַּעַל), and the final syllable *con* a corruption of *Beth* (בֵּית). ⊕[III], it is true, agrees with 1 Ch. 11 32 (אביאל הערבתי, ⊕ A ὁ γαραβαθθι [B], α. ὁ γαραβαθθ [𝔖], α. ὁ σαραβαθθει [V], α. ὁ αραβαθι [L]) in supporting the name ABIAL (see Dr. *HBS* 283); but we know that early names of persons contained the name *baal* as a title of Yahwe (vi.), or later writers would have preferred to see *el* (see ELIADA). T. K. C.

ABIASAPH (אֲבִיאָסָף, § 44, 'the (divine) father gathers' or '(removes' or if the א be not original, see below) 'adds' (cp the popular etymologies of JOSEPH), unless it be supposed that P and the Chronicler adopted an ancient name indeed [GRAY, *HPN* 244], but understood it in the sense 'father of Asaph' [*OTJC*[2] 204 n.]; ΑΒΙΑΣΑΡ [B], -ΣΑΦ [AL]). Ex. 6 24 [P], one of the three sons of Korah, *i.e.* eponym of one of the three divisions of the Korahite guild of Levites, see ASAPH, 3. In 1 Ch. 6 23 [8] (α.διαθαρ [B], -ασαφ [AL], ܐܒܝܐܣܦ [*ii.*], *Abiasaph*), 6 37 [22] (α.διασαρ [BA], -ασαφ [B^mid^b, L], ܐܒܝܐܣܦ; *Abiasaph*), 9 19 (α.διασαφ [BAL], ܐܒܝܐܣܦ, *Asaph*) the name occurs also, without consonantal א as EBIASAPH, אֶבְיָסָף (Samar. text omits א in Ex. 6 24), which name ought to be read for that of ASAPH also in 1 Ch. 26 1 (אָסָף; α.διασαφαρ [B], ασαφ [AL], ܐܒܝܐܣܦ, *Asaph*).

ABIATHAR (אֶבְיָתָר, § 44, *i.e.*, 'the (divine) father is pre-eminent'; cp ELIHELEM; ΑΒΙΑΘΑΡ [BKAL]; in 1 Ch. 18 16, ΑΒΙΕΑΘΕΡ [K*]; ΑΒΙΑΘΑΡΟΣ, Jos. [*Ant.* vi. 146]), the son of Ahimelech and descendant of Eli; the priestly guild or clan to which he belonged seems to have claimed to trace back its origin through Phinehas and Eliezer to Moses [illegible] early tradition (Ex. 3 47, 1 1), guards the sanctuary of Yahwè and delivers his oracles. It was Abiathar's father, Ahimelech, who officiated as chief priest in the sanctuary of Nob when David came thither, fleeing from the jealous fury of Saul. Having no other bread at hand, Ahimelech gave the fugitives the holy loaves from the sanctuary. One of the royal couriers, however (see 1 S. 21 7 [8], with Dr.'s note), saw the act, and betrayed Ahimelech to Saul, who forthwith put the priests to death. No less than eighty-five (according to MT)[1] fell by Doeg's hands, and of the whole number Abiathar alone escaped.

It may be inferred from 1 S. 22 15 that David had before this contracted friendship and alliance with the house of Eli, and we can readily believe that, just as Samuel marked out Saul as the destined leader of Israel, so the priests at Nob, noting the tendency of the king to melancholy madness, and his inability to cope with the difficulties of his position, selected David as the future king and gave a religious sanction to his prospective claims (cp DAVID, § 3). Certain it is that the massacre of the priests at Nob told strongly in David's favour. The odium of sacrilegious slaughter clung to Saul, while David won the prestige of close friendship with a great priestly house. Henceforth David was the patron of Abiathar, and Abiathar was bound fast to the interests of David—'Abide thou with me,' said the warrior to the priest, 'for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life' (1 S. 22 23). Moreover, Abiathar carried the ephod or sacred image into the camp of David: it was in the presence of this image that the lot was cast and answers were obtained from Yahwè: nor does it need much imagination to understand the strength infused into David's band by the confidence that they enjoyed supernatural direction in

[1] See DAVID, § 3 n.

their perplexities. Abiathar was faithful to David through every change of fortune. It was with the sanction of the sacred oracle that David settled at Hebron and his ame king of Judah (2 S 2 [illegible]), and it was Abiathar who carried the ark, that palladium of Israel, [illegible] David used to consecrate Jerusalem, the capital of his united kingdom (1 K 2 [illegible]). Abiathar maintained his sacerdotal dignity amidst the splendour of the new court, though later (we do not know when) others were [illegible] to the list of the royal chaplains, viz., Zadok, of whose origin we have no certain information, and Ira, from the Manassite clan of Jair,[1] while David's sons [illegible] officiated as priests (2 S 8 17 f. 20 26). Zadok and Abiathar both continued faithful to their master [illegible] Absalom's revolt, and by means of their sons conveyed secret intelligence to the king after he had left the city.

When David was near his end, Abiathar along with Joab supported the claim of Adonijah to the throne, and consequently incurred the enmity of Solomon the younger but successful aspirant. Solomon spared Abiathar's life, remembering how long and how faithfully he had served David. But he was banished from the court to Anathoth, his native place, and Zadok, who had chosen [illegible] winning [illegible] of priests in his stead. To the men of the time, or even long after the time at which it happened, such a proceeding needed no explanation. It was quite in order that the king should place or displace the priests at the royal sanctuary. But in a later age the writer of 1 S. 2 27–36,[2] who lived after the publication of D, did not think it so light a matter that the house of Eli should be deprived, at a monarch's arbitrary bidding, of the priesthood which they had held by immemorial right. Therefore, he attributes the forfeiture to the guilt of Eli's sons. A 'man of God,' he says, had told Eli himself of the punishment waiting for his descendants, and had announced Yahwe's purpose to substitute another priestly line which was to officiate before God's 'anointed'—*i.e.*, in the royal presence. A late gloss inserted in 1 K. 2 27 calls attention to the fulfilment of this prediction.

A special point which has occasioned some difficulty remains to be noticed. In 2 S. 8 17 [MT ⲅ[illegible] and Vg.] and 1 Ch. 18 16 [*ib.* and Peshitta; MT, however, reading ABIMELECH], instead of Abiathar b. Ahimelech it is Ahimelech b. Abiathar that is mentioned as priest along with Zadok. In 1 Ch. 24 6 31 as well, MT has this reading, in 1. 6 also ⲅ[illegible] Pesh.—except that ⲅ[illegible] reads *viol*; in *vv.* 3 these versions all read 'Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar,' while in *vv.* 31 MT ⲅ[illegible] Vg. omit the phrase 'b. Abiathar, and Pesh. the whole passage. It is reasonable to suppose that this confusion is due to an early corruption of the text, and that in 2 S. 8 17 we should read with the Pesh. 'Abiathar b. Ahimelech' (so The. *ad loc.*; Baudissin, *AT Priesterthum*, 195; Dr. *ad loc.*). The Chronicler, however, must have had 2 S. 8 17 before him in its present corrupt form. In Mk. 2 26, by a similar confusion, David is said to have gone into the house of God and received the shewbread 'when Abiathar was high-priest.' In reporting our Lord's words the evangelist has confused Abiathar with Ahimelech, a mistake into which he was led by the constant association of David's name with that of Abiathar. Suggestions made to evade the difficulty—*e.g.*, that father and son each bore the same double name, or that Abiathar officiated during his father's lifetime and in his father's stead—are interesting when we remember the great names which have supported them, but are manifestly baseless (see ZADOK, 1). See Bu. *Ri Sa* 105 *f.*

W. E. A.

ABIB אָבִיב, *i.e.*, '[month of] young ears of barley'). See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

[1] See, however, IRA, 1, where a Judahite origin is suggested.
[2] The section in its present form is from the school of the Deuteronomist. But the expression 'walk before my anointed' [illegible]

ABIDA, and (AV in Gen.) **Abidah** אֲבִידָע. § 41. 'the (divine) father knowth' (cp [illegible]), Jehoiada; ΑΒΙΔΑ [BAL], ΑΒΙΡΑ [VA], ΑΒΙΑ [L], ΑΒΙΑΔΑ [L] [illegible] and grandson of Abraham by Keturah (Gen 25 4 1 Ch. 1 33). Unexplained, as yet, except that the same name occurs in Sab. inscriptions (אביע, cp also אביע, Hal. 193, 202, et al.).

ABIDAN אֲבִידָן § 44. 'the (divine) [illegible]', cp Daniel; ΑΒΙΔΑΝ [BAL], *Ex.* 2 [illegible], chief of Benjamin in the time of Moses (Nu 1 11 2 22 7 60 10 24). On the age of the name see Gray, *HPN* 202, 244. Possibly P had a consciousness that [illegible] was archaic (cp DAN, § 1), and therefore suitable in the name of a tribal chief at the time of the Exodus. To infer with Hommel (*AHT* 203 [illegible]) from such a name as Abidan that P's record is itself ancient, is critically unjustifiable. P also gives the names SHAMMUA and SHIMEAN [illegible]

ABIEL אֲבִיאֵל. §§ 4, 44. 'God is father' of the clan?); ΑΒΙΕΛ [BAL].

1. Father of Ner and Kish (1 S 9 1, also 14 51, [illegible] [iii]); see ALSO.

2. One of David's thirty mighty men (1 Ch. 11 32); see ABIALBON.

ABIEZER. AV **Abi ezer** אֲבִיעֶזֶר § 44. 'the (divine) father is help,' cp Abiezer; ΑΒΙΕΖΕΡ [BAL]; Jos. 17 2, 6 34 et al.

1. The clan from which Gideon sprang belonged to the Gileadite branch of the tribe of Manasseh. In Gideon's time its seat was at Ophrah (Judg. 6 24), an unidentified site, but apparently on the west side of Jordan. It is probable that the first settlements of the Manassites lay to the west of that river, but the date at which their conquests were extended to the eastward is not known (Josh 17 2 ιεζει [B], αχιεζερ [A], α. ιεζερ [L]; Judg. 6 11 24). In Nu. 26 30 the name Abiezer appears, not as in the parallel 1 Ch. 7 18, but in an abbreviated form as IEZER (איעזר, AV JEEZER, αχιεζερ [BAL]), and the gentile as IEZERITE (איעזרי, AV JEEZERITE, ὁ αχιεζειρει [B], -ζερι [AL]). In 1 Ch. 7 18 Abiezer finds a place in the Manassite genealogy as son of Hammolecheth the sister of Machir b. Manasseh. The patronymic ABI-EZRITE AV, ABI-EZRITE RV (אבי עזרי), occurs in Judg. 6 11 24 (πατρὸς τοῦ εσδρει [B], π. αβιεζρι, π. τ. ιεζρι [A]; π.(τ.) εζρει [L]) and (perhaps as a gloss, see Moore, *ad loc.*) 8 32 (αβιεσδρι [B], πρὸς αβιεζρει [A], πατρὸς α. [L]).

2. Of Anathoth, one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 27, αβιεζερ [B]; 1 Ch. 11 28 27 12), see DAVID, § 11 (*a*) i.

ABIGAIL (usually אֲבִיגַיִל, but אבוגיל in 1 S. 25 18 Kt., and אֲבִיגַל in 1 S. 25 32, 2 S. 3 3 Kt., and [so RV ABIGAL] in 17 25; and, perhaps with י and ו transposed, אֲבִיגָיִל in 1 S. 25 336; possibly we should point אֲבִיגַיִל, § 45; so oftenest [illegible], sometimes [illegible]; cp BDB *Lex.* s.v.; ΑΒΙΓΑΙΑ [BAL], but in 1 S. 25 3 ΑΒΙΓΑΙΑ [A]; meaning uncertain; 'Abi' is a divine title (see NAMES, § 44, and cp *HPN* 77 [illegible]).

1. Wife of NABAL (*q.v.*), and, after his death, of David (1 S 25). Her tactful speech against the causeless shedding of blood (1 S. 25 22–31) is now [illegible] in the history of Israelitish morality. Like Ahinoam, she was accompanied David to Gath and Ziklag, and was taken captive by the Amalekites, but was recovered by David (1 S 27 30 5 18). While at Hebron she bore David a son (see DANIEL, 4).

2. A sister of David, who married Jether or Ithra, and became the mother of Amasa, 2 S 17 25 (see above), 1 Ch. 2 16 17. In MT of the former passage, her father

[1] B omits Abigail in *v.* 16, and BA read ἀδ[illegible] for ἀδελφαί of L.

is called Nahash (an error also found in $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$, and clearly produced by the proximity of that name in v. 27; $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ gives the correct reading, 'Jesse,' ιεσσαι), and her husband is called 'the Israelite' (so MT; ισραηλιτης [B], [illegible]), which, however, seems to be a corruption from 'the Jezreelite' (ιεζραηλιτης [L], *de Iezrahel* [ed. Rom.], *de Hiezrahel* [cod. Amiat.]), just as Ahinoam the Jezreelitess' (1 S. 27 3) becomes in B αχεινααν η ισραηλιτις. It is true, in 1 Ch. 2 17 Ether is called an 'Ishmaelite' (ισραηλειτης [BA], *ismaheliteo*, but this is plainly a conjectural emendation of 'the Israelite' (G: indeed his ισρα; Peshi. om.). In 2 S. 17 25 the same emendation appears in $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ (ισμα.). David's sister was not likely to marry an Ishmaelite. Heyse wonders to what town Jerome's reading can refer. We can easily answer the question. It was the Jezreel situated in Judah (Josh. 15 56), from which not only David's brother-in-law but also his first wife Ahinoam probably came (so Marq. *Fund.* 24; see JEZREEL, i. 2). T. K. C.

ABIGAL (אביגל), 2 S. 17 25 RV[1]. See ABIGAIL, 2.

ABIHAIL (אביחיל, § 45, 'the (divine) father is strength,' cp Sab. אבחיל and the S. Arabian woman's name, Ilihail [Hommel, *AHT* 320]; written אביחיל [Gi. Bu.] in 2 and 4, Hommel in the Ebers Festschrift, 20; cp *AHT* 320 compares the same name with ה in S. Arabian inscriptions from Ghazzat (Gaza); but אביחיל is supported by $\mathfrak{G}$: αβ[ε]ιχαιλ [BAL] [illegible], *Abihahil*, *Abihail*)

1. Father of ZURIEL (Nu. 3 35†), αβιχαιλ[1] [F].
2. Wife of Abishur the Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 29† אביחיל [Gi. Bu.]; αβιεχαια[1] [B], αβιγ. [A], αβιηλ [L]).
3. A Gadite (1 Ch. 5 14†, αβ[ε]ιχαια [BA], αβιηλ [L]).
4. Daughter of Eliab, David's brother, and wife of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 18†, אביחיל [Gi. Bu.], βαιαν [B], αβ. [Bus. vid.], αβιαιαλ [A], τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ [L], who reads אביחיל בת אליאב).
5. Father of Esther, whose name however is given as Aminadab by $\mathfrak{G}$ (Esth. 2 15 9 29†, αμ[ε]ιναδαβ [BNALβ], and -δαι [N]).

ABIHU (אביהוא, § 44, 'my father is he'; αβιουδ [BAL], *i.e. Abihud*,[2] αβιουρ [A in Ex. 6 23], [illegible]). See NADAB AND ABIHU.

ABIHUD (אביהוד, § 45, 'the (divine) father is glory,' a name probably appearing in contracted form in Eliud [illegible] and in cp Ammihud, Ishhod, as also אבי הוד [*Abi hud*], an almost certain correction of אבי עד [EV 'everlasting father'] in Is. 9 5, which, however, is to be treated as an Arabic *kunya*, 'father of glory' [Che. 'Isaiah,' in *SBOT*]; αβιουδ[3] [BAL]; [illegible]; 16 1 9, a Benjamite (1 Ch. 8 3†).

ABIJAH (אביה, אביהו, § 44, 'Yahwè is father', on names ending in יָהּ, יָהוּ, see NAMES, § 24; αβ[ε]ια [BAL])

1. Son of Rehoboam by a 'daughter of Absalom' (see MAACAH, 3), and for three years king of Judah (somewhere about 900 B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 32). The writer of the 'epitome' in Kings (see DR *Introd.* 178) only tells us (1 K. 15 1-8)[4] that he continued his father's war against Israel, and that he 'walked in all the sins of his father;' and, since the first of these notices is very possibly due to an interpolator, we may confine our attention to the second. Why then does the epitomist take this unfavourable view of Abijah? As Stade points out, he must have read in the Annals of the kings of Judah statements respecting this king which, if judged by the standard of his later day, involved impiety, such as that Abijah, unlike his son Asa, tolerated foreign worships. It is surprising to find that the Chronicler (2 Ch. 13) draws a highly edifying portrait of Abijah, whom he represents as delivering an earnest address to Jeroboam's army (for 'there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam') on the sin of rebellion and schism, and as gaining a great victory over the Israelites, because he and his people 'relied on Yahwè the God of their fathers.' This, however, is a late Midrash, and has no historical value. The Chronicler (or his authority) wished to emphasize the value of the true ritual, and did this by introducing an artificial episode into an empty reign. Cp Bennett, *Chron.* 326 *ff.* (Pesh. always [illegible]; Jos. αβιας: in 1 K. 14 31 15 1 *ff.*, MT has five times the corrupt reading אבים ABIJAM,[1] αβιου[2] [BA], -ια [L].)

2. A son of Jeroboam I., king of Israel, who died in his father's lifetime.[3] The account of his illness is given in 1 K. 14 1-18 (MT $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$), and in another recension in $\mathfrak{G}^{LU}$ immediately after the narrative of Jeroboam's return from Egypt on the death of Solomon (3 K. 12 24 *g ff.* Swete, 13 1-13 [L]). If we accept the former version as original, we are bound to bring it down to the age which was under the influence of Dt., for the prophecy in 1 K. 14 15 16 is in tone and phraseology closely akin to similar predictions in 16 1-4, 21 20-24. 2 K. 9 7-10, the Deuteronomistic affinities of which are unmistakable. Nor is it possible to simplify the narrative without violence. The $\mathfrak{G}^{LU}$ version, on the other hand, can, without arbitrariness, be brought into a simple and very natural form. Jeroboam is not yet king. His wife, not being queen, has no occasion to disguise herself, and Ahijah simply predicts the death of the sick child, without any reference to sins of Jeroboam which required this punishment. The writers who supplemented and expanded the older narrative were men of Judah; the original story, however, is presumably Israelitish. (See Kue. *Find.* 25; St. *GVI* i. 350 n.; Wi. *ATUnters.* 12 *ff.*) Cp JEROBOAM, *i.*

3. A Benjamite, 1 Ch. 7 8† (AV ABIAH; αβιουδ [B], -ου [A]).
4. Wife of Hezron, 1 Ch. 2 24† (EV 'Abiah').
5. Son of the prophet Samuel, 1 S. 8 2 (AV ABIAH; αβηρα [B]), 1 Ch. 6 28 (33)† (EV ABIAH).
6. The eighth of the twenty-four courses of PRIESTS (*q.v.*), that to which Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, belonged, 1 Ch. 24 10 (AV ABIJAH); Lk. 1 5† (AV ABIA).
7. Mother of King Hezekiah, 2 Ch. 29 1. See ABI.
8. Priest in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6δ), Neh. 12 4 (αβιας [L], 17 [B om. τῶν]); perhaps No. 6.
9. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 7 [8].

T. K. C.—W. L. A.

ABIJAM (אבים), 1 K. 14 *f.*† See ABIJAH, 1.

ABILENE (αβειληνη [BA; W. and H.], αβιλ. [N[1]; L.]), given in Lk. 3 1 as the tetrarchy of Lysanias, at the time when Christ's ministry began, was a territory round Abila (αβιλα), a town of some importance in Antilibanus, and known to both Josephus and Ptolemy as Abila of Lysanias (Ἄ. ἡ Λυσανίου), to distinguish it from others of the same name, especially Abila of the DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*). The Antonine and Peutinger Itineraries place it 18 R. m. from Damascus on the way to Heliopolis or Baalbek, which agrees with that portion of the gorge of the Abana in which the present village, Suk Wady Barada, lies. Nowhere are there remains of a large temple on the precipitous height to the E. of the village, with ancient aqueducts and a Roman road.

1. A mere scribal error, A for Λ; so invariably in the case of Λυσανιου.
2. AV: EV: αβιου (i.e. אבי יו) 5 times for Abijam. See ABIJAH, 1.
3. In $\mathfrak{G}$ Abijah is regularly substituted for Abijam in MT (see Lucian [AL]). See Abijam.
4. Accordingly 1 Kings 14 1 *ff.* should run thus: 'At that time Abijah the son of Jeroboam was sick. And Jeroboam said unto his wife, Arise, I pray thee, and disguise thyself, that thou be not known to be the wife of Jeroboam, and go to Shiloh: behold, there is Ahijah the prophet, which told me that I should be king over this people. So the wife of Jeroboam did so, and arose and went to Shiloh, and came to the house of Ahijah. But Ahijah could not see; for his eyes were set by reason of his age. And the LORD said unto Ahijah, Behold, the wife of Jeroboam cometh to ask of thee concerning her son; for he is sick: thou shalt speak unto her thus and thus: for it shall be, when she cometh, she will feign herself to be another woman. And it came to pass, when she came in, that she said, I am the wife of Jeroboam. Then said Ahijah, Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam; why feignest thou thyself to be another? I am sent unto thee with a grievous message. Go, tell Jeroboam, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Because I exalted thee from among the people, and made thee prince over my people Israel, and rent the kingdom away from the house of David, and gave it unto thee; and thou hast not been as my servant David, who kept my commandments, and followed me with all his heart, to do that only which was right in my eyes; but hast done evil above all that were before thee, and hast gone and made thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke me to anger, and hast cast me behind thy back: therefore, behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam every male, bond and free, in Israel, and will make a clean riddance of the house of Jeroboam, as a man taketh away dung, till it be all gone. Him that belongeth to Jeroboam shall the dogs eat in the city, and the fowls of the heaven shall eat of those that belong to him in the field: for the LORD hath spoken it. Arise thou therefore, go home: when thy feet enter into the city, the child shall die. And all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him: for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing towards the LORD God of Israel in the house of Jeroboam. Moreover the LORD shall raise him a king over Israel, who shall cut off the house of Jeroboam in that day: but what? even now. For the LORD shall smite Israel, as a reed is shaken in the water, and he shall root up Israel out of this good land, which he gave unto their fathers, and shall scatter them beyond the River, because they have provoked the LORD to anger. And he shall give Israel up because of the sins of Jeroboam, who did sin, and who made Israel to sin.' Cp Bennett, *Chron.* 326 *ff.*

1. It is defended, however, by Justinus, *JHS* xiii. 114 (94).
2. אבי יו, see ABIJAH.
3. Josephus calls this son [illegible] (viii. 11).

tombs and other ruins on both sides of the river, but inscriptions have been discovered, one of which records the making of the road by 'a freedman of Lysanias the tetrarch,' and another its repair 'at the expense of the Abilenians.' Moreover, a Moslem legend places on the temple height the tomb of Abel or Neby Habil, doubtless a confused memory of the ancient name of Abila, which probably meant 'meadow' (cp ABEL, ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH). The place was, in fact, still called *Abil es-Suk* by Arabic geographers (Yâkût, i. 74; *Marâsid*, i. 4). The site is, therefore, [illegible] *BW* 470 *ff.* and Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 2[illegible] *ff.*, [illegible] re there is a plan of the gorge [illegible] the political [illegible]tions of Abilene, see LYSANIAS. A. S.

ABIMAEL (אבימאל [illegible] read is a father' cp Sab. name אבמעתתר, 'a father is [illegible]' [עשתר]. Hal. *Mél.*; *ZDMG*, xxxvii. 18 '83', and see JEKATHMELEL, 1 n. 1; ΑΒΙΜΕΗΛ [AL.]; B om. or wanting), a descendant of JOKTAN (Gen. 10 28; ΑΒΙΜΕΛΕΗΛ [E]; 1 Ch. 1 22 f, ΜΕΕΙΛ [L]). Tribal connection uncertain, but see Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 426.

ABIMELECH (אבימלך; ΑΒΙ[Ε]ΙΜΕΛΕΧ [BAL], -ΛΕΚ [B* Judg. 9 28], *i.e.*, most probably, 'Melech (Milk), the divine king, is father.' Abimilki and Ahimilki occur as names of princes of Arvad in the Annals of Aššurbanipal (*KB* ii 172 *f.*); the former name, which is evidently Canaanitish, also belongs to the Egyptian governor of Tyre in the Amarna tablets.

1. A Philistine, king of GERAR (see below), Gen. 26 1 7-11 16, who, according to a folk story in J, took Rebekah to be Isaac's sister, and reproved Isaac for having caused this mistake, and so very nearly brought guilt upon the Philistines. The same tradition is preserved in E (Gen. 20), but without the anachronistic reference to the Philistines. The persons concerned are Abimelech, king of Gerar, Abraham, and Sarah. The details are here much fuller, and the differences from J's narrative are striking. There is reason, however, to think that the narrative of E in its original form made no mention of Gerar. In this case the principality of Abimelech was described by E simply as being 'between Kadesh and Shur' (omitting the following words). In J's account (Gen. 26) there are traces of a confusion between two Gerars, the more southerly of which (the true seat of Abimelech's principality) was probably in the N. Arabian land of Musri (for particulars on this region see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*]). J's account also refers to disputes between the herdsmen of Abimelech and those of Isaac about wells, which were terminated by a covenant between Isaac and Abimelech at Beersheba (Gen. 26 17 19-33). The Elohistic form of this tradition passes lightly over the disputes, and lays the chief stress on the deference shown to Abraham by Abimelech when the oaths of friendship were exchanged. The scene of the treaty is, as in J, Beersheba (Gen. 21 22-32 *a*). On Ps. 34, title, see ACHISH. T. K. C.

2. Son of Jerubbaal (Gideon). His history, as related in Judg. 9, is of very great value for the light which it throws on the relations between the Israelites and the older population of the land in this early period. His mother was a Shechemite, and [illegible] h[illegible] father's death he succeeded, through his mother's kinsmen, in persuading the Canaanite inhabitants of Shechem to submit to his rule rather than to that of the seventy sons of Jerubbaal. With silver from the temple treasure of BAAL-BERITH (*q.v.*) he hired a band of bravos and slaughtered his brothers, [illegible] Jotham, the youngest, alone escaping, and was acclaimed king by the people of Shechem and Beth-millo, at the sacred tree near Shechem. From a safe height on Mt Gerizim, Jotham cried in the ears of the assembly his fable of the trees who went about to make them a king (see JOTHAM, 1), and predicted that the partners in the crime against Jerubbaal's house would destroy each other, a prophecy which was signally fulfilled. After a short time (three years, *v.* 22), the Shechemites rose against Abimelech. Of the way in which this came about, and of Abimelech's vengeance, the chapter contains two accounts. According to the [illegible] of the [illegible] (*vv.* 23-25, 42-45), an evil spirit from Yahwe sows dis[illegible] between the Shechemites and Abimelech, who takes the city by a stratagem and totally destroys it. According to the other account (*vv.* 26-41), the insurrection is fomented by a certain Gaal b. Obed (see GAAL, § 1) who shrewdly appeals to the pride of the o[illegible] Shechem[illegible] aristocracy against the Israelite half-breed. Abimelech[1] Abimelech, apprised of the situation by Zebul, [illegible] lieutenant in the city, marches against it; Gaal, at the head of the Shechemites, goes out to meet him, but is beaten and driven back into the city, from which he with his partizans, is expelled by Zebul (on this episode, cp GAAL). Abimelech, carrying the w[illegible] other p[illegible]es[2] which had taken part in the revolt, destroys Migdal-Shechem (*vv.* 46-49, sequel of [illegible]). While leading the assault upon Thebez he is mortally hurt by a mill-stone which a woman throws from the w[illegible] To save himself from the disgrace of dying by a woman's hand, he calls on his armour-bearer to despatch him (*vv.* 50-55; cp 1 S. 31 4).

Many recent scholars gather from the story of Abimelech that Israel was already feeling its way towards a stronger and more stable form of government. Jerubbaal, it is said, was really king at Ophrah as appears from Judg. 9 2;[3] his son Abimelech reigned not only over the Canaanites of Shechem, but o[illegible] Israelites also (*v.* 55). A short-lived Manasseh kingdom thus preceded the Benjamite kingdom of Saul (We., St., Kit.). This theory rests, however, on very insecure foundations. That Jerubbaal's power descended, if Abimelech's representation is true, to his [illegible] sons (9 2), not to one chosen successor among them, does not prove that he was king, but rather the opposite. Abimelech was king of Shechem, to whose Canaanite people the city-kingdom was a familiar form of government; that he ruled in that name over Israelite towns or clans is not intimated in the narrative, and is by no means a necessary inference from the fact that he had Israelites at his back in his effort to suppress the revolt of the Canaanite cities (9 55). Cp GIDEON. G. F. M.

3. 1 Ch. 18 16. A scribe's error for AHIMELECH. See ABIATHAR (end).

ABINADAB (אבינדב, 'my father apportions,' see NAMES, §§ 44, 46, or 'the father (*i.e.*, god of the clan) is munificent,' cp Jehonadab; ΑΜ[Ε]ΙΝΑΔΑΒ [BN.A], ΑΒΙΝ. [L]).

1. David's second brother, son of Jesse; 1 S. 16 8 17 13, also 1 Ch. 2 13 (αμιν. [L]). See DAVID, § 1 (*a*).

2. Son of Saul, slain upon Mt. Gilboa, according to 1 S. 31 2. The name Abinadab, however, is not given in the list in 1 S. 14 49. There may have been a mistake; Jesse's second son was named Abinadab. So Marq. *Fund.* 25 (ιωναδαβ [B] *i.e.*, JONADAB [*q.v.* 3]; 1 Ch. 8 33 9 39; also 1 Ch. 10 2 (αμεριναδαβ [B^b vid.], αμιν. [L]).

3. Of Kirjath-jearim, in whose house the ark is said to have been kept for twenty years (1 S. 7 1 *f.* 2 S. 6 1 *f.* 1 Ch. 13 7). See ARK, § 5.

4. 1 K. 4 11, see BEN-ABINADAB.

ABINER (אבנר), 1 S. 14 50 *f*, AV mg. See ABNER.

[1] Judg. 9 28: 'Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should be subject to him? Were not the son of Jerubbaal, and Zebul his lieutenant, subjects of Hamor (the blue blood of Shechem)? Why should *we* be subject to him?' [illegible] interpretations and emendations of this much-vexed vers[illegible] Moore, *Judges*, 257.

[2] On the statement (Judg. 9 22) that 'Abimelech ruled over Israel three years,' see Moore, *Judges*, 25[illegible]. [illegible] 22 *f.* is considered under GIDEON. Cp also Moore, *Judges*, 229 *f.*

ABINOAM (אֲבִינֹעַם, § 45, 'the (divine) father is pleasantness,' cp Abinoam [Hur-ram]), αβιεινεαμ [BAL], ιαβιν, [A in Judg 4 12], ABIN [A in Judg 5 12] father of Barak (Judg. 4 12 5 12†).

ABIRAM (אֲבִירָם, § 44 —*i.e.*, 'the Father is the High One,' cp Abi, NAMES WITH, § 2; αβειρων [BA], αβηρ, [L]; אבי[ר]קם; *ABIKAM*), another form of Abu-ram, which (Abu-ramu) is a well-attested Babylonian and Assyrian name (it occurs, *e.g.*, in a contract-tablet of the time of Abil-sin, 2324-2300 B.C., and in the Assyrian eponym-canon under B.C. 677).[1] The second element in the name (-ram) is a divine title (cp Ῥαμας ὁ ὕψιστος θεός, Hesych.), but is also used, in the plur., of all heavenly beings (Job 21 22). Parallel Hebrew names are Ahi-ram, Adoni-ram, Jeho-ram, Malchi-ram (see also ABRAM). Abiramu is the name of a petty Babylonian king under Asur-nasir-pal, and Malk-ram-mu that of a king of Edom in the time of Sennacherib (*OLZ* 1 95, 2 511).

1. A fellow conspirator of DATHAN (*q.v.*). Nu 16 (αβιρων [A once] αβιρ, [F twice]), 26 11 Ps. 106 17 and (AV ABIRON) Ecclus. 45 18, 4 Macc. 2 17 † (αβηρων [V]).

2. Eldest son of Hiel the Bethelite, who died when his father laid the foundation of Jericho anew, 1 K. 16 34† (*ABIRAM*; L om. verses, cp Josh 6 26, Θ M. See HIEL.

T. K. C.

ABIRON (אבירם), Ecclus. 45 18† AV. See ABIRAM, 1.

ABISEI (*ABISSEI* etc.), 4 Esd. 1 2†. See ABISHUA, 2.

ABISHAG (אֲבִישַׁג, § 45, meaning obscure; αβεισα [B], αβισαρ [A], -σακ [L]; אבי[ש]ג; *ABISAG*) the Shunammite, David's concubine (1 K. 1 1-4), afterwards sought in marriage (2 13 *ff.*) by ADONIJAH, 1.

ABISHAI (אֲבִישַׁי, § 45, written אבשי[2] in 2 S. 10 10 and always [five times] in Ch., where moreover A omits final ι; meaning doubtful, cp JESSE, AMASA and for Lag.'s view see ABNER; αβεισα [BN, A once αβισαι [A], -αει [A three times], αβεσσα [L, a'so [illegible] times B, and three times A], -βισσ- [A, 1 Ch. 2 16], ασαι [A, 2 S. 3 30], αμεσσα [L, 2 S. 20 6]), the brother of Joab, is mentioned immediately after the 'first three' and at the head of 'the thirty' in the list of David's worthies (2 S. 23 18 *ff.*; 1 Ch. 11 20 *ff.*; reading 'thirty' for 'three' with *SIBOT* etc., after Pesh.). He was one of David's close associates during his outlawry, and was his companion in the visit to Saul's camp on the hill of Hachilah (1 S. 26 6). He was faithful to him in Absalom's rebellion (2 S. 16 9), commanded a third part of the army (2 S. 18 2), saved David's life when it was threatened by a Philistine (2 S. 21 16 17), and, according to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 18 12), slew 18,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt (but see JOAB, 1).

ABISHALOM (אֲבִישָׁלוֹם), 1 K. 15 2 10†. See ABSALOM, 1.

ABISHUA (אֲבִישׁוּעַ, § 44, for view of Lag. see ABNER 'the (divine) father is opulence'? cp MALCHISHUA, and *Abi-Ešu'a*, Wi. *GI* 130 n. 3. See also Hom. *AHT* 103 n. 209 n. 1, *ZDMG* [illegible] 525 [illegible]).

1. A son of BELA (*q.v.*), 1 Ch. 8 4 (αβεισαμας[3] [B], αβιτοε [AL], אבי[ש]הוד; *ABISHUD*).

2. [illegible] Ezra, Aksum (1 Ch. 6 4 *f.* [5 30 *f.*]), [illegible] (αβισαι, αβιουι [BA], αβιουδ, -ισουα [L] Ezra 7 5, [illegible]).

[1] See Hommel, *ZA* 2 [illegible] [illegible] Sayce, *CO* ii 18[illegible]

[2] [illegible] Mr. [illegible] compare the name with Abi-ha, the Arabian form of the name of the Arabian god Ya'uq, represented on a famous wall-painting at Beni-Hasan. But satisfactory evidence is wanting. See JOSEPH, 1, § 10, and cp WMM, *Asien u. Europa* 36 n. 2. Hommel (*AHT* 53) connects Abisha or Elishu'a with Abishua.

[3] This presupposes אֲבִישַׁמּוּעַ, a name for which there is no parallel in the OT, cp SAMSON, SHEMSHAI.

αβ[ε]ισουε [BAL] = 1 Esd. 8 2, ABISUM [AV], *i.e.*, αβισουμ [243, 248], RV ABISUE (αβεισαι [B], αβισουαι [A], αβισουε [L]). Called ABISEI in 4 Esd. 1 2† (*Abissei* [ed. Bensly], *Abisaei* [ed. Amb.]).

ABISHUR (אֲבִישׁוּר, § 44, 'the (divine) father is (as) a wall'? cp Sab. אביסור, Assyr. *Abi-šuru*; αβ[ε]ισουρ [BA], αβιαϲ, [L]; אבי[ש]ור), b. Shammai the Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 28 *f.*†). Derenbourg (*REJ*, 1880, p. 58) gives אבשיר as a Himyaritic divine title (Hal. 148, 5). But the second part of Abi-shur may be a corruption of שחר; cp ABISHAHAR.

ABISUM, RV **Abisue** (αβισουμ [243 etc.]), 1 Esd. 8 2† Ezr. 7 5, ABISHUA, 2.

ABITAL (אֲבִיטַל, § 45, 'my father is dew'? cp HAMUTAL; but should not these names be Abitub [אביטב], Hamutub [cp AHITUB]? A name compounded with טל seems very improbable. ל and ב might be confounded in Palmyrene characters; *ABITAB*); wife of David, mother of Shephatiah; 2 S. 3 4, 1 Ch. 3 3† (αβειταλ, THC CAB. [B]; αβιτ. [A]; -ταλ, -ταμ [L]). In 2 Ch. 36 2, Θ[B] reads Αβειταλ for HAMUTAL, the name of Jehoahaz' mother. T. K. C.

ABITUB (אֲבִיטוּב; perhaps properly, as in versions, ABITOB, 'the (divine) father is good,' see NAMES, § 45, cp Aram. אביטב; αβιτωβ [BAL]; *ABITAB*), b. Shaharaim (1 Ch. 8 11†).

ABIUD (αβιουδ [BA], -ουτ [N*], *i.e.*, Abihud, or Abihu), son of Zerubbabel, and ancestor of Joseph, husband of Mary (Mt. 1 13), see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 *c*.

ABNER (אַבְנֵר, § 44, but in 1 S. 14 50 אֲבִינֵר; αβενηρ [BAL], -ενη. [A five times], αβαινηρ [A twice]; *ABNER*). Lag. *Übers.* 75, holds that Abner (אבן נר) 'son of Ner.' This is suggested by the Θ form 'Abenner'; but cp רִבְקָה = Ῥεβεκκα, רָצָה = Βοσορρα. 'Abner' or 'Abiner' might mean 'my (divine) father is (as) a lamp'). Captain of the host under Saul and under Ishbaal. As a late but well-informed writer states, he was Saul's first cousin (1 S. 14 50, cp 9 1), Ner the father of Abner and Kish the father of Saul being both sons[1] of Abiel. The fortunes of Saul and Abner were as necessarily linked together as those of David and Joab, but tradition has been even less kind to Abner than to his master. Of his warlike exploits we hear nothing, though there was 'sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul' (1 S. 14 52), and tradition loved to extol the prowess of individual heroes. Even at the battle of Gilboa there is no mention of Abner, though it was a part of his duty, according to David, or at least an early narrator, to guard the sacred person of the king (1 S. 26 15). All that we hear of him in Saul's reign is that he sat next to the king at table (1 S. 20 25), that, according to one tradition, he introduced David to the presence of Saul (1 S. 17 57), and that he accompanied the king in his pursuit of David (1 S. 26 5 *ff.*). It was natural that upon Saul's death he should take up the cause of Ishbaal (DAVID, § 6). It suffices to mention here some personal incidents of that unhappy time. That Abner slew his pursuer Asahel (one of Joab's brothers) was, doubtless, not his fault but his misfortune. But his motive in passing over from Ishbaal to David was a shameful one. Ishbaal may indeed have been wrong in interpreting Abner's conduct to Rizpah, Saul's concubine, as an act of treason (cp 2 S. 16 21 1 K. 2 22), but to give up the cause of the Benjamite kingdom on this account, and transfer his allegiance to David, was

[1] In 1 S. 14 51 read בְּנֵי for בֶּן with Jos. *Ant.* vi. 6 6, followed by Dr., Bu., Klo. The text of 1 Ch. 8 33–9 39 should read thus (i.e. 'And Ner begat Abner, and Kish begat Saul (see Kittel in *HSK*).

ignoble. The result was not what he had expected—the highest place under a grateful king. He had just left David with the view of procuring a popular assembly for the recognition of David as king of all Israel, when Joab enticed him back, and treacherously assassinated him beside the gate of Hebron (see SIRAH, WELL OF), partly perhaps from jealousy, partly in revenge for the death of Asahel (2 S. 3 27).

Abner's death was regarded by David as a national calamity. 'Know ye not,' he said, 'that a prince and a great man is fallen this day in Israel?' He ordered a public mourning for Abner, and himself sang an elegy over his grave, a fragment of which is preserved (2 S. 3 33-34); see POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4, iii. (h). The Chronicler gives Abner a son named JAASIEL (*q.v.* 2).

T. K. C.

ABOMINATION, a word occurring over a hundred times in the OT as a rendering of four[1] somewhat technical expressions (sometimes paraphrased 'abominable thing,' etc.).

1. פִּגּוּל (*pigg̣ûl*) occurs four times in exilic and post-exilic writings (Ez. 4 14 [בְּשַׂר פ], Lev. 7 18 *μίασμα*; 19 7 *ἄθυτον*; Is. 65 4† [מְרַק פְּגוּלִים, 'broth,' *λωμὸν . . . μεμολυμμένα*; Kt. פְּרַק פ, 'scraps']) as a technical term for sacrificial flesh become stale (*κρέας ἕωλον* or *βέβηλον* in Ez. [BAQ]), which it was unlawful to eat. See SACRIFICE. In the last passage WRS regarded *pigg̣ûl* as carrion, or flesh so killed as to retain the blood in it (*KS*[2] 343 n. 3).

2. שֶׁקֶץ (*šeqeṣ*), also confined to exilic and post-exilic writings[2] (Ez. 8 10 Lev. 7 21 11 10-42 Is. 66 17†; *βδέλυγμα* [BA]), is a term for what is taboo. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

3. שִׁקּוּץ (*šiqqûṣ*, variously rendered *βδέλυγμα*, *εἴδωλον*, etc.), a much commoner word, of the same form as (1), and from the same root as (2), occurring once in the present text of Hos. 9 10, is freely used (over twenty times), chiefly from the Exile onwards, as a contemptuous designation oftenest of images of deities or of foreign deities themselves. See below, ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION and IDOL, § 2 *f.*

4. תּוֹעֵבָה (*tôʿêbah*; *βδέλυγμα*), a word of uncertain etymology frequently occurring from Dt. onwards (esp. in Ezek.), is by far the commonest of these terms. It designates what gives offence to God (Dt. 12 31) or man (Pr. 29 27), especially the violation of established custom. The former usage is the more common; it applies to such things as rejected cults in general, Dt. 12 31 (see IDOL, § 2*f.*), child-sacrifice (Jer. 32 35), ancestral worship (Ez. 43 8), images (Dt. 27 15), imperfect sacrificial victims (Dt. 17 1), sexual irregularities (Ezek. 22 11), false weights and measures (Dt. 25 16), etc. The latter usage, however, is not rare (esp. in Prov.). Thus J tells us eating with foreigners (Gen. 43 32), shepherds (46 34), Hebrew sacrifices (Ex. 8 26 [22]), were an abomination to the Egyptians (see EGYPT, §§ 19, 31).

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, THE (ΤΟ ΒΔΕΛΥΓΜΑ ΤΗϹ ΕΡΗΜΩϹΕΩϹ), an enigmatical expression in the apocalyptic section (Mt. 24 15-28) of the discourse of Christ respecting His ΠΑΡΟΥϹΙΑ (Mt. 24 15 Mk. 13 14). The passage containing the phrase runs thus in Mt.,—'When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing (*ἑστός*) in the holy place (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains.' The reference to Daniel, however, which is wanting in Mk., is clearly an addition of Mt. (cp Mt. 2 23 14, etc.), and Mark's *ἑστηκότα* (masc.), being more peculiar than Matthew's *ἑστός* (neut.), is to be preferred. Both reports agree in inserting the parenthetic appeal to the trained intelligence of the reader, which, being both natural and in accordance with usage in an apocalyptic context, it would be unreasonable to set aside as an 'ecclesiastical note' (Alford). There is an exact parallel to the clause in Rev. 13 18 (cp 17 9), 'Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast,' and a parallel of sense in Rev. 2 7 13 9: 'He that hath an ear (or, if any man have an ear), let him hear,' i.e. let him understand (as Is. 33 19); the best commentary on which is a *terzina* in Dante (*Inf.* 9 61-63), 'O voi, che avete gl' intelletti sani,' etc. In fact, the whole section is a *μυστήριον*, not of the class in which Jesus delighted (Mt. 13 11), nor expressed in his highly original style, and is easily separable from its context. It is probably (apart from some editorial changes) the work of a Jewish writer, and was inserted to adapt the discourse, which had been handed down (itself not unaltered) by tradition, to the wants of the next generation.

Some light is thrown upon it by the 'little apocalypse' in 2 Thess. 2 1-12, which evidently presupposes an eschatological tradition (see ANTICHRIST). It is there explained how the *παρουσία* of Christ must be preceded by a great apostasy and by the manifestation of the 'man of sin,' whose *παρουσία* is 'with lying signs and wonders,' and who 'opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the sanctuary (*ναός*) of God, setting himself forth as God,' but whom 'the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth.' The resemblance between the two Apocalypses is strong, and we can hardly avoid identifying the 'abomination of desolation' in Mt. and Mk. with the 'man of sin' in 2 Th. The fact that the one stands and the other sits in the sanctuary constitutes but a slight difference. In both cases a statue is obviously meant. The claimant of divinity would, of course, be tied to one place, and it was believed that by spells a portion of the divine life could be communicated to idols, so that the idol of the false god was the false god himself. In both cases, too, there is a striking resemblance to the *θηρία* of Rev. 13, the second of whom, indeed, is said to be represented by an image which can speak, trickery coming to the help of superstition (Rev. 13 15). In fact, the 'abomination' or 'the man of sin' is but a humanised form of the original of these *θηρία*—viz., the apocalyptic dragon, who in his turn is but the Hebraised version of the mythical dragon Tiamat, which was destroyed by the Babylonian light god (see CREATION, § 2). We can now recover the meaning of *τῆς ἐρημώσεως*. The 'abomination' which thrusts itself into the 'holy place' has for its nature 'desolation'—*i.e.*, finds its pleasure in undoing the divine work of a holy Creator.[1]

But why this particular title for the expected opponent of God? It was derived from the first of the great apocalypses. In Dan. 9 27 11 31 12 11, according to the exegetical tradition in Θ, mention is made (combining the details of the several passages) of an apostasy, of an 'abomination of desolation' (or 'of desolations') in the sanctuary, of a time of unparalleled tribulation, of resurrection, and of glory. That the original writer meant 'abomination' to be taken in the sense described above, and the appended qualification to be rendered 'desolating' or 'of desolation,' cannot indeed be said. שִׁקּוּץ as used in Daniel means 'image of a false god' (cp 1 K. 11 5; 2 K. 23 13), and the most natural rendering of שֹׁמֵם and (if the text be correct) מְשֹׁמֵם or מִשֹּׁמֵם is 'appal-

[1] It is also used in 1 S. 13 4 for נְבָאַשׁ, the word rendered 'stank' in 2 S. 10 6 (AV).

[2] But in Is. *l.c.* Duhm and Cheyne read שֵׁרֶץ; so also Sam. and some MSS. at Lev. 7 21. In Lev. 11 10 *ff.* we may point שֶׁקֶץ, and in Ez. 8 10 read שְׁקָצִים (with Θ, Co.).

[1] It is no objection that in Lk. 21 20 the *ἐρήμωσις* is referred to the hemming in of Jerusalem by Roman armies; cp Jos. *B.J.* v. 11 2, where the passages in Dan. are explained of the desolation by the Romans. The true meaning must be decided by Matthew and Mark, where nothing is said of injuries from invaders. The memory of the experiences of 70 A.D. suggested to Luke a new interpretation of the traditional phrase.

ling.' The phrase appears to be an intentional alteration of בַּעַל שָׁמֵם (*Baal shamêm*), 'heaven's lord.' That this was a current title of Zeus may be inferred from the Syriac of 2 Macc. 6 2, where the temple at Jerusalem is called by the emissary of Antiochus 'the temple of *be'el sh[illegible]n*' (see Nestle, *ZATW* iv. 248 ['84]; cp his *Marginalien u. Materialien*, 35 *f.*; G. Hoffmann, *Ueb. ein. phön. Inschr.* 1889, p. 29; Bevan, *Daniel*, 193). The author of Daniel (whose meaning is correctly given by *MT*) contemptuously says, 'Call it not "heaven's lord," but "an appalling abomination"'; and the object to which he refers is an image of Olympian Zeus, which, together with a small βωμός, the agents of Antiochus set up on the great altar (θυσιαστήριον) of burnt offerings. The statement in 1 Macc. 1 59 is not destructive of this theory, for altars and idols necessarily went together, and the phrase of the Greek translator of the Hebrew original in v. 54[1] (βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως; cp τὸ βδέλυγμα, 6 7) might be used equally well of both or of either.[2] All this, however, had been forgotten when the apocalyptic section in Mt. 24 and Mk. 13 was written.

Another (a highly plausible) interpretation of the little evangelical apocalypse is given by Spitta (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 493-497), who thinks that it was written in apprehension of the erection of a statue of Caligula in the temple (see Schür. *Hist.* ii.). This implies that τὸ βδέλ. τῆς ἐρημ. means the statue of a historical king who claimed to be the supreme God, which, considering the nature of the context, is improbable, and is not supported by the use of the Hebrew phrase in Daniel. It is, no doubt, highly probable that apocalyptic writers regarded the mad Caligula as a precursor of the expected embodiment of the principle of 'lawlessness' (ἀνομία, 2 Thess. 2 7); but, without putting some violence on their inherited eschatological phrases, they could not have said that he was ἐρήμωσις or ἀνομία in person. For, after all, a Roman emperor could not be a purely destructive or lawless agent. Spitta's view, however, is preferable to that of Weiss, who, appealing to Lk. 21 20, understands the 'abomination' to be the Roman armies; and to that of Bleek and Alford, who explain it of the desecration of the holy place by the Zelots (Jos. *BJ* iv. 36-8). For the criticism and exegesis of the difficult passages, Dan. 9 27 11 31, see the commentary of Bevan and the translation and critical notes in Kau. *HS*; cp also Van Lennep's treatise on the seventy year-weeks of Daniel (Utrecht, 1888), where it is proposed, on amply sufficient grounds, to change the impossible וְעַל כְּנַף (9 27) into וְעַל־כֵּן, 'and instead thereof.' The greatest problem is how to explain or rather correct שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם; in הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם (11 31), for מְשֹׁמֵם we should perhaps read הַשֵּׁם, or delete מ as a gloss from 9 27. There is a similar problem in 8 13.

T. K. C.

ABRAHAM (אַבְרָהָם, § 44; ΑΒΡΑΑΜ [BAL]; once ΑΒΡΑΜ [A]). The name has no meaning in Hebrew, and seems to be another form of ABRAM (*q.v.*), due probably to a misunderstanding of an early orthography.[3] In J and P, however, the latter is represented as the original name, which was changed at a critical point in the patriarch's life into Abraham (Gen. 17 5, P, where the etymology is a mere word-play; on J's narrative, see Fripp, *op. cit.* 53). It is only from the time of Ezekiel

1. Name, etc.

1 See Kau. *l. cit.* 48 n.

2 Gies, Bert[illegible], Grätz and others explain the 'abomination' of a statue of Zeus. Hitzig, Bleek, Kueb., Ewald, Ewald's section of the [illegible] story of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image slightly confirms the former view.

3 It should be noted that ה in the Minæan (S. Arabian) [illegible] represents [illegible] (?) or, in some cases, ה. The same peculiarity (ה for א) characterises the Moabite, the Hebrew and the Samalite script. אברהם, therefore, was originally pronounced Abrām (Hommel, *Das geschr. Ab* ה *im Minäischen*, 22-24). WMM (*Als. u. Eur.* 309 n. 3) finds an Egyptian proper name B'-r-ḥ-m-y-ꜣ-u Paal-ram.

(see Ez. 33 24)[1] that Abraham was reverenced by the Jews as their greatest ancestor; cp Is. 41 8 *f.* 51 2 63 16 Neh. 9 7 *f.* 2 Ch. 20 7 30 6 Ps. 47 9 [10] 105 6 9 42 Ecclus. 44 19 1 Macc. 2 52 12 21 Mt. 1 1 3 9 Lk. 16 24 31 19 9 Jn. 8 39 53 56 Acts 7 2 13 26 Rom. 4 1 12 16 Heb. 6 13 11 17 Jas. 2 21, cp Gal. 3 7-9. But to give time for this general reverence to have arisen, we cannot help supposing that the name and, in some form, the story of Abraham were current in certain circles considerably earlier. Local traditions respecting him doubtless existed before the glory of the southern kingdom departed, and these traditions form the basis of the composite תּוֹלְדוֹת or 'family history' of Abraham (P for a special reason substitutes Terah) contained in Gen. 11 27-25 18. That these traditions are legends, and not historical records of the times which the 'family history' appears to describe, is certain (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE). But that in their present setting they are much more than legends needs to be not less firmly held. They have been purified both by abridgment and by expansion; and, since the fusion of the original and of the added elements is by no means complete, it is not impossible to study the one from the point of view of prehistoric research, and the other from that of the history of religion. Let us, then, briefly consider these two questions: (1) What did the Abraham narratives of Genesis mean to their first editors and readers? and (2) may any of them be regarded as containing a historical element?

1. The first question can be readily answered. Abraham to J and E is not so much a historical personage as an ideal type of character. This theory alone will account for the 'dreamy, grand, and solemn' impression which this patriarch makes upon us. The framework of the narrative may be derived from myths and legends, but the spirit comes from the ideals stored up in the minds of the narrators. A school of writers (for J and E are not merely individuals) devoted themselves to elaborating a typical example of that unworldly goodness which was rooted in faith and fervently preached by the prophets. That typical example was Abraham, who might, with a better right than the old Babylonian king, Ḥammurābi, have called himself the prophet of the heaven-god, and indeed is actually recognised by the Pharaoh (Gen. 20 7 E) as a prophet of Elohim. The 'dreaminess' which has been noticed in him is caused by his mental attitude. The Mohammedans appropriately call him 'the first Moslem.' He goes through life listening for the true *tôra*, which is not shut up in formal precepts, but revealed from time to time to the conscience; and this leaning upon God's word is declared to be in Yahwè's sight a proof of genuine righteousness (15 6 J). The *Pirqê Aboth* (c. 5; cp *Ber. rabba*, par. 56) reckons ten trials of Abraham's faith, 'in all of which he stood firm'; but this simply marks the intense Jewish reverence for the 'father of the faithful.' The word נִסָּה, '(he) tried,' occurs only once in the narratives (Gen. 22 1), but from the first the faith of Abraham was tried like gold in the fire. He marries a woman who is 'barren' (11 30 18 11 *f.* both J; 15 2 *f.* JE). He leaves his home at the divine bidding to seek an unknown land (12 1 J). As the climax, he is commanded to offer up the child of promise as a sacrifice (22 1-13 E). It is characteristic of the pre-exilic age that this privileged life presents no reverses of fortune (contrast Job). But prosperity does no moral harm to Abraham. He retains a pure and disinterested philanthropy, which would even, if possible, have saved wicked Sodom (18 23*b*-33*a*, a late Yahwistic passage).[2] Once, indeed, he appears as trusting in an arm of flesh, and defeating mighty kings (Gen. 14 1-17);

2. Story of J and E.

1 This is the earliest mention of Abraham outside the Hexateuch; cf. Is. 29 22 Jer. 33 26 Mic. 7 20 belong to passages inserted after the Exile.

2 See Wellh. *CHJ* 27 *f.*; Duhm, *ad loc.*; Fripp, *Gen.* [illegible].

but this unique narrative, so flattering to the pride of the later Jews, is evidently a fragment of a post-exilic midrash on the life of Abraham.[1] It even contains a specimen of the mystic reckoning called 'gematria, the number 318 in 14 14 being suggested by the name of Abraham's servant Eliezer,[2] of which it is the numerical equivalent, just as it is stated in the Haggada that Abraham served God from his third year, because עקב in עקב אשר שמע (22 18) is equivalent to 172 (he was 175 when he offered up Isaac, according to the Midrash Tanchuma), and as the 'number of the beast' in Rev. 13 18 is 666 (or 616).

The narratives of P differ, it is true, in some respects from those of J and E. This writer, who is a lover of gradual, orderly progress, even in the history of revelation, represents the migration into Canaan as having been planned, without any express divine command, by Terah (Gen. 11 31), and admits no theophany before that in Abraham's ninety-ninth year (17 1). He introduces, also, some important modifications into the character of the patriarch. The friendly intimacy between Yahwè and Abraham has disappeared; when Yahwè at length manifests himself, Abraham falls upon his face (17 3 17). A legal element, too, finds its way into his righteousness, the rite of circumcision having been undergone, according to P, by Abraham and all the males of his household. Still, it may be said of P as truly as of his predecessors that he regards Abraham as the greatest of men, and exhibits him as the pattern for Israelitish piety. With this object in view, he has no scruple in dealing very freely with the traditional material. Since all things are best at their beginnings, he asserts that the ancestor of Israel was all, and more than all, that his own sober imagination can devise. Later writers attempted to supply his deficiencies. Even in the OT we have a strange reference in Is. 29 22 (post-exilic) to dangers incurred by Abraham, which agrees with the hints dropped in the *Book of Jubilees* (c. 12), and points the way to the well-known legend of the furnace of Nimrod. Not less did the enigmatical war-chronicle in Gen. 14 stimulate later writers. Nicolaus of Damascus, the court historian of Herod the Great, related (Jos. *Ant.* i. 7 2; cp Justin, 36 2) that Abraham came with an army out of Chaldæa and reigned in Damascus, after which he settled in Canaan; he adds that there still exists a village called Ἀβράμου οἴκησις (see HOBAH). The only Biblical trace of such a story is in Gen. 15 2, where, however, 'Damascus' appears to be a gloss (see ELIEZER, 1). It is bold in Ew. (*Hist.* i. 312) to assume on such a basis that Damascus was a traditional link in the chain of the Hebrew migration. More probably these stories were invented by the Jews of Damascus (who were a numerous body) to glorify the national ancestor. The Moslems took up the tradition with avidity (see Ew. *l.c.*), and still point to the village of Berza, or Berzat el Halil ('the marriage-tent of Abraham'), one hour N. from Damascus, where the marriage of the patriarch furnishes the occasion of an annual festival (Wetz. *ZDMG* xxii. 105 ['68]).

3. Story of P.

2. What historical element (if any) do these narratives contain? The Abraham traditions are twofold. Some belong exclusively to the great patriarch; others are also attached to one or another of his successors. The latter we can disregard: the foundation of the sanctuaries of Shechem and Bethel has a better traditional connection with Jacob (Gen. 33 18-20 28 11-22), and that of Beersheba with Isaac (26 24 *f.*), while the

4. Historical Kernel.

[1] Much confusion has been caused by the uncritical use of cuneiform research (see Che. *Founders*, 237 *ff.*). That the writer of Gen. 14 1-11 had access, directly or indirectly, to Babylonian sources for some of his statements is denied by none. But this does not make him a historian. See Kue. *Hex.* 143, 324; We. *CHI*[2] 26; F. Mey. *GA* i. 1 [illegible] *f.* and cp CHEDORLAOMER, MELCHIZEDEK, § 4.

[2] So, long ago, Hitzig, following *Ber. rabba*, par. 43.

story of the imperilled wife has at least as good (or as bad) a claim to be connected with Isaac (26 1-11). There remain—(*a*) the migration from Harrân or from Ur Kasdim; (*b*) the close affinity between Abraham and Sarah, Abraham and Hagar (and Keturah), Abraham and Lot; (*c*) the abode and burial of Abraham near Hebron;[1] and, underlying all these, (*d*) the existence of an ancestor of the people of Israel bearing the name of Abraham or Abram. Let us first briefly consider (*c*) and (*d*).

i. *Existence of Abraham and connection with Hebron.*—The tradition, as it stands, is doubtless inadmissible. So much may be conceded to that destructive criticism which, denying that the old reverence for the story of Abraham has any justification, would throw that story aside as an outworn and useless myth. But the view taken by the patient reconstructive criticism of our day is that, not only religiously, but even, in a qualified sense, historically also, the narratives of Abraham have a claim on our attention. The religious value is for all; the historical or quasi-historical for students only. In the present connection it is enough to say (but see further HISTORICAL LITERATURE) that, since Abraham may be a genuine personal name, it cannot be unreasonable to hold that there is a kernel of tradition in the narratives. Hebrew legend may have told of an ancient hero (in the Greek sense of the word) bearing this name and connected specially with Hebron. This supposed hero (whose real existence is as doubtful as that of other heroes) cannot originally have been grouped with Jacob or Israel, for the name Abraham has a different linguistic colouring from the two latter. It was natural, however, that when HEBRON (*q.v.*) became Israelitish the southern hero Abraham should be grouped with the northern hero Jacob-Israel, and that the spirits of both heroes should be regarded as having a special connection with their people, and even as entitled to a kind of national cultus (cp IDOLATRY), which, though discouraged by the highest religious teachers, has left traces of itself both in early and in late books, and is characteristically Semitic.[2] The cultus was no doubt performed at Machpelah, on the possession of which P lays such great stress (*c.* 23), but that the traditional hero was actually buried there cannot be affirmed. Even among the Arabs there is but a single well-authenticated case of a tribe which possesses a really ancient tradition as to the place where the tribal ancestor was interred.[3]

ii. *Relation of Abraham to Sarah, Hagar, Lot.*—With regard to (*b*) it should be noted that, though an assertion of relationship may be literally correct, it may also merely mean that two particular tribes or peoples have been politically connected. If, with Robertson Smith, we may regard Sarah as a feminine corresponding to Israel, we may take the marriage between Abraham and Sarah (or rather Sarai) to symbolise the political fusion between a southern Israelitish tribe and non-Israelitish clans to the south of Hebron (see, however, SARAH, i. § 2). The relationship between Abraham and Hagar may also have a political meaning, for the close intercourse, and at times political union, between Egypt[4] and Palestine and parts of Arabia is well attested. The story of the separation between Abraham and Lot[5] may

[1] It is unnecessary to discuss here P's account of the origin of circumcision (see CIRCUMCISION, § 4), or the story of the defeat of the four kings in Gen. 14 (see above, § 2), or the birth and subsequent offering up of Isaac (see ISAAC, §§ 1 *f.*).

[2] See 1 S. [illegible] (C I saw Elohim), Is. 63 17, Jer. 31 12, cp 1 K. 16 [illegible] Jn. 8 56, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 152 *f.* For parallel Arabian beliefs [illegible] see 2 Ma. [illegible] 13 *f.*, and Talmudic references in Castelli, *Il Messia*, 124 *f.*

[3] WRS *Kin.* 18.

[4] We assume provisionally that Hagar is correctly regarded, from the point of view of the original tradition, as an Egyptian. See [illegible] and especially MIZRAIM, § 2 (*ö*), [illegible] LAHAI-ROI, § 2.

[5] On the details of the story, cp WRS *Kin.* 14 *f.*

be but a foreshadowing of the separation between Israel and Moab and Ammon; but, if Lot is to be explained by Lotan (the eponym of an Edomitish clan, Gen. 36 [illegible]), the asserted relationship between Abraham and Lot accords with the theory of the original non-Israelitish character of Abraham.

iii. *Connection with Ḥarrān or Ūr.*—As to (*a*), even if we reject the theory of the migration of a clan called after Abraham from Ḥarrān or Ūr Kasdīm, it does not at once follow that the tradition is altogether unhistorical. Not only Abraham, but the wives of Isaac and Jacob also, are declared to have come from Ḥarrān. This cannot be a baseless tradition. Critics, it is true, are divided as to its historical value, nor can we discuss the matter here. But there is, at any rate, as Stade admits, nothing *a priori* improbable in the view that certain Hebrew clans came from the neighbourhood of Ḥarrān to Palestine. The fluctuation of the tradition between Ḥarrān and Ūr Kasdīm need not detain us (see special articles). Both Ḥarrān and Ur were seats of the worship of the moon-god under different names, and we can well believe that at some unknown period the moon-worship of Ḥarrān affected the Hebrew clans (cp SARAH, i. § 2, MILCAH, 1). For what critic of to-day can venture to assume that it was repugnance to this worship, and in general to idolatry (cp Josh. 24 2 *f.*),[1] that prompted the Hebrew clans to leave their early homes? Surely this asserted religious movement is a specimen of that antedating of religious conditions which is characteristic of the OT narrators, and was copied from them by Mohammed. First, the insight of Isaiah is ascribed to Moses; then, as if this were not wonderful enough, it is transferred to Abraham. But how recent is the evidence for either statement, and how inconsistent is the spiritual theism ascribed to Abraham with sound views of historical development! Instead therefore of speaking of 'that life of faith which historically began with Abraham' (H. S. Holland, *Lux Mundi*, 41), should we not rather say 'that life of faith which, though generally present from the earliest times, first found clear and undoubted expression in the writings of the prophets and in the recast legends of Abraham'?

Hommel's ambitious attempt to prove the strictly historical character of the Abraham narratives from the Arabian personal names of the dynasty of Ḥammurabi is, critically regarded, a failure. The existence in early Semitic antiquity of personal names expressing lofty ideas of the divine nature in its relation to man has long been known, though it is only in recent years that such names have been discovered so far back in the stream of history. But hitherto scholars have with good reason abstained from inferring the extreme antiquity of Hebrew narratives in which similar names occurred, because the age of these narratives had necessarily to be first of all determined by the ordinary critical methods, and the existence of such a phrase as 'in the days of Amraphel' (Ḥammurabi?) proves only that the writer may have been acquainted with documents in which events of this period were referred to, not that his own narrative is strictly historical.

For the later Haggadic stories concerning Abraham see Beer, *Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der jüd. Sage*, 1859; Hamburger, *RE für Bib. u. Talmud* (*s.v.* 'Abraham'); also Grünbaum, *Neue Beitr. zur sem. Sagenkunde*, 1893, pp. 89-131 (Jewish and Mohammedan legends); and, especially, a late apocryphal book called The Testament of Abraham (*Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, 1892), which presents perhaps the finest imaginable glorification of the character of the patriarch. All that he needs is to see the retributions of heaven and hell that he may learn (like Jonah) to have pity on sinners (see APOCRYPHA, § 11). For the archæological aspects of the life of the patriarch see Tomkins, *Studies on the Times of Abraham* ('78; second ed. '97). The best critical literature is cited by Ki. *Hist.* i.; add to his list Hal. *REJ* xv. 161 *ff.* ('87); *Rev. sém.* i. 1 *ff.* ('93); Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israel*, i. (1887); and reviews of Renan by Reinach, *REJ* xv. 302 *ff.*; and by WRS, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* iii. 128 *f.* ('88). Renan's statements that the Abraham of Genesis is the type of an Arab sheikh, and that the ancient Hebrews, represented by Abraham, worshipped a 'patriarchal, just, and universal God,' from whom the worship of Yahwè was a falling away, are fantastically erroneous. For Nöld.'s view that Abraham and Sarah are divine names, see his essay on the patriarchs in *Im neuen Reich*, 1871, p. 508 *ff.*, and on the other side Baethg. *Beitr. z. sem. Rel.-gesch.* 154 *ff.* See also EDOM (§ 2; supposed divine character of Abraham) and HOBAH (his connection with Damascus). T. K. C.

[1] The words, 'and worshipped other gods,' belong to R. But the sense of the earlier narrators is correctly given (cp. Gen. 31 19, 30). And, of course, Israel's point of religious departure must, considering primitive circumstances, have been in some sense polytheistic (cp Reinach, *REJ* xv. 311 ['87], Boscawen, *The Migration of Abram*, 20 *f.*).

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM (Lk. 16 22†). See HADES.

ABRAM (אַבְרָם, § 44, Gen. 11 27-17 5*a* 1 Ch. 1 27 Neh. 9 7†; ΑΒΡΑΜ [B\DL], but -ΡΑΝ [A twice in Gen.], -ΡΑΑΜ [A once in Gen.; B in Ch. and B* vid. NL in Neh.; אַבְרָם; *ABRAM*), *i.e.* probably, in the mind of the priestly writer (Gen. 17 5), 'high father' (patriarch), to which the name Sarai, if taken as another form of SARAH [*q.v.*], would be a suitable companion. If, however, the name ABRAM be a genuine traditional one, it will be related to ABIRAM [*q.v.*], as ABNER [*q.v.*] is to ABINER, and be explained similarly (cp ABRAHAM, § 1).

ABRECH (אַבְרֵךְ), Gen. 41 43†, 'Then he made him ride in the chariot next in rank to his own, and they cried before him Abrech. So he set him over all Egypt' (Kau. *HS*). The passage occurs in E's (or E_2's) version of the appointment of Joseph to be grand-vizier, and the strange word Abrech greatly puzzled the ancient interpreters. ⊖AEL gives καὶ ἐκήρυξεν . . . κήρυξ; the Targums אָבָא לְמַלְכָּא, while Pesh., omitting עֲרוֹן, paraphrases ܘܩܪܝܘ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ [cp 45 8 Pesh.], and Vg. *clamante praecone ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent*. Jerome himself, however (*Quaest. in Gen.*), remarks, 'Mihi videtur non tam præco sive adgeniculatio . . . intelligenda, quam illud quod Hebræi tradunt, dicentes "patrem tenerum," . . . significante Scripturâ quod juxta prudentiam quidem pater omnium fuerit, sed juxta ætatem tenerrimus adolescens et puer.' So, in fact, the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. 90) and the two later Targums (as an appendage to 'father of the king') expressly interpret, and in *Bab. Bathra*, 4*a* we even find this justified by the combination of רך and *rex*. In *Jubilees* 40 7 (Charles) the form is Abirer, *i.e.* Abirel ('God is a mighty one,' or, being an imaginary form, 'mighty one of God').

The different views of modern scholars can only be glanced at here. Luther is content with *Landesvater*, EV with 'bow the knee.' RV mg. adopts the view that the original word was 'similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning to kneel' (so Benfey, Brugsch, Chabas). The Mas. vocalisation, however, is guesswork, and the Hiphil of ברך occurs only once again (Gen. 24 11), and then in the sense of 'to cause (the camels) to kneel down.' If we look at the context, we shall find reason to doubt whether any outward display of reverence at all (prostration would be more natural than kneeling) can be meant by Abrech. An official title is what the context most favours, not, however, such a title as 'chief of the wise men'[1] (ap-reχ-u); but rather 'great lord,' or some other equivalent to 'grand-

[1] Harkavy, *JAs.*, mars-avril 1870, pp. 161-165. Le Page Renouf's explanation (*PSBA* xi. 5 *ff.* ['88]), 'thy command is our desire' (*ab(-u)-rek*), *i.e.*, 'we are at thy service,' is much less suitable to the context.

vizier.' No such title including the letters b-r-k is quoted from the pure Egyptian vocabulary; but may it not be really a loan-word? This might account for the fact that Abrech is passed over in 𝔊. It is well known that from the fifteenth century onwards there was close intercourse between the Egyptians and the Semitic peoples, and that many technical words were borrowed from the latter. This being the case, it appears reasonable to connect Abrech with the Ass.-Bab. *abarakku* (fem. *abarakkatu*), which is applied to one of the five highest dignitaries in the empire.[1] Schrader, who once opposed this view (*COT* i. 139), now thinks that the Amarna discoveries (1888) have made it much more probable; and Brünnow has expressed the opinion that 'the Assyrian a-ba-rak-ku seem undoubtedly to be the prototype of Abrech'[2] (private letter). In spite of Dillmann's peremptory denial (1892), it has become very difficult to think otherwise. We might, indeed, correct the word out of existence; but Ball's text (*SBOT*) is hardly an improvement except in the substitution of the מקרא of the Sam. text (cp 𝔊 Pesh.) for מקראו, which is justified by the context, and had already been made by Geiger (*Urschr.* 403). T. K. C.

ABRONAH, AV **Ebronah** (עַבְרֹנָה), one of the stages in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 34 *f.*†, P; CEBPWNA [B], EB. [AFL]). See WANDERINGS, §§ 12, 14. On αΒρωνα [AB] in Judith 2 24, see ARIONAI.

ABSALOM (אַבְשָׁלוֹם, § 45, or—less correctly, as Nold. thinks—as in 1 K. 15 2 10 אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, ABISHALOM, *ABISSALOM*; probably 'the [divine] father is peace,' cp Yahwè-shalom Judg. 6 24, a title of Yahwè, but not Ps. 120 7; ΑΒΕCCΑΛΩΜ [BA, and in 2 S. 3 3, and 1 Ch., also L], -ΕCΑ. [A, 2 S. 18 15], -ΕCΑ. [L; but in 1 K. 2 28 COΛOMΩNTOC, where also ملصم, S (ILOMONEM]; ܐܒܫܠܘܡ; ΑΒΕΛΩΜ [A], 2 S. 18 15; Jos. ΑΒΕCCΑΛΩΜOC and ΑΨΑΛΩΜOC; *ABSALOM*) was David's third son, his mother being Maacah, daughter of Talmai, king of GESHUR (*q.v.* 2). Born at Hebron, he grew up at Jerusalem, the idol of his father, and popular from his manly beauty and his winning manners. His tragic history is faithfully recorded by an ancient and well-informed writer in 2 S. 13-18.

We first hear of him in connection with the outrage on his sister Tamar by her half-brother Amnon, whom David out of weak-minded affection for his first-born (2 S. 13 21, 𝔊BAL), omitted to chastise. Absalom soothed his sister, and silently bode his time. Then, after two years, he lured Amnon with the other princes to a feast of sheep shearing on Absalom's estate at Baal-hazor (see HAZOR, 2), and at a concerted sign his servants slew Amnon during the banquet. The next three years Absalom passed in exile in Geshur (*q.v.* 2), till Joab, knowing that the king pined for the fugitive, contrived by the help of a 'wise woman' from Tekoa to bring him back. The form of the parable (2 S. 14 5-7) may belong to the 'wise woman,' but the ideas which it suggested came from Joab. Why was the king so willing to mitigate the custom of blood-vengeance for a stranger, and so hard towards his own son? We die, and are like water spilt on the ground; but God spares the life of him whose thoughts are bent on the restoration of the banished (2 S. 14 14 with Ewald's emendation). The king gave way to this gentle pressure, and allowed his son to come back to Jerusalem, but refused to see him for two whole years. Nor would Joab take any further step, till the impetuous prince set his barley field on fire, and, when Joab came in person to complain, declared that death was better than continued disgrace. He had his way. The king kissed him and restored him to full favour.

Four years followed (2 S. 15 7, L. Pesh. and Jos.; MT 𝔊BA Vg. have 'forty') during which Absalom prepared men's minds for coming events. He let his hair grow enormously long (2 S. 14 26), in token, as Robertson Smith thinks (*KS*[2] 484), of the sacredness of his person, though the ordinary view that it was merely a proof of vanity possesses the recommendation of simplicity. He rode in a chariot with horses (then scarcely known in Israel) and was accompanied by a guard of fifty men. He made every suitor's cause his own, and lamented aloud that his power did not match his desire to help (2 S. 15 1-6). At last he fired the train which had been so long and so carefully laid. On pretence of a sacrificial feast, he withdrew to Hebron, accompanied by 200 men, doubtless needy dependents, who followed him in ignorance of his plan. Here, at the old capital of Judah, amidst a people who were still unreconciled to their absorption in a larger state, he raised the standard of revolt. Ahithophel, a man of southern Judah, he made his principal counsellor; Amasa, Absalom's cousin, also from Judah, took command of the troops (cp GESHUR, 2). But an appeal was also made to the centrifugal forces always at work in the N. tribes, for, as he set out for Hebron, the rebel prince sent men through the land of Israel. At the sound of the trumpet these were to proclaim the accomplished fact, 'Absalom has been made king in Hebron.'

David, once the darling of the nation, was compelled to fly from the capital. Absalom as quickly entered it, and gave that public sign of his accession to the throne which the crafty Ahithophel recommended. The number of his counsellors was now increased by the addition of Hushai, 'David's friend' (on the epithet see HUSHAI), whose flattery he failed to see through. In reality Hushai only pretended to join the rebels. His object was twofold—to frustrate the counsel of Ahithophel, and to betray Absalom's plans to the priests, Zadok and Abiathar. These trusty friends of David were to communicate with a maid, and she was to impart her knowledge to two sons of the priests, who waited to bear it to the king. This counterplot attained its end. Ahithophel, who knew how deceptive was the popular enthusiasm, wished Absalom to 'strike David before there was time for second thoughts' (WRS). But Hushai persuaded the pretender to wait, and so David, who was informed of all that happened at Jerusalem, safely crossed the Jordan and established himself at Mahanaim, once Ishbaal's capital.

Thence, in three divisions, David's army sallied forth, and in the neighbouring forest (see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF) the rebel troops were routed. In the flight Absalom's head (hair?; Heb. ראש, cp 2 S. 14 26) was caught in the branches of a terebinth tree, and his mule left him hanging between heaven and earth. 'Not for a thousand shekels' would the soldier who saw him hanging have taken his life. How could he venture to disregard the king's charge to watch over the young man Absalom? If he had treacherously attempted Absalom's life, would not the king have found it out, and would not Joab himself have stood aloof? But Joab, who felt his courage called in question (2 S. 18 14, 𝔊BAL; see Bu. *SBOT*), with an emphatic denial of the statement, plunged three javelins into Absalom's body. The corpse of the ill-fated prince was flung into a pit, and the soldiers cast stones upon it, that the restless spirit might trouble them no more.[1] Meantime the old king was waiting at the gate of Mahanaim. The pathetic story of his broken-hearted grief at hearing the news of his dearly loved son's death is enshrined in all memories.

Such was the close of the sad tragedy which opened with the barbarous outrage upon Tamar. Just eleven years had passed since that event, so that if Absalom

[1] Friedr. Del., *Heb. in the Light of Assyrian Research* (1883), p. 25 *f.*; cp *Par.* 225; *Ass. HWB* 12. This brilliant suggestion was temporarily adopted by the present writer (*Cl. Rev.* 12th Apr. 1884), who has, since the Amarna discoveries, returned to it.

[2] So also Sayce (*Acad.* 7th May 1892, *Crit. Mon.* 214 *f.*), but with an interpretation which need fuller evidence.

[1] See Tylor's *Prim. Cult.* ii. 22.

was about twenty when he took up his sister's cause, he must have died a little over thirty. Apparently his three sons died before him (2 S 14 27 18 18). On his 'daughter,' see TAMAR, 3, and MAACAH, 3, 4. The notice respecting Absalom's monument in 2 S 18 18 is not very clear, perhaps owing to some confusion in the text of *vv.* 17-19 (so Klo.). It is evidently parenthetical, and reminds the reader that Absalom had a suitable monument (erected, according to Klo.'s reading, by David) in the King's Vale (see SHAVEH, 1., MELCHIZEDEK, § 3). The building close to Jerusalem, now known as Absalom's tomb, is of very late origin, as its Ionic pillars prove. W. E. A.

2. Father of Mattathias (1 Macc. 11 70; Ἀψάλωμος [AV], ψαλμωδός [κ]). Zöckler proposes to read 'Jonathan' for 'Mattathias' here; or else to read Mattathias in 1 Macc. 13 11 also.

3. Father of Jonathan (1 Macc. 13 11: Ἀψαλωμος [AVκ]), probably the same as (2).

4. An ambassador to Lysias: 2 Macc. 11 17 (Αβεσσαλωμ [A], μεσσαλα[1] A [*sic*]). Possibly also to be identified with (2).

ABUBUS (ΑΒΟΥΒΟϹ [AκV]; אבובס, cp HUBBAH, 1 Ch. 7 34 Kr.; *Abubus*), father of Ptolemy, captain of the plain of Jericho, and son-in-law to Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 16 11 15†).

ABYSS, THE (Η ΑΒΥϹϹΟϹ), the term substituted in RV of NT for the 'deep' and the 'bottomless pit' of AV; see Lk. 8 31; Rom. 10 7; Rev. 9 1 *f.* 11 17 17 8 20 1 3†. In the second of these passages, by an inexact use of the term, 'the abyss' is equivalent to Sheol; 'over the sea' in Dt. 30 13 is taken to mean 'over the world-encircling ocean into which the "rivers" of the underworld (Ps. 18 4 [5], נחלי בליעל) discharge themselves to "the place where all flesh wanders" (*i.e.*, Sheol; *Enoch* 17 6).' Elsewhere it means the deeply-placed abode of the 'dragon' or devil, of the 'Beast' his helper, and of the δαιμόνια,—whether this abode be taken to be the 'deep (*tĕhōm*) that coucheth beneath' (Gen. 49 25 RV), or the 'waste place' with 'no firmament above and no foundation of earth beneath,' by which the fire-filled chasm was thought to be bordered (*Enoch* 18 12; cp 21 7). The former view is in accordance with OT usage, the *tĕhōm* of MT and the ἄβυσσος of Ϛ being the flood or ocean which once enfolded the earth, but is now shut up in subterranean store-chambers (Ps. 33 7); and it is favoured by the use of θάλασσα in Rev. 13 1 as synonymous with ἄβυσσος. But the latter is more probably right in the Apocalypse, which agrees with *Enoch* in asserting the existence of a lake of fire, destined for the final punishment of the devil and his helpers. This fiery lake is not in other book technically called 'the abyss'; in *Enoch* 10 1, the Greek has τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρός, and in 21 7 διακοπὴν εἶχεν ὁ τόπος ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου. The angelic overseer of this region is Uriel, who is described in *Enoch* 20 2 (Gizeh Gk.) as ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρτάρου. 'Tartarus' occurs also in Job 41 23, Ϛ, in the phrase τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου [BκA], which, being used in connection with Leviathan, is doubtless to be taken of the subterranean abode of Yahwē's enemy, the dragon (see DRAGON, § 4 *f.*). Cp ταρταρώσας, used of the fallen angels, 2 Pet. 2 4. J. K. C.

ACACIA (שִׁטָּה), Ex. 25 5 etc., RV. See SHITTAH TREE.

ACATAN (ΑΚΑΤΑΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 38† AV = Ezr. 8 12, HAKKATAN.

ACCABA (ΑΚΚΑΒΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 33 RV = Ezr. 2 46, HAGAB.

ACCAD (אַכַּד; ΑΡΧΑΔ [AL], ΑΚ. [DE]; أكد; *ACHAD*) is one of the four cities mentioned in Gen. 10 10 as forming the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod in the land of Shinar or Babylonia. In the cuneiform inscriptions the name of Akkad is most fre-

[1] If a Hebrew original could have been suggested, it would be מ״ל מ״ל. μεσσαλα might have represented a Hebrew misreading of part of a participle of שרה (οἱ πεμφθέντες follows).

quently met with in the title *lugal Kingi(ki) Uri(ki)*, which is rendered in Semitic by *šar (mātu) Sumeri u (mātu) Akkadi*. This title, which implied dominion over the whole of Babylonia, was borne from the earliest times by the Babylonian kings, and was adopted by those kings of Assyria who conquered Babylon (cp BABYLONIA, § 1). The Akkad referred to in Gen. 10 10 has been identified by some with the ancient city of *Agadè* which was situated in northern Babylonia and attained a position of supremacy over the rest of the country under Sargon I. about 3800 B.C. This identification, however, is entirely hypothetical, and is based only on the superficial resemblance of the names. L. W. K.

ACCARON (ΑΚΚΑΡΩΝ [A*]), 1 Macc. 10 89† AV = RV EKRON (*q.v.*).

ACCHO, RV **Acco** (עַכּוֹ), Judg. 1 31 and (see UMMAH) Josh. 19 30[1]; see PTOLEMAIS.

ACCOS (ΑΚΧΩϹ [A], ΑΚΚΩϹ [κ], ΙΑΚΚ. [V]; same as HAKKOZ (*q.v.*)), grandfather of Eupolemus; 1 Macc. 8 17†.

ACCOZ (ΑΚΒΩϹ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 38† AV = Ezra 2 61 RV, HAKKOZ, 1.

ACCUSER (ΚΑΤΗΓΩΡ [Ti., W & H following A], ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟϹ [Bκ, etc.]). The form of word found in the best texts is simply a Hebraised form [קָטֵיגוֹר] of the common word ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟϹ. For Rabbinic usage see *e.g.* Buxt. *Lex.*), Rev. 12 10†. See SATAN, §§ 6 (3) 7.

ACELDAMA AV; RV **Akeldama** (ΑΚΕΛΔΑΜΑΧ[1] [Tisch. A, etc.], *ACHELDEMACH* [96 lat.], ΑΚΕ. [B followed by W & H], -ΔΑΙΜ. [D], *ACELDEMACH* [d]), the name according to Acts 1 19 of a field bought by Judas Iscariot for some unknown purpose. The vet. Lat. of Mt. 27 8 applies the name (not, as in the Gk. MSS., merely in translation, but in the original) also to a field bought by the priests of Jerusalem to bury strangers in.

MS. evidence is so overwhelmingly in favour of some such form as Akeldamach that the RV is quite unjustified in rejecting it, especially when it corrects the *c* into *k*. Acts 1 19 states that in the language of the dwellers at Jerusalem this name meant 'the field of blood' (χωρίον αἵματος).

1. The name. חקל דמא (*ḥaḳēl dəmā*), however, is obviously 'the field of *thy* blood,' an impossible expression. Klostermann has therefore argued with great acuteness (*Probleme im Apostelkreise*, 1-8 [83]) that דמכ (DMKh) is one word—viz., the well-known Aram. root 'to sleep.' All we have to do, then, is to understand it of the sleep of death, a usage known in Syr., and 'field of sleep' will mean cemetery, which, as Mt. tells us, was what the priests meant to make of the potter's field. Klostermann's argument is very strong—it is certainly natural to suppose that the name originated in some fact known to the people at large, as the transformation of a potter's field into a burying place would be—and his view was adopted by Wendt (Meyer[9] *ad loc.*). But we have no instance of a noun דמכ so used, and *ch*, χ, may = א (cp ιωσηχ [Lk. 3 26, Bκ, etc.] = יסי; Σειραχ, Sirach = סירא, Sira). Hence, whatever may have been the real origin of the name—we can never know—its form was probably חקל דמא (Dalm. *Gram.* 161 and 105 n. 1 respectively), 'the field of blood' (so Dalm. 161 n. 6; Arn. Mey. *Jesu Muttersprache*, 49 n. 1). On the questions who bought the field and why it was called Aceldama see also ACTS, § 14. Cp JUDAS, 9.

2. Traditional site. Tradition which goes as far back as to the fourth century has placed Aceldama on a level overhanging the Valley of the Son of Hinnom on the NE. slope of the Hill of Evil Counsel, a tradition which rests precariously on Jer. 18 *f.*, where the situation of the potter's house in Jeremiah's day is thought to be indicated. Potter's

[1] On this form see Dalm. (*Gram.* 304 n. 2), Kau. (*Gram.* 8).

material is still dug out in the neighbourhood. The traditional Aceldama was used to bury Christian pilgrims in at least from 570 (*Anton. Plac. Itin.* 26); especially during the Crusades, but, according to Maundrell, who says it was then called Campo Santo, even as late as 1697. A charnel house into which the bodies were let down from above has stood here from very early times. The best history and description of the site (with plans) is that by Schick, *PEFQ*, 1892, pp. 283 *ff*.

G. A. S. H. W. H.

ACHAIA (Ἀχαΐα [Ti. WH]). It is a fact of some interest that both at the beginning and at the end of their history the word 'Achæan' was used as the general designation of the inhabitants of Greece proper. During the classical period Achaia denoted only the narrow strip of coastland and the adjoining mountain stretching along the S. shore of the Corinthian gulf from the river Sythas (mod. Trikalitokos) 20 m. west of Corinth, to the river Larisus near Cape Araxus (mod. Kalogria). In the time of Paul, Achaia signifies the Roman province—*i.e.*, the whole country south of Macedonia and Illyricum, including some of the adjacent islands. The name Achaia was given to it in consequence of the part played by the Achæan League in the last spasmodic effort which occasioned the sack of Corinth and the downfall of Greek independence, 146 B.C. (Paus. vii. 16 10). Whether the formation of the province dates from that year, or not, is of no consequence to the student of the Bible. It is in 27 B.C. that Augustus definitely settled the boundaries of Achaia, assigning to it Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, and part of Epirus (Strabo, p. 840). The Achaia of Paul is, therefore, practically synonymous with the modern kingdom of Greece, but a little more extensive towards the north-west. The combination 'Macedonia and Achaia' embraces the whole of European Greece, as in Acts 19 21, διελθὼν τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν (see also Rom. 15 26 1 Thess. 1 7 *f*.). From 27 B.C. Achaia naturally ranked as a senatorial province—*i.e.*, its governor was an ex-prætor, with the title proconsul (Strabo, *l.c.*). In 15 A.D., however, owing to their financial embarrassments, both Achaia and Macedonia were taken charge of by Tiberius; and it was not until 44 A.D. that Claudius restored them to the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76; Suet. *Claud.* 25). The writer of Acts 18 12 is thus quite correct in speaking of Gallio in 53 or 54 A.D. as ἀνθύπατος—*i.e.*, proconsul. The fiasco of Nero's proclamation made all Greece free, but this state of things lasted only a short time. With this exception, a proconsular governor was stationed in Corinth, the capital of Achaia, until the time of Justinian.

In the NT we hear of only three towns of Achaia—ATHENS, CORINTH, and CENCHREA;—but the Salutations of the two Corinthian Epistles (esp. 2 Cor. 1 1 ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ) imply other Christian communities in the province. In 1 Cor. 16 15 the 'house of Stephanas' is called the 'first-fruits of Achaia' (ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας). In this place, for 'Achaia' we should expect 'Corinth'; for, according to Acts 17 34, Dionysius the Areopagite and other Athenians must have been the first-fruits of teaching in the province of Achaia. In Rom. 16 5, where, according to the Text. Rec., Epænetus is spoken of as the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, the best texts read Ἀσίας [Ti. W & H, following BAℵ, etc.]. The charity of Achæan converts is praised in 2 Cor. 9 2 Rom. 15 26; but the reference may be merely to the church at Corinth (cp 2 Cor. 8 10).

W. J. W.

ACHAICUS (Ἀχαϊκός [Ti. WH]), a member of the Corinthian church, who, along with Stephanas and Fortunatus, had carried to Paul at Ephesus news of the Corinthians which had gladdened and refreshed him (1 Cor. 16 17 *f*.). He is enumerated as one of the Seventy (Lk. 10 1) in *Chron. Pasc.* (Bonn ed. i. 402).

ACHAN (עָכָן. Josh. 7), called **Achar** (עָכָר—*i.e.*, 'troubled'—, cp OCRAN, עָכְרָן) in 1 Ch. 2 7 and *ACHAR* [ed. Bensly]) in 4 Esd. 7 37 [10/] RV. ⊕'s readings are

Αχαρ [BF and (except Josh. 7 1. Αχαν) L], Αχαν [A; but Αχαρ in Josh 7 24 1 Ch. 2 7]); the son of Carmi b. Zabdi b. Zerah b. Judah, who unlawfully took possession of some of the 'devoted' spoil of Jericho (see BAN). His breach of a taboo had involved the whole host in guilt (*RS* 162), and the community had to free itself of responsibility by destroying not only Achan but also his whole family (Josh. 7). This is quite in accordance with primitive notions (*RS*[2] 421), although our present text is due to later insertions in *v.* 24 *f*. With the variety in the form of the name is to be connected the word-play in Josh. 7 25. Cp CARMI, 1.

ACHAZ (Αχαζ [Ti]. Αχαϊ [WH], Mt. 1 9), RV AHAZ (*q.v.* 1).

ACHBOR (עַכְבּוֹר. § 68, *i.e.*, MOUSE [*q.v.*]; cp Ph. עכבר. עכברים עכברא; Αχοβωρ [BAL]).

1. Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom (Gen. 36 38, χοβωρ [A*D]; 39; 1 Ch. 1 49, עַכְבֹּר [Bd. Ginsb.], αχωβωρ [B], χ. [L]); also *v.* 50 in ⊕[BA]. See EDOM, § 4.

2. b. Micah; a courtier of King Josiah (2 K. 22 12 14; Jer. 26 22, MT and Theod. in Q mg. [BAℵ om.]; Jer. 36 12, αχοβωρ [Bℵ*], -βη [ℵ*], αχοβωρ [Q]); in 2 Ch 34 20 named ABDON [*q.v.*, 4] (αβδοδομ [B], αβδων [AL]).

ACHIACHARUS (Αχιαχαρος [BA]; see further below).

1. The prosperous nephew of Tobit (see TOBIT). He was cup-bearer, signet-keeper, steward, and overseer of accounts to Esarhaddon at Nineveh (Tob. 1 21 *f*.).

In 1880 George Hoffmann pointed out[1] the identity of the Achiacharus of Tob. 1 21 *f*. 11 18 14 10† with Ahikar (on the name see below), a legendary sage and vezir of Sennacherib, who is the hero of a romance found in certain Syriac and Arabic MSS. According to this romance, he almost lost his life through the base treachery of his sister's son (cp Pesh. in Tob. 11 18), Nadan (= Aman of Tob. 14 10—cp [ἐποίησεν] αδαμ [B], ναδαβ (ℵ); see AMAN—and probably = Nabal [or Laban or other form] of Tob. 11 18; see NASBAS), whom he had adopted. Restored to favour, he gave sundry proofs of his marvellous wisdom, especially in connection with a mission to a foreign king. Assemanni had already observed (*Bib. Or.* 3, pt. 1 286 *a*) that in the Arabic story 'de Hicaro eadem fere narrantur quæ de Æsopo Phryge'; chaps. 23-32 of the legendary *Life of Æsop* (Maximus Planudes) in fact tell of Æsop and his kinsman Ennos a quite similar story. There can be little doubt that the story is oriental in origin; but it has been argued by Meissner (see below) that the Æsop romance has preserved in some respects a more original form. The Greek recension, however, that must be assumed as the basis of certain Roumanian and Slavonic versions still surviving, was probably an independent version now lost, made from the Syriac. Allusions to an eastern sage αχαϊκαρος are found elsewhere (*e.g.*, Strabo, p. 762); and traces of his story seem to have made their way into the Talmud (*ZDMG* 48 194 *f*. ['94']). The mutual relations of these various recensions are still obscure; but there seems little reason to question that the allusions in Tobit are to an already well-known story. M. R. James (*Guardian*, Feb. 2, 1898, pp. 163 *f*.) suggests parallels to the same story in the NT.

Of the allusions, that in 11 18 is wanting in the It.; those in 11 18 and 14 10 are absent from the 'Chaldee' and Heb. texts; while the Vg. omits all save that in 11 18 (*Achior*)—perhaps the allusions were felt to have little to do with the story of Tobit.

Greek variants of the name are αχειχαρος [ℵ in *c.* 1, -ειαχ. once in ℵ*-3], αχε[ι]κ. [ℵ in 14 10], αχειχαρ [ℵ* in 11 18, αχειαχαρος ℵ*-3], cp It. *Achicarus*, and in 14 10 *Achicar*. The cognate Hebrew would be אחיקר, and Meissner has pointed out that Pesh. has ܐܚܝܩܪ for בִּקֵּר in 1 Ch. 6 5. The name remains obscure however. Pesh. has ܐܚܝܩܪ; 'Chald.' H[2], אקיקר; H[1] אחי אחיקן; Vg. *Achior*, and Pesh. in 1 21 *f*. ܐܚܝܩܪ.

1. A. [illegible] 'Syrischen Akten persischen Martyrer,' in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, 7, no. 3, p. 182.

In the romance the forms are حيقار ; سحاق (cod. Sach.); اسحق (cod. in Brit. Mus.).

Fabricius (1 [illegible]) (1) Semitic: Arabic, A. Sahhani, *Contes arabes modernes* (Leipzig, 1887); Ar. and Neo-Syr., M. Lidzbarski from cod. Sachau 349, in *Festgruss an Roth* (Stuttgart, 1893), Heft 4, 1 Teil, with Germ. transl.; English transl. of Syriac (compared with Ar. and Neo-Syr.), E. J. Dillon, *Contemp. Rev.* March 98, p. 369-380; cp also versions of the Arabian Nights, e.g., Sir R. F. Burton, *Alf Laylah wa Laylah*, supplemental volumes, 6 [illegible], Æthiopic (proverbs), C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch der weisen Philosophen*, 19-21, 40-44. (2) Slavonic: Germ. transl. V. Jagic, *Byzant. Zeitsch.* 1 111-126. (3) Armenian, printed at Constantinople, in 1708, 1731, and 1863. (4) *The Story of Ahikar*, Cambridge, Harris, and Lewis, Camb. 1898 (Gk. text; Armen., Syr., and Arab. texts and transl.; Slav. and Eth. transl.) appeared as these sheets were being passed for press.

Discussions: Bruno Meissner, *ZDMG* 48 171-197 [194]; Jagic (*op. cit.* 107-111); Ernst Kuhn (*ib.* 127-140); Lidzbarski (*op. cit.* 3 *ff.*); Bickell, *Athenæum*, 22nd Nov. 1890, p. 700, and 24th Jan. 1891, p. 123; cp also 28th Nov. 1891, p. 711, and 29th Nov., p. 750; J. R. Harris in *Story of Ahikar* (see above) pp. vii. lxxxviii.

2. King of Media (Tob. 14 15 [BN*]; It. *Achiar*). NEBUCHADNEZZAR (*ib.* [BL]) - AHASUERUS (*ib.* [A]). See TOBIT, BOOK OF.

ACHIAS (*ACHIAS*), 4 Esd. 1 2†. See AHIJAH, 1.

ACHIM (αχειμ [BN*], -ν, αχιν, -ην [Δ etc.], αχιμ [N^b etc.], cp αχειμ אחי״מ, AHIAM, 1 Ch. 11 35 [BNA], and = יכין, JACHIN, Gen. 46 10 [A*vid.], 1 Ch. 24 17 [A] [B]), a name in the ancestry of Joseph (Mt. 1 14). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 c.

ACHIOR (αχ[ε]ιωρ [BNA], § 44), in the romance of JUDITH (*q.v.*), 'captain of all the sons of Ammon.' Having dared to warn Holofernes of the danger of attacking the Israelites, he was handed over to them to share their fate on the expected triumph of the Assyrian arms (6 5 *ff.*). He was hospitably received, and ultimately became a Jewish proselyte—no doubt to the great edification of Jewish readers of the story.

In some versions of Tobit his name takes the place of that of ACHIAHARUS (*q.v.*)—an error due to the similarity of *k* and *r* in Syriac.

ACHIPHA (αχειβα [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31† RV = Ezra 2 51, HAKUPHA.

ACHISH (אָכִישׁ, αγχους [BA], ακχ. [L]), a Philistine, son of Maoch (1 S. 27 2) or Maachah (1 K. 2 39 *f.*; αγχις [A]); a king of Gath, with whom David and his band took refuge from the persecution of Saul (see DAVID, § 5). He is described as a credulous man whom David found it easy to deceive, representing that his raids against Bedouin tribes were really directed against the Judahites and their allies, and taking care not to leave any of his captives alive to reveal the truth to Achish. At Ziklag, which had been assigned to him as his place of residence, David lived as a freebooter in vassalage to Achish for a year and four months (𝔊 only four months). The confidence, however, with which his suzerain regarded him was not shared by the Philistine lords, who prevailed upon Achish to dismiss David from his army when starting to meet Saul at Gilboa. See 1 S. 27 1-28 2 29 1-11, a connected passage of date prior to 300 B.C. (*JBDJ*). In another passage (1 K. 2 39 *f.*) where the execution of Shimei [1] is accounted for by his having gone to Gath in search of some runaway slaves, it is said that the fugitives went to Achish. No doubt the same king is meant (son of Maacah, *q.v.*), though the reference to Achish has the appearance of being a later ornamental insertion, made in the interest of the narrative.

To a very much later writer (see 1 S. 21 1-15 [1-10]) the account in 1 S. 27 29 seemed to reflect on David's patriotism. He therefore devised an entertaining and unobjectionable story, in the style of the Midrash, which he hoped would supplant the no longer intelligible historical tradition. According to him, David went alone, and was compelled to feign madness for safety till he could escape. The author of the title of Ps. 34 accepted this story, but by mistake (thinking of Gen. 20 2) wrote 'Abimelech' for 'Achish' (αβιμελεχ [BNAR], αχειμ. [U], *Abimelech*; Pesh. quite different).

ACHITOB (αχειτωβ [B]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = 4 Esd. 1 1† AV = Ezra 7 2, AHITUB, 2.

ACHMETHA (אַחְמְתָא), Ezra 6 2†, the capital of Media; see ECBATANA.

ACHOR (עֲכוֹר; αχωρ [BAL]), a valley on the N. boundary of Judah (Josh. 15 7), which, as we may infer from Josh. 7 (Εμεκαχωρ [BAL]) combined with Hos. 2 15 [17], led up from Jericho into the highlands of Judah. In Is. 65 10 it represents the E. portion of Canaan on this side the Jordan. To an Israelite its name naturally suggested gloomy thoughts. Hosea promises that in the future, when Israel has repented, the evil omen shall be nullified, and a much later prophetic writer (Is. *l.c.*) that the valley of Achor shall become a resting-place of flocks. Early legend connected the name with the sin of Achan the 'troubler' of Israel (Josh. 7 24-26†, *JE*). Many (*e.g.* Grove, very positively, in Smith's *DB*) have identified the valley with the Wady el-Kelt, which leads down through a stupendous chasm in the mountains to the plain of the Jordan, and is, to unromantic observers, dark and dismal. This wady, however, is scarcely lifeless enough to be Achor, for its slender torrent-stream rarely dries up. It is also scarcely broad enough; it would never have occurred to the most ecstatic seer that flocks could lie down in the Wady el-Kelt. Some other valley must be intended. According to the *OS* (217 25 89 34) the valley was to the N. of Jericho, and its old name still clung to it. This cannot be reconciled with the statement in Josh. *l.c.* respecting the N. boundary of Judah.

ACHSAH (עַכְסָה, § 71, 'anklet'; αχχα [B], αχα [AL]), according to Josh. 15 16-19, and (αχα [B], αχχα [Bab mg. A]) Judg. 1 12-15 (cp 1 Ch. 2 49; AV **Achsa**, οξα [L]), a daughter of Caleb, who offered her in marriage to the conqueror of Kirjath-sepher. She was won by his younger brother Othniel. At her petition, because her home was to be in the dry southland (Negeb), Caleb bestowed upon her certain coveted waters called the Upper and the Lower Golath (see below). The simple grace of the narrative holds us spell-bound; but we must not, with Kittel (*Hist.* 1 299), pronounce the story historical on this account. That some clans should have been named after individuals is not inconceivable; but it is most improbable that we have any true traditions respecting the fortunes of such possible individuals, and it would be throwing away the lessons of experience to admit the lifelikeness of a narrative as an argument for its historicity. According to analogy, Achsah must represent a Kenizzite clan, allied in the first instance to the Calebites of Hebron, but also, very closely, to the clan settled at Debir and called Othniel; and the story arose in order to justify the claim of the Achsah clan to the possession of certain springs which lay much nearer to Hebron than to Debir (so Prof. G. F. Moore, on Judg. 1). That the cause is amply sufficient, can hardly be denied (cp the Beersheba and Rehoboth stories in Genesis). It only remains to discover the right springs. We know where to look, having identified Debir with the highest degree of probability. And our search is rewarded. In all other parts of the district the water supply is from cisterns; no streams or springs occur. But about seven miles (Conder) N. of *ed-Dheriyeh* (the true Debir), and near Van de Velde's site for Debir (*Kirbet ed-Dubeh*), are beautiful springs (worthy of being Achsah's prize), which feed a stream that runs for three or four miles, and does not dry up.[1] The springs, which are fourteen, are in three groups,

[1] According to information received from Mr. F. C. Conybeare, there are two Armenian recensions, the earlier of which appears to be in some respects more primitive than the Syriac. There is also, probably, a Georgian version.

[1] *PEF Mem.* 3 302; see also GASm. *Hist. Geog.* 279 (cp p. 78), who speaks of only two springs.

and the two which are nearest to the head of the valley may be presumed to be the Upper and Lower Goliath. The identification is certainly a valuable one. See, further, GOLIATH-MAIM.

ACHSHAPH (אַכְשָׁף, *i.e.* 'sorcery'; αζειφ [B], αχσαφ [A], αχαϲ [L]), one of the unknown sites in the book of Joshua. It lay, according to P, on the border of the Asherite territory (Josh. 19 25; κεαφ [B]). Its king (if the same Achshaph is meant) joined the northern confederation under Jabin, king of Hazor (11 1: αχιφ [A], αχειβ [F], [βασιλεα] χασαφ [L]); and shared the defeat of his allies (12 20). Rob. (*HR*, 455) connects it with the modern Kesaf, a village near the bend of the river Litany where there are some ruins of uncertain date; this identification would suit Josh 11 1 but not 19 25. Maspero, on the other hand, followed by WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 154, cp 173), identifies Achshaph with the *Akap* of the name-list of Thotmes III. (*RP*[2], 5 40). In this part of the list, however, there are names of localities in the region of Jezreel, which is outside the land of Asher. Flinders Petrie (*Hist. of Eg.* 2 306) connects Aksap with *'Aujeh*, 9 m SSW. of Jeba, which is hazardous. At any rate there were probably several places noted anciently for their sorcerers and therefore called Achshaph. The form κεαφ (see above) has suggested a most improbable identification with Haifa (*PEF Mem.* 1 165). The statement of Eus. in *OS*, 218 54 *ff.* (ασαφ) is geographically impossible.

ACHZIB (אַכְזִיב; probably 'winter-torrent').

1. A town of Judah in the Shephelah, mentioned with Keilah and Mareshah, Jos. 15 44 (ακιαζει κ. κεζειβ [B], αχζεκ [A], αχζειβ [L]), also Mic. 1 14†, where $\mathfrak{G}^{BVg}$, losing the intended paronomasia, renders 'the houses of Achzib' οἴκοις ματαίοις. The name becomes CHEZIB (כְּזִיב; Samar. text, Chazibah; χασβι [AEL]) in Gen. 38 5†, where the legend presupposes that Chezib is the centre of the clan of Shelah; and since in 1 Ch. 4 22† 'the men of Cozeba' (מַכּוֹבָא; χωζηβα [AL]; but σωχηθα [B], cp σωχα = Socoh) are said to belong to the same clan, we may safely recognise COZEBA (so RV; AV CHOZEBA) as another form of the same name. The

name may perhaps linger in *'Ain el Kezbeh*, between Yarmuk (Jarmuth) and Shuweikeh (Socoh), but to the E. of both (So GASm., after *PEF Mem.* 3 36). Conder's identification of Cozeba with the ruin of Kuweizibe, 2½ m. NE. of Halhul towards Hebron (*PEF Mem.* 3 311) is therefore superfluous. Buhl wisely doubts the proposal to identify it with Kussabe SE. of Tell el-Hesy (*Pal.* 192).

2. A Canaanite town, 9 m. to the north of Accho, like which city it was claimed but not conquered by the tribe of Asher, Josh. 19 29 (εχοζοβ [B], αχζειφ [A], αζειφ [A*], αχαζειβ [L]), Judg. 1 31† (ασχαζει [BL], χενδει [A]). Sennacherib mentions Akziba and Akku together in the Taylor inscription (*RP*[2] 88). Achzib (Aram. *Achdib*) is the Ecdippa, ἐκδίππα, of *ON*, 95 13 224 (cp the εκδιππων [*HI* 1 14], εκδειπους (*Ant.* v 1 22), where it is said to have been also called δρανη of Jos.), the modern *es-Zib*.

T. K. C.

ACIPHA (ακειβα [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31† AV = Ezra 2 51, HAKUPHA.

ACITHO (ακιθω [A]), Judith 8 1†. RV, AHITUB (q.v.).

ACRA (ακρα [NAV]), 1 Macc. 1 33 etc., AV 'strong hold,' RV 'citadel.' See JERUSALEM.

ACRABBIM (עַקְרַבִּים), Josh. 15 3†, RV AKRABBIM.

ACRE (עֶלֶד, ϲεγϊοϲ in Is.; for $\mathfrak{G}$ in 1 Sam. cp We. Dr. *ad loc.*), Is. 5 10, 1 S. 14 14 AV mg. RV. The Heb. word seems to denote the amount of land which a span or YOKE (*q.v.*) of oxen could plough in the course of a day (cp below); perhaps, like the Egyptian δρουρα, it ultimately became a fixed quantity (cp Now. *Arch.* 1 [illegible]). Even at the present day the fellahin of Palestine measure by the *faddan* (= Syr. *paddanta* 'yoke'; cp *ZDPV* 4 79); cp also Lat. *jugum, jugerum*. The term is not restricted to arable land, being applied in Is. *l.c.* to a vineyard. Winckler, however (*AOF*, 2nd ser., 2 [illegible]), derives *gemed* from Bab. *gamâdu* (= *hakâlu*) to weigh, properly to measure off (which is at any rate barely possible), and attempts to show that *gemed* in Is. can denote only a liquid measure (which is by no means obvious). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES[1]

CONTENTS

The 'We' sections distinct in character from rest of book (§ 1); *Inaccuracies* (§ 2); *'Tendency'* (§§ 3-7); *'Journey Record'* (§ 8 *f.*); *Other Sources* (§ 10 *f.*); *Trustworthiness* (§§ 12-14); *Authorship* (§ 15); *Date* (§ 16); *Blass's hypothesis* (§ 17 *f.*); *Revisions*; *Value of Acts* (§ 19); *Literature* (§ 20)

Apart from scanty notices supplied by the NT epistles, this book is our only source for the history of Christianity during its first thirty or thirty-five years. The question of its trustworthiness is, therefore, of fundamental importance.

1. The 'We' sections or Journey Record.

The sections in which, as an eye-witness, the writer gives his narrative in the first person plural (16 10-17 20 5-15 21 1-18 27 1-28 16) may be implicitly accepted. But it may be regarded as equally certain that they are not by the same writer as the other parts of the book. In the sections named, the book shows acquaintance with the stages of travel of almost every separate day, and with other very unimportant details (20 11 21 2 [illegible] 28 11, etc.); outside these limits it has no knowledge even of such an important fact as that of Paul's conflicts with his opponents in Galatia and Corinth, and mentions only three of the twelve adventures catalogued so recently in 2 Cor. 11 24 *f.* cp 23 (Acts 14 19 16 22 *f.*). Even had the writer of the book as a whole (assuming him to have been a companion of Paul) been separated from the apostle—remaining behind, *e.g.*, in Macedonia during the interval between 16 17 and 20 5—he would surely afterwards have gathered the missing details from eye-witnesses and embodied them in his book, instead of satisfying himself with such extraordinarily meagre notes as we have in 18 21-23 20 1-3 or 16 5-8. Even were he following an old journal, he could never have passed over so many important matters in silence simply because they were not to be found in his notes. Further, he contradicts the Epistle to the Galatians so categorically (see GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO, § 5 *f.*, and COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM) that, if we assume his identity with the eye-witness who writes in the first person, we are compelled (see below, § 6) to adopt one of two courses. We must either make Galatians non-Pauline or pronounce the writer of Acts as a whole to be a 'tendency' writer of the most marked character—hardly less so than a post-apostolic author who should have simply invented the 'we' sections. To suppose that the 'we' sections were invented, however, is just as inadmissible as to question the genuineness of Galatians. If the sections had been invented, they would not have been so different from the rest of the book. We must therefore conclude that the sections in question come from a document written by an eye-witness, the so-called 'we' source, and that this was used by a later writer, the compiler of the whole book.

It is upon this assumption of a distinct authorship for

[1] On title see below, § 3 n.

the 'we' sections that we are best able to pass a comparatively favourable judgment on the compiler's discretion from historical facts in other parts of the book. But there is one charge from which he cannot be freed: viz. that he has followed the method of retaining the 'we' [illegible]. In the case of so capable a writer, in whom hardly a trace can be detected either in the contrary or in style of the use of documents, this fact is not to be explained by lack of skill, such as is sometimes met with in the Mediæval chroniclers. The [illegible] that he wished—what has actually happened—that the whole book should be regarded as the work of an eye-witness. An analogous case is to be found in the 'I' taken over from the Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 7 27-8 34 9 1-15; Neh. 1 1-7, 12 31 13 6 31; also in Tob 1 1-3 6, and in *Protevangelium* [illegible] 18 f.). Just as Ezra 10 and Neh 8, as well as the sections just mentioned, must be held to rest on those Memoirs, although modified and with the 'I' dropped out, so in Acts we may assume much other matter to have been drawn from the source from which the 'we' sections are derived. Any attempt, however, to assign to this source whole sections of the book not having the 'we,' and to use the conclusion so gained as a proof of the trustworthiness of everything thus assumed to belong to it, must be postponed until this trustworthiness has been investigated by the means otherwise at our command.

In this investigation we begin with certain obvious inaccuracies—first of all with those which cannot be traced to the influence of any tendency.

2. Inaccuracies uninfluenced by tendency.

Let us take the manifestation of Christ to Paul near Damascus. According to 22 9 his companions see the light from heaven but do not hear the voice of Jesus; according to 9 7 they hear the voice but see no one and do not fall down; according to 26 12-18 they fall down indeed with Paul, but it is he alone who sees the heavenly light, and hears the voice. This last account, moreover, represents him as having received at the time an explanation of what had occurred, according to 22 10 f. he did not receive the explanation until afterwards, through Ananias.

Further inconsistencies of statement are to be found when we compare the explanation of the departure from Jerusalem in 9 26-30 with that in 22 17-21; the account in 10 44 (ἔτι) with that in 11 15 (ἄρξασθαι), the explanation of the offering in 21 2[illegible] with that in 24 17 f.; the accounts in 21 10-14 22 23-27 28 27 with 28 17, according to which Paul was, in Jerusalem, a prisoner of the Jews and not as yet of the Romans; the occasion of the appeal to Cæsar in 25 9-11 with that in 28 18 f. The liberation of Paul and Silas from prison at Philippi (16 23-40) is not only a very startling miracle (with resemblances to what we read in Euripides, *Bacchæ*, 439-441, 602 f., 606-623 [cp Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 47 262 22 [illegible]], and as regards Acts 16 [illegible] in Lucian, *Toxaris*, 27-31), but is scarcely reconcilable with 1 Thess. 2 2, where the language of the apostle hardly suggests that his [illegible] method was in any measure due to an occurrence of the [illegible].

So much for inaccuracies that cannot be attributed to any tendency on the part of the writer. There are others—and these of much greater importance—which can only be so explained. Before discussing these, let us ascertain clearly what the tendency of the writer is.

Every historian who is not simply an annalist must have 'tendency' in the wider sense of that word.

3. Tendency of the book.

His trustworthiness is not necessarily affected thereby; indeed, it has actually been urged by one of the apologists for Acts,[1] as an argument for the trustworthiness of the book, that it was designed to be put in as a document at the trial of Paul, and was written entirely with this view—a position that cannot, however, be made good. Now, it is clear that the book does not profess to be a history of the first extension of Christianity, or of the Church in the apostolic age: it covers really only a small portion of this field. It is equally certain that the title πράξεις (τῶν ?) ἀποστόλων does not express the purpose of its author, who relates hardly anything of James and John, and of nine of the apostles mentions nothing but the names.[1] Neither is the book a history of Peter and Paul, for it tells also of John, of both the James, of the deacons, of Stephen, Philip, Apollos, and others. Nor is it a history of the spread of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome, for the founding of the Roman church is not described but presupposed (28 15), and all that has any interest for the writer is the arrival there of Paul (19 21 23 11). It is often supposed that the aim of the book is expressly formulated in 1 8, and that the purpose of the author was to set forth the spread of Christianity from Jerusalem, through Samaria, and to the ends of the earth. This is much too indefinite to account either for the difference in scale of the various narratives, sometimes so minutely detailed and sometimes so very vague, or for their marked divergences from actual history.

It is, therefore, no prejudice on the part of critics, but the nature of the book itself, that leads us to ascribe tendency to the writer. (1) We must not, with the Tübingen School, consider it 'conciliatory.' According to this view Acts was an attempt from the Pauline side, by means of concessions, to bring Judaism to a recognition of Gentile Christianity. A reconciliation of the two was thus to be effected in face of the danger that threatened both from Gnosticism on the one side and from state persecution on the other. This cannot have been the purpose. Acts is much too harsh towards non-Christian Jews, for whom Christian Jews continued to retain a certain sympathy (2 21 7 51-53 18 5 f. 12-17 19 13-16 21 27-36 23 12-15, etc.); besides, most of the details which it gives have no relation to any such purpose. The main point on which the supposed reconciliation turns, the Apostolic Decree (15 [illegible]), is to be explained otherwise (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 10). (2) On the other hand the book is not a mere apology for Paul. It would, in that case, contents would be unsuitable (e.g., the circumcision of Timothy, contrasted with the circumstances required in an apostle [1 Cor. 9 5], which were not forgotten in Paul); it does not comprehend such a view of the personality of Paul as the facts known to us from the epistles demand (see below, §§ 7-14). There remains only (3) one other possible view of the author's tendency. His aim is to justify the Gentile Christianity of himself and his time, already on the way to Catholicism, and he seeks to do this by means of an account of the origin of Christianity. The apostles, including Paul, are the historical foundation of Christianity, and 4 32 *a*, where we are told that all Christians were of one heart and soul, may be regarded as forming a motto for the book.

A whole series of demonstrable inaccuracies becomes comprehensible when viewed as resulting from this tendency. Paul never comes into conflict with the original apostles or their followers as he does in Gal. 4 17 5 7 10 12; 2 Cor. 10 14 f. 11 13-15 12 [illegible].

4. Inaccuracies resulting from this tendency.

The one misunderstanding (Acts 15) that arises is cleared away by the original apostles; the attempt to enforce the circumcision of Titus (Gal. 2 3-5) nay, the whole personality of Titus is just as carefully passed over in silence as are the dispute with Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2 11-21; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3) and the Judaising plots to impose on the Galatians and Corinthians another Gospel, that of circumcision (Gal. 1 8 f. 6 12 f.), and another Christ (2 Cor. 11 4 f.). Apart

[1] Aberle, *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.* 1863, pp. 84-134.

[1] It is not to be inferred from the absence of the article from the title in good MSS (πράξεις αποστολων [BD]) that the author meant to say that it was with the acts of only some of the apostles that he proposed to deal; for it would be very strange that he should admit such an incompleteness in the very title of his work. The article before ἀποστολων is omitted because πράξεις is without it; and that is so simply because such is the usual practice at the beginning of books (cp Mt. 1 1 Acts 1 1, and see Winer[30], § 19 4, 10). Since therefore no form of the title can be assigned to the author of the book, we conclude that the title must date from the time when the book was first united with others in one collection—its first occurrence is in the last third of the second century (Mur. Fragm. Tert. Clem. Al.). The simple πράξεις [illegible] Origen [illegible] meaningless as an original title, and intelligible only as an abbreviation.

from the Gentiles, who [illegible] to show [illegible] Paul (14 [illegible]) [illegible] may [illegible] [illegible] 14 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

before sending them off. But a companion of Paul would at least be familiar with the events which are recorded in the epistles; events with which the representation in Acts is inconsistent. If we are not prepared to declare the whole mass of the Pauline epistles to be spurious, and their statements about the events to which they allude unhistorical, there is no way of acquitting the writer of Acts from the charge of having moulded history under the influence of 'tendency.' Only this tendency must be understood as being simply a consistent adherence to the view of the history that he had before he studied his sources.

7. Possible further influences of tendency.

The tendencies of the author once established in regard to points where his historical inaccuracy admits of definite proof from a trustworthy source, one may perhaps found on them presumptions in regard to matters that admit of no such control. Did Paul circumcise Timothy (16 3)? Since Timothy's mother is called a Jewess, and Paul held the principle laid down in 1 Cor 9 20, it is impossible to deny categorically that he did. Nevertheless, it remains in the highest degree improbable, especially after Paul had, just before (Gal. 2 1-5), so triumphantly acted as a question of principle, opposed the circumcision of Titus. The difficulty of the case is not much relieved even by the supposition that the circumcision happened *before* the Council of Jerusalem, and only on account of the Jews of that place (16 3) and therefore, notwithstanding the statement of the same verse, not with a view to the missionary journeys. Again, did Paul take a Nazirite vow? We leave 18 18 out of account, since the text does not enable us clearly to decide whether that assertion concerns Paul or Aquila, and since a Nazirite could shave his head only in Jerusalem. In 21 23-26, however, Paul is represented as having taken such a vow, not only without waiting for the minimum period of thirty days required by traditional law (21 27 24 11, cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 15 1 [§ 313], Num. 6 13 21; see NAZIRITE), but also, and above all, with the expressly avowed purpose of proving that the report of his having exempted the Jewish Christians of the Diaspora from obligation to the ceremonial law was not true, and that he himself constantly observed that law (cp 28 17). This would, for Paul, have been simply an untruth, and that, too, on a point of his religious conviction that was fundamental (Gal. 4 9-11; Rom 10 4, etc). Just as questionable, morally, would it have been had he really described himself, especially before a court of justice (23 6, cp 24 21 26 5-8 28 20), simply as a Pharisee, asserted that he was accused only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and held his peace about his Christianity.

8. The Journey Record: *a.* its treatment.

In view of the tendencies that have been pointed out, there is, unhappily, some room for the suspicion that the author has not held himself bound to appropriate the 'we' source in its integrity. This is indeed made antecedently probable by the fact that he has freely in the Third Gospel passed over much that lay before him in his sources, and that the sections of the Journey Record actually adopted supply for the most part only superficial notices of the stages passed, or miracle stories. And just in proportion to the freedom of the latter from legendary embellishments (16 16 18 20 9 12 28 1-6), and to their credibility even in the eyes of those who wholly reject the supernatural (although, of course, the narrators thought them miraculous), must be our regret at every instance in which the Journey Record has been set aside, or even in which its words (as has been conjectured to be sometimes the case; see above, § 1) are not reproduced exactly.

This free treatment of the Journey Record increases the difficulty of ascertaining who was its author. Had the record been adopted intact, we should have been certain that it was not composed by any of those who appear among the companions of Paul in the sections where the narrative 'we' does not occur. But this means of solution is out of the question. And if the source came into the hands of the author of Acts as (let us say) an anonymous document, or if, in the interest of greater vividness, he used the 'we' without regard to the person originally meant, he may also at the same time have spoken of the writer of the Journey Record in the third person, even when he was otherwise following the document. Yet 20 5 is a strong indication that by the 'we' he does not wish us to understand any one at least of the seven mentioned in the immediately preceding verse. Thus the text at all events gives nowhere any ground for thinking of *Timothy*, who, moreover, is mentioned in 17 14 *f.* 18 5 in the third person. If we are to regard the record as coming from *Silas*, the author of Acts must have used it without the 'we,' and, in a very fragmentary way indeed, for long periods during which, according to his own statement (15 40 16 19-25 29 17 4 10 18 5), Silas was with Paul. This, though not quite impossible, is very unlikely. Moreover, Silas is never again mentioned in Acts after 18 5; neither, from the same period, that of Paul's first stay in Corinth (2 Cor. 1 19), is he again mentioned in the Pauline Epistles; and in 1 Pet. 5 12, he appears by the side of Peter. Whoever attributes the Journey Record to *Titus* must in like manner assume that much of it has been either not used at all or used without the 'we.' For Titus was with Paul at the time of the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. 2 1), and continued to be his companion at least during the latter part of the three years' stay at Ephesus, as also during the subsequent stay in Macedonia (2 Cor. 2 13 7 6 8 16 *f.* 23 12 18[1]). Besides, the writer of Acts would use a work of Titus somewhat unwillingly, for he completely suppresses his name (see above § 4[2]). Still, if so valuable a writing by Titus had been really available, the author of Acts would scarcely have completely neglected it.

9. *b.* Its author.

If it is thus just possible that Titus wrote the Journey Record, it is perhaps still more conceivable that it was written by *Luke*. In this way we should best be able to explain how, ever since the time of the Muratorian Fragment and Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 14 1), the entire book of Acts as well as the Third Gospel came to be ascribed to him. It is true that, in the Pauline Epistles, the first mention of Luke is in Col. 4 14; Phil. 24; 2 Tim. 4 11 in other words, not before Paul's imprisonment and the closing years of his life. Nevertheless, he may have been one of Paul's companions at an earlier period, if we are allowed to suppose that he occupied a subordinate position. The most suspicious fact is that, whilst Luke (see LUKE), if we may trust Col. 4 11 14, was, like Titus (Gal. 2 3), uncircumcised, the writer of the Journey Record not only uses Jewish specifications of date (Acts 16 13 20 6 *f.* 27 9), and goes to the synagogue or the Jewish place of prayer (16 16), but also includes himself (16 13) among those who taught there (Ἰουδαῖοι, 16 20, must not be pressed, as it may rest on an error on the part of the speakers; cp 16 37). We must thus, perhaps, abandon all attempt to ascribe the Journey Record to any known companion of Paul.

10. Other Sources.

Other sources for Acts, in addition to that just mentioned, have long been conjectured: *e.g.* a Barnabas source for chap. 13 *f.* Here the naming over again of Barnabas and Saul, and the omission of John Mark (13 1), notwithstanding 12 25, are indeed remarkable, as are also

[1] Add to this that, if 2 Tim. 4 10 is to be taken as accurately preserving an incident in Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, it could hardly have been Titus that accompanied Paul to Rome (Acts 27 28). The notices in the epistle to Titus are too untrustworthy to serve as a foundation for historical combinations.

[2] It is just as incorrect to suppose that he is named in Acts 18 7 as it is to identify him with Silas.

the circumstance that, apart from 11 30 12 25 15 12 25, it is precisely in these two chapters that Barnabas is often (13 2 7 14 14; contrast 13 43 46 50 14 20) mentioned before Paul, and that it is only here (14 14) that Paul (with Barnabas) is called an 'apostle' (see APOSTLE).

Of primary importance would be the establishment of sources for chaps. 1-12.

Many traces of distinct sources can be detected. In addition to what is said under GIFTS, SPIRITUAL, and under COMMUNITY OF GOODS, §§ 1-4, two themes had been long recognised as running through the speech of Stephen: viz. refutation of the idea that the blessing of God depended on the possession of the temple (7 48-50), and censure of the national rebellion of the people against the divine will (7 51-53). The stoning of Stephen, moreover, is narrated twice (7 58a and 59b), in a very confusing way, and his burial does not follow till 8 2, after the mention of the great persecution and the flight of all the Christians except the apostles (8 1b). In 8 3, the persecution is resumed, but, as in 8 1a, only Saul is thought of as persecutor. The mention of Saul seems thus throughout (7 58b 8 1a 3) to be a later insertion into a source in which he was not originally named. Besides, 8 1bc seems also to be an interpolation into the account of the last hours of Stephen. In as far as this interpolation speaks of the dispersion of the Christians, it is continued in 11 19, while 8 4 may easily be an ingenious transition of some editor leading up to the story of Philip. 11 17 is further followed by the statement (11 22) that the church at Jerusalem elected a *delegate*. This representation of the right of the church to elect delegates, which is found also in 6 5, seems to be more primitive than that in 8 14, according to which such an election was made by the apostles. Further, in 8 15-17 the apostles are raised to a rank unknown to the earliest times. For, that Christians did not receive the Holy Ghost by baptism, but only through subsequent laying-on of hands, and that the hands of the apostles, is disproved by Gal. 3 2-4; and by the presupposition underlying Acts 19 2 f., although the same notion reappears shortly afterwards (19 6). In like manner, finally, the words 'except the apostles' (8 1) may have been subsequently inserted, to preserve the dignity of the apostles and the continuity of their rule in Jerusalem. In 11 30 the friendly gifts destined for distribution during the famine come into the hands of the presbyters, not, as 6 1-6 would have led us to expect, into those of the deacons.

11. Theories as to Sources.

Observations such as the preceding have of late been expanded into comprehensive theories assigning the whole book to one source or to several sources, with additions by one editor or by several editors.

So B. Weiss, *Einl. in das NT* (1886, 3rd ed. '97), § 50, and *Ap.-ges.*, 1893 (vol. 9, pts. 3 and 4, of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Unters.*); Sorof, *Entstehung der Ap.-ges.*, (1894); van Manen, *Paulus*, 1: *de handelingen der Apostelen* (1896); Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lucas*, 1891 (only on chaps. 1-12); Spitta, *Ap. gesch.*, 1891; Clemen, *Chronol. der Paulin. Br.* 1893 and (for chaps. 1-5) in *St. Kr.*, 1895, pp. 297-357; Joh. Weiss, *St. Kr.*, 1893, pp. 480-546, 'Das Judenchristenthum in der Ap.-gesch.', etc., and 1895, pp. 252-260, 'Die Chronol. der Paulin. Br.'; Gercke in *Hermes*, 1894, pp. 473-492 (only on the first chapters); Jüngst, *Die Quellen der Ap.-ges.*, 1895; Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1895, pp. 65-115, 186-217, 384-447, 481-517; 1896, pp. 24-79, 177-216, 351-380, 517-555.

No satisfactory conclusion has as yet been reached along these lines; but the agreement that has been arrived at upon a good many points warrants the hope that at least some conclusions will ultimately gain general recognition. It is certainly undeniable that this kind of work has sharpened the wits of the critics, and rendered visible certain inequalities of representation, joints and seams, even in places where they are not so conspicuous as in 7 58-8 4.

Thus the tumult in Thessalonica is told in 17 8 for a second time after 17 5 in a disturbing way that leaves it impossible to say who it was that the Jews were trying (17 5) to drag out to the people, or why it was that Jason (17 5 7), whose part in the affair does not become clear till 17 7, was brought before the authorities. It is probable that 13 50 originally followed immediately on 13 49. Similarly, the account of the wonderful miracles of the original apostles (5 12a 15 f.) is interrupted by the interpolation of a fragment (5 17b-14) which is not in the homogeneous. The least that could be done here would be to arrange as follows: 5 12a 15 16 14 12b 14. But that the text should have become so greatly disarranged by transposition is much less likely than the supposition of several successive interpolations. On 18 24-28 19 1-14, see APOLLOS, and COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, §§ 4 5. In the latter passage (15 1 34) the attempt has been made, by separation of sources, to solve questions to which otherwise only tendency-criticism seemed to provide an answer. Similarly in the case of 21 20b-26. After the presbyters have just praised God for the success of Paul's mission to the Gentiles (21 20a) the proposal that he should put it in evidence how strictly legal he is in his views follows with but little fitness. And had Paul been engaged in carrying out a Nazirite vow, it is hardly likely that his presence in the temple (21 27 29) could have led to an attempt on his life. A reason for this attempt is found (21 28 f.) in the alleged introduction of a Gentile within the sacred precincts of the temple, a proceeding which no one would guess to be simultaneous with the presentation of an offering. Since, moreover, for a Nazirite vow at least thirty days are necessary (see above, § 7), it has been proposed to detach 21 20b-26, and to refer the seven days of 21 27 to the duration of the feast of Pentecost which Paul, according to 20 16, was to spend in Jerusalem. 21 10 2 a 27 ff. would then also, along with 20 16 and 21 1-18, belong to the Journey Record.

We come now to the question how far this distribution of the matter among various sources affects the credibility of the book. It is indeed true that, in the case last mentioned, the archæological mistake of assigning only seven days for the Nazirite vows would become more comprehensible if we recognised a variety of sources; yet even so we should have to admit that there is an error, and that the editor had been guilty of the error of inadvertently bringing the two accounts together. And he, as well as the source from which 21 20 26 is presumed to have been taken, would still remain open to the reproach of having, under the influence of a tendency of the kind described above (§ 6), ascribed to Paul a repudiation of his principles of freedom from the law. It cannot be too strongly insisted that in as far as Acts, viewed as a homogeneous work, has to be regarded as a tendency writing, it is impossible to free it wholly of this character by distributing the matter among the various sources; the most that can be done is in cases of excessive misrepresentation to put this in a softer light. In general, however, the editor has dealt with his sources in so masterful a manner that an unlucky hit in the selection and arrangement of the pieces has but rarely to be noted. It has been a practice among some of the scholars enumerated above to claim absolute trustworthiness for the whole of an assumed source which they suppose themselves to have made out, respectively of the nature of some of the contents, as soon as they have found it trustworthy in some particulars. Such an abuse of discrimination of sources in the interest of apologetics is not only illegitimate; it speedily revenges itself. These very critics for the most part find themselves compelled to attribute to their secondary sources and their editors an extraordinary amount of ignorance and awkwardness. In particular, all theories according to which a single assumed source (of which the 'we' sections form part) is taken as a basis for the whole of Acts must from the outset be looked upon with distrust. There is nothing to suggest that any diary-writing companion of Paul also wrote on the beginnings of the church at Jerusalem, and, even if there were, any assumption that his information on such a subject would be as trustworthy as his assertions founded on his own experience, would be quite unwarranted.

12. Bearing of these theories on trustworthiness.

The results then with reference to the trustworthiness of Acts, as far as its facts are concerned, are these.

13. Trustworthiness of narrative.

Apart from the 'we' sections no statement merits immediate acceptance on the mere ground of its presence in the book. All that contradicts the Pauline epistles must be absolutely given up, unless we are to regard these as spurious. Positive proofs of the trustworthiness of Acts must be tested with the greatest caution.

Ramsay thinks he has discovered such proofs in the accuracy with which geographical names and contemporary conditions are reproduced in the journeys of Paul (*Church*, 1894, 1 168; *St. Paul*, 1895). Some of the most important of these points will be considered elsewhere (GALATIA, §§ 9-13, 22). Of the other detailed instances many will be found to break down on closer examination.

For example, Ramsay goes so far as to say (*St. Paul*, chap. 11, 4): 'Aquila, a man of Pontus, settled in Rome, bears a Latin

name; and must therefore have belonged to the province and not to non-Roman Pontus. This is a good example of Luke's principle to use the Roman provincial divisions for purposes of classification.' As if a Jew from non-Roman Pontus, settled in Rome, could not have assumed a subsidiary Roman name, as countless other Jews are known to have done! And as if Luke would not have found it necessary to call him Ποντικος even if he were from non-Roman Pontus!

But it is not necessary to go thus into details which might be adduced as proving the author's accurate acquaintance with localities and conditions. For Ramsay attributes the same accuracy of local knowledge also to one of the revisers of the text, assigned by him to the second century A.D., whose work is now preserved to us in D, and also to the author of one source of the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* (§ 3), assigned by him to the second half of the first century, whose work, however, he declares to be pure romance (*Church*, 2 5 6 4). If so, surely any person acquainted with Asia Minor could, even without knowing very much about the experiences of Paul, have been fairly accurate about matters of geography, provided he did not pick up his information so late in the second century as to betray himself by his language, as according to Ramsay (2 3 6 4 [end] 5 [end] 7 5 9 8 3-6; *St. Paul*, see Index under 'Bezan Text') the above mentioned reviser, whose work lies at the foundation of D, has done. In point of fact, Weizsacker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 23 *f.*, 2nd ed. 230 *f.*; ET 1 274 *f.*) thinks that in Acts 13 *f.* the account of the route followed does come from an authentic source, but yet that the contents of the narrative are almost legendary.

Such, for example, are the incidents at Paphos in Cyprus, 13 6-12 (see BARJESUS); also 13 14 46 *f.* 14 1 *f.*, spoken of above (§ 4); the speech in 13 16-41 (see below, § 14); the healing of a lame man, 14 8-10, recorded after the model of 3 1-11; the paying of divine honours to Barnabas and Paul, 14 11-13, after the manner of the heathen fables (*Philemon and Baucis*, in adjacent Phrygia, see Ov. *Met.*, 8 621 626 *f.*); and the institution of the presbyterial organisation, 14 23. In the first main division of the book (1-12), great improbability attaches to the publicity with which the Christian community comes to the front, to the sympathy that it meets with even among the masses, although not joined by them (2 47 4 21 5 13), and to the assertion that only the Sadducees had anything against it, and they only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection (4 1 *f.*), while the Pharisees had given up all the enmity they had displayed against Jesus, adopting a slightly expectant attitude. See, further, BARNABAS, BARSABAS, GIFTS, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, PHILIP, PETER, CORNELIUS, CHRISTIAN, and also, for the journeys of Paul to Jerusalem, and the attempted rearrangement of them, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1.

But, after every deduction has been made, Acts certainly contains many data that are correct, as, for example, especially in the matter of proper names such as Jason (17 5), Titius Justus, Crispus, Sosthenes (18 7 *f.* 17), or in little touches such as the title πολιτάρχαι (17 6), which is verified by inscriptions[1] for Thessalonica, as is the title of πρῶτος (28 7) for Malta, and probably the name of Sergius Paulus as proconsul for Cyprus (13 7). Only, unfortunately, we do not possess the means of recognising such data as these with certainty, where confirmation from other sources is wanting.

14. Trustworthiness of speeches.

With regard to the speeches, it is beyond doubt that the author constructed them in each case according to his own conception of the situation. In doing so he simply followed the acknowledged practice of ancient historians (Thucydides [i. 22 1] expresses himself distinctly on this point; the others adopt the custom tacitly without any one's seeing in it anything morally questionable.) This is clearly apparent at the very outset in Acts 1 1-22.

It is not Peter who needs to recount these events to the primitive Church already familiar with them;[2] it is the author of Acts who feels called on to tell his readers of them. And it was only for the readers of the book that there could have been any need of the note that the Aramaic expression Aceldama belonged to the Jerusalem dialect, for that was the very dialect which the supposed hearers were using (cp. further THEUDAS, and JUDAS of GALILEE).

The speeches of Paul in Acts embody a theology quite different from that of his epistles

A thought like Acts 17 28 is nowhere to be found in the epistles. Paul derives idolatry, not, as in Acts 17 29 *f.*, from excusable ignorance, but from deliberate and criminal rejection of God (Rom. 1 18-32). Only in Acts 13 38 *f.* 16 31 20 28, do some really Pauline principles begin to make themselves heard. The most characteristically Pauline utterances come, in fact, from Peter (15 7-11), or even James (15 19; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 8). The speeches of Paul, especially that in 13 16-41, are so like those of Peter in idea, construction, and mode of expression, that the one might easily be taken for the other. For example, Paul's speech in 13 38 *f.* resembles Peter's in 10 43. Or cp 3 17 13 *f.* (Peter) with 13 27 *f.* (Paul); 2 25-31 with 13 35-37; or ὁ δίκαιος for 'Christ' in 3 14 with 22 14, but also with Stephen's in 7 52. For the speeches of Paul, especially 13 16-41, show affinities also with that of Stephen: see 13 17-19 22 as compared with 7 2 6 *f.* 36 45 *f.* In like manner, the apologetic discourses of Paul in his own defence betray clearly an unhistorical origin (see § 7).

In short, almost the only element that is historically important is the Christology of the speeches of Peter. This, however, is important in the highest degree. Jesus is there called παῖς Θεοῦ—that is to say, according to 4 25, not 'son,' but 'servant' of God (3 13 26),—holy and righteous (3 14 4 27 2 27); he was not constituted Lord and Messiah before his resurrection (2 36); his death was not a divine arrangement for the salvation of men, but a calamity the guilt of which rested on the Jews (3 13-15 5 30), even if it was (according to 2 23 4 28) foreordained of God; on earth he was anointed by God (4 27) with holy spirit and with strength, and he went about doing good and performing cures, but, according to 10 38, only upon demoniacs; his qualification for this is in the same passage traced to the fact that God was with him. God performed miracles through him (2 22). A representation of Jesus so simple, and in such exact agreement with the impression left by the most genuine passages[1] of the first three gospels, is nowhere else to be found in the whole NT. It is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source. It is, nevertheless, a fact sufficiently surprising that it has been transmitted to us by a writer who in other places works so freely with his sources. At the same time, however, the *Didaché* or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, especially 9 *f.*, also bears evidence that in the second century, in spite of Paul, and of the Epistles to the Hebrews, to the Colossians, and to the Ephesians, and of the Gospel of John, an equally simple Christology still reappeared at least in many Christian circles. That the writer of Acts also respected it may be conjectured from the fact that he has not put into the mouth even of Paul any utterances that go beyond it (13 23 22 14).

15. Authorship.

It has already been repeatedly assumed in the preceding sections that the writer of Acts is identical with the writer of the Third Gospel. The similarity of language, style, and idea, constantly leads back to this conclusion. Differences of spirit between the two writings are so difficult to find that their existence at any time can be held only on the assumption of a subsequent revision of the Gospel, with a view to their removal, by the author of Acts. The most important divergence between the two books is that according to Acts 1 3 (cp 13 31) the ascension of Jesus did not occur till forty days after his resurrection while according to Lk. 24 1 [illegible] *f.*, as also the Epistle of Barnabas (15 9) and probably even Jn. 20 17, it was on the very evening of the resurrection. According to the original view, as indicated by the absence of any special separate mention of the ascension, in 1 Cor. 15 4-12; Rom. 8 34; Heb. 1 3 10 12 12 2; Eph. 1 20 2 5 *f.* 4 9 *f.*; 1 Pet. 3 19 22, and perhaps even also in Acts 2 32-35 (see οὖν 2 33) the resurrection and the ascen-

[1] A detailed discussion by De Witt Burton will be found in the *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1898, pp [illegible]

[2] Unless the passage be indeed a legendary development of Mt 27 3-10.

[1] Such passages as Mk. 10 17 *f.* 3 21 13 32 6 5; Lk. 11 29-32; Mt. 16 5-12 11 5 *f.* 12 31 *f.* as contrasted with those in the same gospels which already present secondary reproductions of the same facts—viz., Mt. 12 16 *f.* 12 23 (ἐξίστατο: see below, § 17 *i.*) 24 36 13 58 12 40 14 15 21; Lk. 7 21; Mk. 3 28-30.

sion were the same act, and all appearances of the risen Jesus were thought of as being made from heaven. Whether this follows also from 'goeth before' (προάγει) in Mk. 16 7 and in Mt. 28 7, may be doubted. In any case the forty days indicate a significant development of the idea, already at work in the Third Gospel, that before his ascension Jesus must have continued on earth to maintain intercourse with his disciples, in order that he might instruct them as to matters which he had not been able to take up before his death. A development of this kind in the story of the ascension required time. Even the repetition of the list of apostles in 1 13 from Lk. 6 14-16 marks Acts as a new work. It is, accordingly, very rash to suppose that Lk. 1 1-4 applies to Acts also, or to draw conclusions from this.

As the book is dedicated to Theophilus, Blass thinks (*Neue kirchliche Zeitsch.*, 1895, pp. 720-725) that the latter must, according to the custom that prevailed in antiquity, have been named in the title (that the title πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων is not original, see above, § 3 n.). The same custom, too, he argues, would require the author to mention his own name in the title. Accordingly as, since the end of the second century, the author has been believed to be Luke (see above, § 9), Blass thinks he is justified in restoring the title thus—Λουκᾶ Ἀντιοχέως πρὸς Θεόφιλον λόγος δευτερος. But this pure conjecture cannot overthrow the proof that the book does not come from a companion of Paul. On the contrary, had the title really run thus, it must have been regarded as a fiction. We should have had to suppose that the author, not content with suggesting (by retaining the 'we' of his source [see § 1]) that he had been a companion of Paul on his missionary journeys, desired to make this claim expressly in the title.

16. Date.

The date of composition of Acts thus falls at least some time later than that of the Third Gospel. The latter is now, on account of its accurate allusions to actual incidents in the destruction of Jerusalem (Lk. 19 43 *f.* 21 20), almost universally set down to a date later than 70 A.D., and on some other grounds, which, however, it must be said, are less definite, even considerably later (see GOSPELS). Similarly, for Acts, the dying out of all recollection of the actual conditions of apostolic times—in particular, the ignorance as to the gift of tongues (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL) and the approaches to hierarchical ideas (1 17 20 8 14-17 15 28 20 28)—points only in a general way to a late period. Hence the surest datum is the author's acquaintance with the writings of Josephus.[1] For an instance see THEUDAS. Josephus completed his *Jewish War* shortly before 79 A.D., his *Antiquities* in 93 or 94, the work *Against Apion* after that, and his *Autobiography* somewhat after 100. As to the inferior limit, Marcion about 140 A.D. had the Third Gospel, but not Acts, in his collection; but we are not aware whether he rejected it or whether it was wholly unknown to him. As for the Apostolic Fathers, 1 Clem. 18 1, if it have any literary connection with Acts 13 22, can just as easily be the earlier as the later; and as regards the rest of their writings, apart from Polycarp 1 2 (= Acts 2 24), dating from about 150 A.D., we can find traces only of the speech of Stephen, in the Epistle of Barnabas (16 2 9 4 *f.* 5 11 4 8 14 3 = Acts 7 50 51 52 40-43), which in 16 4 speaks of Hadrian's projected building, about 130 A.D., of a heathen temple in place of the Jewish temple as imminent.[2] In Justin, about 152 A.D. (not 137; see *Acad.* 1896, No. 1239, p. 98), the points of contact are more marked. If Acts 20 18-35 has many ideas in common with those of the Pastoral Epistles, the indiscriminate use of πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι (20 17 28) shows that the author has not yet reached the stage in the development of church government which characterises the First Epistle to Timothy, the latest of the Pastoral Epistles, which wishes to see the bishop, conceived of as a sole ruler and represented in the person of Timothy as apostolic vicar, set over the presbytery (1 Tim. 5 1 19). The date of Acts must, accordingly, be set down as somewhere between 105 and 130, or, if the gospel of Luke already presupposes acquaintance with all the writings of Josephus, between 110 and 130 A.D.

17. Blass's Theory.

The conclusions reached in the foregoing sections would have to be withdrawn, however, and the author of Acts regarded as an eye-witness, if the views recently put forth by Blass[1] should prove to be correct. According to Blass, the markedly divergent readings of D, and those of the same character found in some other authorities,[2] all came from the author's rough draft of the book (which he calls β), while the ordinary text, α, found in B, ℵ, A, C, etc., comes from the fair copy of this intended for Theophilus, which the author (being a poor man) made with his own hand. In doing so he changed his original—without special tendency or motive—and, still more, abridged it as only authors do in copying their own work. And here, as we have intimated, Blass says, the author can be no other than the eye-witness who can give his narrative in the first person with 'we.'[3] To pronounce upon this certainly interesting hypothesis is, however, not nearly so simple a matter as Blass allows himself to suppose.

(*a*) Blass himself says that D and the additions or marginal readings in Syr.hl. in many cases already exhibit *a combination of α and β*, and that—as is witnessed by 15 5 18 19, etc., where both sources coincide—this occurred even in the archetype itself from which both (directly or indirectly) are derived.

But there are many cases where Blass ought to have expressly recognised this combination, where, instead of doing so, he simply deletes something in β without giving further explanation. For example, ἐκθαμβοι at the end of 3 11 comes from α alongside of οἱ δὲ θαμβηθεντες ἔστησαν ἐν in β, before τῇ στοᾷ; but Blass does not recognise the ἐκθαμβοι as incorporated in β (*i.e.*, by the process of combination just mentioned), though it is supported by the best witnesses for this text. Similarly, πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (11 17), coming from α, is an expression parallel to πιστεύσασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ after τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα ἅγιον in β at the end of the verse. Here Blass wrongly questions the well-supported πιστευσασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

He points out *other corruptions* also *in the witnesses to β*.

For example, in cod. 137 and Syr.hl. after Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνος (27 2), instead of Θεσσαλονικεως, the words Θεσσαλονικεων δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σεκούνδος, which can originally have taken their place in the margin only as a reminiscence of 20 4 and not as a variant. He does well to put all such things on one side when trying to reconstruct an old recension β as distinct from α.

[1] The evidence for this has of late been brought together with very great completeness by Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*, 1894): see also the *Fortnightly Rev.* 22 485-509 [77].

[2] The reference cannot be to the (historically very doubtful) rebuilding of the Jewish temple (about 120-125?). The καὶ after αὐτοί must be deleted, according to the best MSS and indeed as the connection demands.

[1] *St.Kr.* 1894, pp. 86-110; *Acta Apostolorum*, editio philologica, Göttingen, 1895, and *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam Romanam*, Leipzig, 1896. The theory of Blass finds a supporter in Joh. Belser, *Beitr. zur Evklär. d. Ap.-gesch. auf Grund der Lesarten des Cod. D u. seiner Genossen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897); it is argued against by Bernhard Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Ap.-gesch.*, 1897, vol. 17 part 1 of Gebh. and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (well worthy of attention, though not comprehensive enough). On Ramsay, see above, § 13.

[2] The additions and marginal readings of the Harklensian version (syr.hl.); the Fleury palimpsest (ed. Sam. Berger, 1889); an Old Latin text of Acts 11-13 6 and 28 16-31, inserted in a MS of the Vg. from Perpignan (also edited by Berger; *Un ancien texte latin des actes des apôtres*, 1895, reprinted from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, tome 35, 1 partie); Cyprian, and Augustine, and in a secondary degree the composite texts E, 137, Gigas Librorum (ed. Belsheim, 1879), Sahid., Irenæus, etc.

[3] In his second book Blass no longer calls β the rough draft of Luke himself, but says: 'Actorum primum exemplar postquam Romæ confectum est vel mansit ibidem vel Christianis Romanis ab auctore ad describendum commodatum est; altera autem forma orientis ab initio fuit ubi Theophilum illum vixisse . . . puto' (pp. vii. *f.*). In support of this, he appeals especially (p. xi.) to the more detailed description in α of the journey on the coast of Crete (Acts 27), which would be more interesting in the East than in Rome, and on the other hand to the greater precision in β with regard to the journey by sea to Malta and to Italy, which would be interesting to people at Rome. This seems, however, to be no improvement on his earlier view, since (to mention no other reason) the dedication to Theophilus is to be found also in β.

(*b*) Further, before putting forward this alleged recension as the original draft of Luke the eye-witness, he ought to have established it from the witnesses on objective principles; but there is often no indication of his having done so.

From the very witnesses in which he gets his readings for β—readings often indeed found in only one of them—he omits a great many additions and readings, which, judged by the criteria mentioned above under (*a*), show no signs of a secondary character but stand on exactly the same footing with those which he adopts. It is very misleading when in *St. Kr.* (where he deals with only a selection of instances) it is made to appear (p. 117) as if there were strictly only four passages (22.7 8.39 9.4 27.2) which from their attestation should belong to β, but are open to the suspicion of having been interpolated, and value is attached to the fact that D and the Fleury palimpsest are free of them. For although Blass, in his second edition, admits such additions as ἀπόστολοι after οὖν (5.41), τῶν μαθητῶν before καὶ ἐξελεξατο (6.5), τῷ ἁγίῳ after πνευματι (6.10), which these two authorities agree in supporting, he still, in spite of the attestation of the same documents, rejects the addition ἐν Κορίνθῳ before εὑραντον (18.11), and the reading ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκυλα instead of ἐκεῖθεν (18.7). Moreover, in spite of weighty testimony, Blass rejects, for example, the Hebraism ἀντιλεγοντες και before βλασφημουντες in 13.45, which even Tischendorf (in *a*) accepts (in his second edition he substitutes on the authority of the Latin of the Gigas a rendering, ἀντιτασσόμενοι, for which there is no support in Greek MSS); on the single testimony of Augustine he adds before και πρηνης in 1.18 the words '*et collum sibi allisit*'; on that of the Fleury palimpsest alone he deletes 9.12. In these last two cases, as well as in many others, it is difficult to repress a suspicion that Blass allowed his decision to be influenced by his hypothesis. The credibility of the author and the possibility of making him out to have been Luke would have been recalled in question had he not intended to convey, in agreement with Mt. 27.5, that Judas had hanged himself, with the additional implication that the rope had broken, and had he recorded in 9.12 a vision of so remarkable a character that even Blass finds it marvellous. This last, therefore, he questions even in *a*. That it might also have struck the scribe of the Palimpsest or one of his predecessors as too marvellous, and that Augustine or one of his predecessors could have hit upon the reconciliation between Mt. and Acts adopted by Blass is not taken into consideration. It is, however, a reconciliation that cannot be maintained, for assuredly Luke would not have left out the most important particulars of all—namely, that the rope had broken, and that Judas had hanged himself over the edge of a precipice—without which his fall could not have had the consequences described. Enough has been said to show what caution requires to be exercised with respect to the establishment of Blass's β text, quite apart from any judgment as to the manner of its origin.

(*c*) The very greatest difficulties present themselves when it is attempted to establish β in a really objective way. In many cases, more than two readings present themselves—so many sometimes that Blass in his first edition silently gives up the attempt to settle β; though in the second edition, as he (here) prints only β, he has been compelled to determine its text throughout.

Take, for example, 14.18 or 10.11. Cases such as these are the first indication we meet with that we have to deal *not with two but with several forms of the text*, and thus that Blass's hypothesis is false because insufficient. But, more particularly, there is an entire group of MSS HLP—which on Blass's own admission contains, if not so many various readings, readings quite as independent in character as those in β: *e.g.*, 1.6 the διελθόντες etc., which has found its way into the TR, and plays so important a part in the criticism of the epistle to the Galatians (see GALATIA, § 9; also below, under *m*). In its divergent readings E comes still closer than HLP to D; in D and E the substance is often the same, and only the expression different. Blass conjectures, therefore, that in the text from which E was copied additions from β had once been inserted in Greek and Latin, and that the Greek had afterwards faded; they had therefore to be restored by translating back from the Latin. In point of fact, this would explain very well why the addition of D in 1.17 (καὶ ἐκινηθη ὡσει το πλῆθος) becomes in E καὶ ἐξεπλησσετο πασα ἡ πολις ἀφθεια, and would apply equally well to some ten other examples pointed out by Blass. But such readings as the τουτων λεχθεντων of E in 1.23 after the first καί; or the subj. καὶ ῥυσθῶσιν in E instead of the ind. ἀπηλλάσσοντο γάρ (ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθενειας) of D's addition after 5.15; or ἐξελθοντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς in E instead of ἀκούσαντες δέ in 5.21—such readings do not admit of this explanation: they are simply instances of the same kind of freedom as that with which *a* changes β (or β changes *a*). The same freedom may have manifested itself in other cases where Blass's hypothesis about E would in itself be considered adequate enough; the hypothesis therefore demands fuller investigation[1] before it can be accepted (see further below, under *e*).

[1] In Acts 2, which we have specially examined with this view, we find that Blass omits no fewer than seven readings of E which on his principles ought to have been noted as variants; besides three others which he does notice (2.33 41 47), four of these seven (2.22 ὑμεῖς πάντες instead of αὐτοί; 2.24 δι' αὐτοῦ after λύσας; 2.43 οὐ μικρά after σημεια, and τῶν χειρῶν before τῶν ἀποστόλων) are unsusceptible of explanation by means of his hypothesis.

[1] As another instance we may add διαρρήξαντες . . . και ἐξεπήδησαν (14.14) = *conscciderunt et exiliierunt*. So also 5.21 *f.* 7.4 13.29 16.17 34 20.10. Moreover ὃς (for ὁ) λαλήσας (4.25) is due to retranslation of *qui [locutus est]*; similarly 3.11 4.12 11.1. And the ὡς of 11.25 (ἐξῆλθεν ἀναζητῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς συντυχων παρεκάλεσεν ἐλθεῖν) can hardly be explained otherwise than as derived from the parallel Latin text: *cum (inveniss.[n]t deprecaba[n]tur venire)*.

(*d*) On the other hand, it is proved that *the Greek text of D rests partly on retranslation from the Latin.*

Of the many passages adduced in support of this by Rendel Harris, indeed (*Codex Bezæ* in *Texts and Studies*, ed. Robinson, ii. 1, 1291), the present writer holds only nine to be really valid proofs. But it is surely worthy of remark that three of these (3.26 5.32 18.2) are not even mentioned by Blass in his list of variants—where so much that is less important is to be found—but simply passed over as *et vitiosa et emendatu facilia*; while of two others, one (14.6) is mentioned only in the first ed., and the other (15.20) only in the second; Harris's hypothesis is merely mentioned by Blass, and not taken into further account. This would from his point of view have been excusable if the Latinisms in D had been merely such as even an author writing in Greek might himself have employed, and in point of fact has employed in, for example, 17.9 (in *a* and β λαμβανειν τὸ ἱκανόν *satis accipere*). It is to this category that the only instances from D discussed by Blass belong: ἐπιθεντες *imponentes* for ἐπιβαλόντες (18.12), εἶναι for οὖσαν (19.35), and, especially, κεφαλή *caput* for πρώτη (16.12). But these last two Blass himself does not venture to attribute to Luke. Thus we are led, according to his own view, to the much more serious result that there are Latinisms in D which cannot have proceeded from the author of Acts. The same holds good of all Harris's nine passages referred to above. In 13.27 21.21, we find an εἰσίν meaninglessly added to an expression in which τά τ' τους occurs, because the original expression had been rendered into Latin by a sentence with *sunt* (in like manner 5.38—only, the *sunt* is now wanting in the Latin text); in 3.26 18.2, the infinitive preceded by the article has its subject in the nominative instead of the accusative, because the construction had been changed in the Latin by the employment of a subordinate clause; in 15.26 we have παραδεδωκασιν instead of παραδεδωκοσιν, because the participle had been rendered by *qui tradiderunt*; 14.6 has συνιδοντες καὶ κατεφυγον: *intellexerunt et fugerunt*;[1] 5.32 has πνεῦμα ον (instead of ο) *spiritus quem*. Lastly, 19.29 directly concerns one of the readings of β. According to Blass this runs: και συνεχυθη ὁλη ἡ πολις, instead of καὶ ἐπλησθη ἡ πολις της συγχυσεως (so *a*). But this is found only in the Gigas—a secondary authority—and in Pesh., which according to Blass is to a still less extent an authority for β. D, in this case the sole authority (in the proper sense of the word) for β, has: καὶ συνεχυθη ολη ἡ πολις αἰσχυνης. As Harris has pointed out, this αἰσχυνης can only be a retranslation from the Latin text of D: *et repleta est tota civitas confusion(m)*. This is a correct rendering of the Greek of *a* as above. But *confusio* is also used for αἰσχυνη—compare, for example, Lk. 14.9—and *confundi* (often) for αἰσχυνεσθαι. αἰσχυνης, however, could in the present instance have been employed in retranslation only if the verb was *repleta est* (ἐπλησθη). συνεχύθη, therefore, can only have come in later, from another copy, to take the place of ἐπλησθη. One sees how precarious a proceeding it is to seek for the most original form of Acts in a MS the text of which has passed through such vicissitudes. If Harris has in any instances proved retranslation from the Latin, the other instances also, though in themselves incapable of proof, gain in probability. We mention only ἐμοῦ for ἐμέ (3.22), ἣν for ἧς (3.25), and the additions καί before προσκαρτερων (8.13), αἰτίαν (4.21), ἦσαν (4.34), αὐτους (7.52), as also καὶ ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (1.2), the last four again being like 19.29 readings of β. In fact, it becomes a possibility that even such passages as reveal no error in retranslation were nevertheless originally Latin, and the suspicion falls naturally in the first instance upon the additions in β.

(*e*) *Other passages in* β we cannot accept as original, for the reason that they *are plainly derived from a fusion of two texts.*

Is it possible that Luke can actually have written: (16.39) παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν εἰπόντες· ἠγνοήσαμεν τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἐστὲ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι. καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες· ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξέλθατε, κ.τ.λ.? Cod. 137 and the interpolation in Syr.hl. prove conclusively the inadmissibility of this repetition, by omitting (καὶ) ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες. The probability is rather that παρεκάλεσαν stood, in the one MS with indirect speech, and in the other with direct (so also, for example, in 21.36 direct varies with indirect narration in the MSS); in this case ἐξελθεῖν had reference originally to the city, like ἐξελθατε, and not, as now, to the prison. In 20.18 the addition in β—ὁμοσε ὄντων αὐτῶν—wholly tautological as it is after ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο πρὸς αὐτον, is certainly not to be attributed to the author: it is a variant of ὡς δέ κ.τ.λ. which was at first noted in the margin and after-

wards crept into the text of DA Vg. Gigas, but in E, on the other hand, with skilful avoidance of tautology, was changed to ὁμοθυμαδόν. The case is similar with the addition in 5 21 (and only in D)—ἐγερθέντες τὸ πρωί an addition which, moreover, comes in very awkwardly after παραγενόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, especially as, instead of συνεκάλεσαν, D goes on to say καὶ συγκαλεσαμενοι. Here even Blass asks whether perhaps παραγενομενος may have been wanting in β.

Yet, it may be said that, in this and in the similar cases here passed over, the hypothesis of Blass is simply deprived of one of the arguments on which its demonstration rests, while there appear to be enough of them left

(*f*) Decisive, however, against this appearance, is the fact that *precisely the most characteristic of the variations of text between α and β bear witness against Blass's theory.* This confutation of his hypothesis follows inevitably from the hypothesis itself.

Just in proportion to the clearness and pointedness of β and the weakness of α in these respects, is the improbability of the author's having with his own hands obscured and perverted the sense. And here in the meantime we can leave altogether out of account the question whether or not he was also the eye-witness. In any case, after writing in his draft of 24 27 that it was on account of his wife Drusilla that Felix left Paul bound, he would not have said in his fair copy simply that it was on account of the Jews—even if, as Blass thinks, both statements were correct. If in his draft he had stated that Paul had proclaimed the apostolic decree, not only in the later course (16 4), but also at the outset, of his new missionary journey (15 41), he would not in his fair copy have omitted to state this in the first and therefore more important of the places. In this instance even Blass considers an interpolation in β as conceivable in 15 41, but chiefly because the expression seems to him to be somewhat obscure. In 22 29 *f.*, although the officer is in fear because a Roman citizen has been bound, Paul is not released, according to α, till the following day, not—as in β, immediately (παραχρῆμα). Blass himself says (*St. Kr.* 1 63): 'one cannot but be astonished at the carelessness of the abridgment in α.' All the more readily might it have occurred to him that it was the writer of β that perceived and corrected the defects of α. In his *Editio philologica* Blass wishes τῇ ἑπαύριον without any authority either deleted or changed to τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ. This would be justifiable only if it were perfectly certain that the narrative, even in α, is all of one piece and absolutely to the point. But such critics as Spitta, Clemen, and Jungst have assigned 22 29 and 22 30 to two separate sources. If it is only the addition ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰρήνην after 14 2 in the draft that enables us to understand how it was that in spite of the disturbance (or, according to β, persecution) mentioned in 14 2, Paul and Barnabas remained in Iconium, why does the author omit the words in his fair copy? More accurately considered, they are to be [illegible]rded as an interpolation, designed to do away with the contradiction, an interpolation which carried with it the further change of ἐσχίσθη δὲ (14 4) into ἦν δὲ ἐσχισμένον and, in 14 5*a*, the interpolation of *iterum* and *secundo*. It is not in D, however, that this interpolation occurs, but only in Syr.hl., which elsewhere also smoothes away the evidences of the work of various hands in D—as for example, in 19 14 by the introduction of *qui* before ἕβδομος εἶχον, in 18 6 by the omission of δέ after ἀντιτασσομένων, and in 14 2 by omitting the last two words in the quite tautological expression οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς. If, as Blass supposes, it were necessary to hold that Syr.hl. has preserved the original, whom could we possibly imagine, for example, to have added the words τῆς συναγωγῆς, or omitted the words *iterum* and *secundo*? But, moreover, in 14 2-5 the changes mentioned above would not have been at all necessary unless first 14 2 had been wrongly interpolated between 14 1 and 14 3. Even though it may perhaps be a fragment from another source, 14 2 has its immediate continuation in 14 4. Here even Ramsay supposes a 'corruption'; only it is 14 3 which he takes for a gloss. Thus we come again upon one of the many cases in which Blass holds β to be the original simply because it never occurs to him to bring the unity of Acts into question. Similarly, for example, he drops from β, and also even from α, the ἑπτά of 19 14, which is irreconcilable with the ἀμφοτέρων of 19 16, on the sole authority of D, without recognising that the omission in D may have been a late expedient for removing the contradiction just as much as the *duo* for ἑπτά in Gigas. If the author in his draft had already written, after Ἰουδαίας in 15 1, the words τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων, and in 15 5 had referred to this (by a simple οἱ δέ), why is it that in the clean copy his first use of the expression is in 15 5, so as almost inevitably to suggest the thought that a piece derived from another source begins at this point? (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 4). If, according to the rough draft (not only in 16 6 *f.*, but also in 17 15 19 1 20 3), the journeys of Paul were determined by inspiration, why in his clean copy does the author leave this out in the last three of these passages? Here, too, we can see the inapplicability of another of Blass's assertions, viz. that nowhere in α or β is the narrative changed so as to become more interesting or more marvellous. Further, the author of this three-fold mention of divine inspiration has fallen into an oversight—that, namely, of attributing to Paul (19 1) the intention of making a journey to Jerusalem just after he had returned from that city, without even the slightest reference to what had been said immediately before. For it is not possible to agree with Blass in regarding the journey of 19 1 as identical with that which had been intended by Paul, according to the addition of β in 18 21 (found also in TR). This last was actually carried out (18 22, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1*k*). And even if it had not been, the inspiration which hindered it must have been mentioned in 18 21, and not in 19 1, after he had already got back to Phrygia from Cæsarea, which is only a few miles from Jerusalem. Cp further BARJESUS, § 1*b*.

(*g*) Over against these instances, the list of which could be greatly increased, there are *a few rare cases in which β might really be held to be the original.*

In additions κατεβησαν τους ἑπτα βαθμους καὶ before προῆλθον (12 10), τῇ δὲ ἐπαυριον before 16 11 and in 27 1, ἀπο ωρας πεμπτης εως δεκατης after 19 9, καὶ μειναντες ἐν Τρωγιλιῳ after Σαμον (20 15), δι' ἡμερῶν δεκαπεντε before κατηλθομεν (25 6) do not seem to be inventions. And yet Blass not only opposed, at least in his first edition, the quite similar addition of καὶ Μυρα after Παταρα (21 1) in D, Sah., and Gigas, inasmuch as it could have been introduced from 27 5, but also refused to accept the *sequenti autem die* which we find in *d* (21 8) instead of οτε δὲ ἐγενετο ἡμας ἐξαρτισαι τας ἡμερας (the Greek text of D is wanting here). On the other hand, in 21 16 the text of α is not materially inferior to that of β, to which Blass attaches a very high value; for the imperf. ἀνεβαινομεν of 21 15 does not mean "we went and arrived at Jerusalem" (this follows in 21 17), but "we took the road for Jerusalem," and thus, even according to α, Mnason may very well be thought of as living in a village between Cæsarea and Jerusalem, as is expressly stated in β. The author—in this instance the author of the 'we' source—has here quite naturally taken for granted that the journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem cannot well be made in a single day.

(*h*) After what has been said, it is clear that *there is not the slightest necessity for assuming the bulk of the remaining variations in β, which are indecisive, to be original.*

They consist par[illegible] that are simply changes in the construction, or periph[illegible] without changing the sense (for both see for example 16 1[illegible]) [illegible]rtly of a somewhat more vivid way of expressing the situa[illegible] which, however, in the cases we have in view—much more than seventy [illegible] have been derived by a simple copyist from the adjoining context. Compare, for example, the very well-devised addition τους λοιπους ασφαλισαμενος after ἐξω in 16 30.

(*i*) But do not these changes—materially so unimportant, but in form so considerable—at least prove that both forms of the text, no matter which is the earlier, emanate from the author of the book itself? They do not.

After having seen that precisely in the most significant passages of the book (see above, *e* and *f*) this does not hold, one must further remember that in HLP, and also in E, equally important variations are met with (see above, *c*). These, like those in β, resemble the variation by which one gospel is distinguished from another. Here, accordingly, transcribers have allowed themselves liberties which are usually regarded as permissible only to the authors of independent works. However su[illegible] this may seem to us, the fact cannot be denied. When in [illegible] 21, for οτι ἐξεστη (a reading which is a stumbling-block [illegible] many theologians even of the present day) D substitutes ὅτι εξέσταται αὐτοις, 'that he has evaded them,' or at least 'that he has stirred them up,'—is not the liberty taken with the text just as bold as Mt.'s in the exactly corresponding place, 12 23 (*i.e.*, just before the reference to a league with Beelzebub), when he changes it to ἐξίστατο? But this freedom of treatment is by no means without analogies elsewhere in the literature of the time. The text of Plato in the Flinders-Petrie papyri (*Cunningham Memoirs of the Academy of Dublin*, 1891) shows similarly pronounced deviations from the ordinary text—deviations which, according to Usener (*Nachr. a. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1892, pp. 25-50, 181-215), are to be attributed to the copyists of the papyri, perhaps as early as within 120 years after Plato's death. In the papyrus text of Hyperides, *Against Philippides* (*Classical Texts from Papyri in Brit. Mus.*, ed. Kenyon, 1891), Blass himself discovers 'very often . . . interpolation and arbitrary emendation,' and in the third Demosthenes letter published in the same collection, 'extensive variation' (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.*, 1892, p. 42, and 1894, p. 447).

In order more easily to comprehend the possibility of changes in the text on the part of a transcriber, it may be allowable to conjecture that he may have been accustomed to hear the book recited or even himself to recite it (with variations of the kind exemplified), on the basis of a perusal of it, but without its being committed to memory. Such recital was by no means impossible in the second century.

(*k*) The question *whether Justin, in the gospel, the same variations as in Acts* may be left out of account.

It would be important only if it could be answered in the affirmative for Mt., Mk., and Jn. For, that in these cases also the rough draft should have gone into circulation as well as the clean copy is really very improbable. But the independent variations are too few to warrant an affirmative answer. If the same be the case with the Third Gospel, then, according to Blass's hypothesis, we must assume that the draft of it was not copied; but if they are sufficiently numerous, as Blass has recently declared (*Hermathena*, 21, 1895, pp. 121-143; and 22, 1896, pp. 291-313; *Evangelium secundum Lucam . . . secundum formam quae videtur Romanam*, 1897; *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898), there is nothing to hinder our applying to them the judgment applied to those in Acts, however that judgment may go.

Neither is it decisive of the question that β is frequently not fuller but briefer than α (*e.g.*, 26 26 7 4).

(*l*) Very important, on the other hand, is Blass's assertion that the *uniformity of expression in* α *and* β is a 'very strong proof' that both recensions come from the hand of the author. But it is sufficiently met by Blass's own index.

According to this, there occur in the divergent passages of β (which are by no means of great compass) 64 words never elsewhere met with in Acts or the Third Gospel. If we deduct from these, besides 5 proper names, the 9 vouched for only by the Latin text (although Blass himself has not succeeded in giving them a Greek form that suggests the authorship of Luke), there still remain 50 (not 44, as is stated in Blass's *Editio philologica*, p. 334). After deduction of 4 numbers, and the expressions ἱστιον and στρατοπεδάρχης, for which no other word could possibly have been chosen, the number stands at 44. So also in his second edition (see the enumeration in his *Evang. sec. Luc.* p. xxvii.), although, from the somewhat different form of text adopted, the words that appear to be peculiar to β are not quite the same.

(*m*) In support of Blass's highly important assertion that *the eye-witness Luke alone could have given his work in both the forms which we have in* α *and* β, the most that can be adduced—out of all that has been remarked on in the course of the section—are the passages referred to under (*g*). But of the 'seven steps' in Jerusalem, Luke, according to Blass's own view, gained his knowledge not from personal observation, but only from the written (or oral) testimony of an eye-witness.

All the same he takes the liberty, according to Blass, of leaving the note out in writing his fair copy. This being so, the omission of the five other details, even if with Blass one carries this back to the author of the book, does not prove that they had formed part of his own experience; he may equally well have obtained them from a written source. Four of them (16 11 20 15 27 1 5) belong, in point of fact, to the 'we' source. It is not at all easy to see why a transcriber might not have ventured to omit them, with so much else, as of inferior interest. We may therefore thankfully accept them, as well as other data in β which have been shown or may ultimately appear to be more original than α, as contributions to our historical knowledge; but they do not prove more than this—that in such cases β has drawn more faithfully from a true source than α has. There remains, accordingly, in favour of the eye-witness as author of Acts, only 11 28, where D (along with, essentially, the Perpignan Latin text, and Augustine), instead of ἀναστὰς δέ, has ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις· συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη, and then σημαίνων instead of ἐσήμανεν. This might possibly be from the 'we' source; but the inference is not that it can only have been by an eye-witness that the 'we' in α was set aside. Or why is it that 'we' is set aside by L in 16 17, by ℵ* (and differently by ABCH) in 21 10, by H in 28 10, by P and Vg. in 27 1 (τοὺς περὶ τὸν Παῦλον, or *eum*, for ἡμᾶς), by HLP in 20 7 21 20 28 1 16 13, by C3 also in 28 1, by D also in 16 13 (ἔδοκει for ἐνομιζομεν)? And why, on the other hand, in 27 19 does it stand only in HLP Pesh.? In all of these cases (except 27 1, see below) Blass has the same reading in β as in α. (In 16 13, he has, it is true, in β the ἐδόκει mentioned above, but he likewise obtains in α also (by the conjecture ἐνόμιζον ἐν προσευχῇ εἶναι) a reading in the third person.) He thus acknowledges that it is copyists, not the eye-witness, that allowed themselves to remove the 'we,' or to introduce it. Only in 11 28 does Blass assume that it was Luke himself who changed into the third person in α the 'we' which he had written in β. So also it is only in one place, and even that only in his second edition, that Blass regards the third person in place of 'we' as a reading of β—namely, in 20 5 (on the authority of D), for in 27 1 it is only through a change of the whole of the first part of the verse, rendering ἡμᾶς impossible, that the third person is introduced. At all events, it is impossible that 11 30 as well as 11 28 can be derived from the 'we' source (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1). Even the 'we' of 11 28 may possibly have been the insertion of a transcriber who knew (with Eus. *HE* iii. 46, Jer. *De vir. ill.* 7, and the Prologue [earlier than Jerome] to the Third Gospel in codd. Corbeiensis, Colbertinus, Amiatinus, Fuldensis, Aureus, etc.) that Luke was understood to have been a native of Antioch. Or has Blass himself not recognised that Irenæus also (iii. 14 1), or one of Irenæus's predecessors, has permitted himself on his own responsibility to say *nos venimus* instead of κατέβησαν in 16 8? The insertion of 'we' in 11 28 would not be bolder than the other infelicitous changes in β. It ought to be noted that Syr.hl. is not implicated in this insertion; and the text of D is by no means in order, for it has ἔφη without telling what it was that Agabus did say (in the sense of ἐλάλει), while in the whole of the NT it is direct speech, or, as in four isolated exceptions in the case of Paul, at least indirect speech, that is connected with φημί. In Acts 11 28 the indirect speech depends rather on σημαίνων.

(*n*) A very dangerous support to the theory of Blass has been contributed by Nestle.[1]

In his view ἐβαρύνατο in D (Irenæus has *aggravastis*), instead of ἠρνήσασθε in 3 14, comes from a confusion of כבד (Job 35 16 15 10) and כפר in the *Semitic source of Acts* 1-12 (similarly, before him, Harris, p. 187, but otherwise pp. 162 *f.*), and in like manner κόσμος, instead of λαός in 2 47, from confusion of עָלַם and עָלְמָא (or in Aramaic עָלְמָא and עָלְמָא). In itself considered, all evidence for the existence of a source (now pretty generally conjectured; see above, §§ 10 *f.*) for Acts 1-12 cannot be otherwise than welcome; but in the form thus suggested the evidence points rather to the conclusion (which Nestle leaves also open) that some person other than the author himself had, in transcribing, adopted another translation of the Semitic text.

(*o*) No happier is an attempt of Conybeare to provide a new prop for Blass's theory.

He points out in the *American Journ. of Philology* (17 2 [1896], pp. 135-171) the most interesting fact that the Greek commentary of Chrysostom, and, to an even greater extent, the many extracts from it in an Armenian Catena on Acts, follow or at least presuppose a series of β readings to be found partly in D (and other witnesses for the β text), partly only in Syr.hl. or in cod. 137. He thinks he can thus prove that originally all the β readings were united in a single cod., in the copying of which they were partly removed to secure greater agreement with the prevailing text. But the number of β readings used by Chrysostom is insignificantly small when compared with those of which he shows no trace; and *of such as do not appear in D* Conybeare has adduced only five. Chrysostom accordingly furnishes no stronger support for Conybeare's thesis than any other witness for β would, for each of them shares some of its readings with D and some with other witnesses for β. But to explain this there is no need of Conybeare's assumption that all β readings are from one hand: it would be explained equally well by supposing them due to the labours of successive copyists (or editors). Conybeare, however, goes much further, and asserts that Luke himself is the author of all these β readings. He ventures to rest this assertion on a single passage—a very small foundation for such a structure. Moreover, it would have been just as easy for another as for Luke to add 'so natural a phrase' as, according to Conybeare, συντεχεῖται is in 19 25.

Blass's theory, then, it would seem, is so inadequately proved that it cannot be held to have subverted any of the conclusions regarding Acts in preceding sections of this article. It has the merit, however, of having called attention in a very emphatic way to the importance of β. It has also raised new problems for the science of textual criticism—not to speak of the many valuable contributions it has itself made to that science and to the interpretation of the Book of Acts.

18. Estimate of Blass's theory.

The value of Acts as a devout and edifying work, cannot be impaired by criticism. Indeed, the book is helped by criticism, which leads not only beyond a mere blind faith in its contents, but also beyond the unhistorical assumption that one is entitled to impose on the author the demands of strict historical accuracy and objectivity. Its very ideal, in apostolic times unhappily not reached, according to which the company of believers were of one heart and one mind (4 32), shows that the author knew where the true worth of Christianity was to be found. The early Christians pray everywhere with and for one another; they accompany the apostles and take pathetic farewells of them; they distribute their possessions and have all things in common. Particularly beautiful figures are those of Stephen, Cornelius, Lydia, and the jailer at Philippi. The jailer knows that most important question of religion, 'What must I do to be saved?' (16 30), and Peter also (4 12), as well as Paul, expresses the conviction that Christianity alone has a satisfactory answer to give. The writer of Acts is able to rise above all

19. Religious value of Acts.

[1] *Expositor*, Sept. 1895, pp. 235-239; *St. Kr.*, 1896, pp. 102-104.

narrowness of sympathy (10 15 34 *f.* 15 10); and the conception of God in 17 28, which cannot be attributed to Paul, is really much more apt, and is more closely in accord with the results of philosophically purified thought, than that apostle's, still hampered as it was by Jewish modes of thinking. Lastly, sayings such as we find in 24 16 4 20 20 24 14 22 21 13 *f.* are of the deepest that can be said about the inner Christian life.

As Lightfoot remarks, the literature which has gathered round Acts is too large to catalogue profitably. To his own list (Smith's *DB*[2]) may be added Holtzmann's

20. Literature. comm. in the *Hand-comm. zum N T* (1889, 2nd ed. 1892). In the criticism of the book the most important landmarks are as follows: Schneckenburger (*Zweck der Ap.-gesch.*, 1841), whilst maintaining its absolute trustworthiness, credited it with tendency to vindicate Paul against Judaisers. Baur (*Paulus*, 1845) and Zeller (*Ap.-gesch.*, 1854) regarded its tendency as 'reconciling' (*unionistisch*) in its scope, and its contents as untrustworthy. Bruno Bauer (*Ap.-gesch.*, 1850), whilst holding the same view as to its tendency, went much further as regarded its contents, taking them to be free and often even purposeless invention. Overbeck, in his revised 4th edition of De Wette's *Handbuch* (1870), propounded a modification of the tendency theory substantially identical with that which has been set forth in the present article. Pfleiderer (*Paulinismus*, 1873, and ed. 1890; *Urchristenthum*, 1887), Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 1886, 2nd ed. 1892; ET, 1894-95), and Jülicher (*Einl. in das NT*, 1894) urge, often with justice, that the author wrote in simple faith, and has much that is trustworthy. The most thorough-going apologists have been Mich. Baumgarten (*Ap.-gesch.*, 1852, and ed. 1859), Karl Schmidt (*Ap.-gesch.* i. 1882), and Nösgen (*Comm.*, 1882). The most promising new phase of the criticism of the book is that which has for its task a separation of the sources (see above, § 11). In this connection mention must be made of a very remarkable return to tendency-criticism in a Marburg University Program of Johannes Weiss (which appeared after the present article was in type) entitled *Ueber die Absicht u. den literar. Char. der Ap.-gesch.* (1897). Weiss regards Acts as 'an apology for the Christian religion (against the accusation of the Jews) addressed to pagans, showing how it has come about that Christianity has taken over from Judaism its world-mission.' P. W. S.

ACUA, RV **Acud** (ακουὰ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 30† = Ezra 2 45, AKKUB, 4.

ACUB (ακουφ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31† = Ezra 2 51, BAKBUK.

ACUD, see above, ACUA.

ADADAH (עֲדָעָדָה), Josh. 15 22†, probably (We., Di.) a corrupt reading for עֲרֲעָרָה *'Ar'ārah—i.e.*, Aroer (ערער); see AROER, 3.

(Αδαδα [AL]; αφουηλ [B], implying ערעל; cp ραγου. [1 S. 30 28, ⊕L].)

ADAH (עָדָה; αδα [ADEL], *ADA*).

1. Wife of Lamech (Gen. 4 19-23†, αδδα [L]). See CAINITES, § 9.

2. Daughter of Elon the Hittite, and wife of Esau (Gen. 36 2 4 10 12 16 [R ?]); called Basemath in Gen. 26 34 [P]. See BASHEMATH, 1.

ADAIAH (עֲדָיָה, § 35, once עֲדָיָהוּ [No. 8]; 'Yahwè passes by,' cp. ADIEL; αδαια [BAL]).

1. Grandfather of king Josiah, 2 K. 22 1 (εδειυα [B]; ιεδιδα, [A], *i.e.* יְדִידָה, the name of Josiah's mother; οζιου [L]).

2. 1 Ch. 6 41 [26], see IDDO, iii. 2.

3. b. Shimei, in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 21 (αβια [B], αλαια [A]).

4. A priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 12 (σαδιας [A]). Neh. 11 12 (B[κ] om., αδαιας [L]). This name should perhaps be read instead of JEDAIAH (*q.v.* i. 1) in Neh. 12 6 or 7.

5 and 6. Two members of the b'ne BANI [*q.v.* 2] in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 29 (αδα [B], αδαιας [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 30, JEDEUS (ιεδαιος [BA], αδαιας [L]), and Ezra 10 39 (αδειαμ [א], αδαιας [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 (αδδαιας [L], om. [BA; EV]).

7. b. Joiarib, in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 5 (δαλεα [B], αχαια [A]).

8. The father of Maaseiah [4], 2 Ch. 23 1 (עֲזַרְיָהוּ, αζεια [B], αδεια [Bab], αδαιου (gen.) [L]).

ADALIA (אַדַלְיָא), son of Haman, Est. 9 8† (Βαρσα [B], Βαρελ [אA], -εα [L]). See ESTHER, §§ 3, 7.

ADAM (אָדָם, to which Kt. prefixes ב, Kr מ [so ⊕L. Symm. Targ. Pesh. Vg., and many MSS and editions];

Kt. is to be preferred; see Di.'s note[1]) is mentioned once, if not twice. In Josh. 3 16 it is the name of the place beside or near which the descending waters of the Jordan 'stood and rose up in one heap'; here it is followed by the words (which may possibly be a gloss) 'the city that is beside Zarethan.' An echo of this name may very plausibly be found in *Tell ed-Damieh* and *Jisr ed-Damieh*, names of a hill and bridge at the confluence of the Jabbok (*Zerḳâ*) with the Jordan, some 16 m. in a direct line above the ford opposite Jericho. Indeed it is possible that for אָדָם (Adam) we should read אֲדָמָה (Adāmāh), the ה having dropped out owing to the circumstance that the following word begins with ה (so Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV* 16 14). In this case the resemblance of the ancient and the modern name will be closer. The same spot seems to be referred to in 1 K. 7 46, where, for 'in the thickness of the ground'[2] (AV mg.), we should probably read, 'at the crossing of Adamah,'[3] the name of some definite locality, not a description of the soil, being plainly required by the context (so G. F. Moore and Clermont-Ganneau).[4] This gives us a definition of the site of Adam or Adamah. It was at a ford of the Jordan between Succoth and Zarethan. Putting all the evidence together, we may hold that the Succoth of 1 K. 7 46 was E. of the Jordan on or near the Jabbok; while Zarethan was W. of the river, in the valley opposite Succoth. Beside Zarethan, at the 'crossing' or ford, was a town called Adam or Adamah (cp SUCCOTH, 2; ZARETHAN, § 1).

The second mention of a place of this name is in Hos. 6 7 where, for *k'ādām* (RV 'like Adam,' RV mg. 'like men'; ὡς ἄνθρωποι [BAQ]), we must at any rate read *b'ādām—i.e.*, 'at Adam'—to suit 'there' in the next clause, and to correspond to the localisation of Israel's sin in *v.* 8 (so in the main We.). 'There' the Israelites 'were traitors to Yahwè' and 'broke his covenant.' Of course there may be a doubt which of the places called Adam or Adamah is meant, and it may even be surmised that the letters אדם (ADM) are incorrect.[5] The fact, however, that the ford of *Damieh* is on the direct route (so we must believe) to the place called Gilead in *v.* 8, suggests that the 'city Adam' of Josh. 3 16 is intended. The confluence of two important streams may well have been marked by a sanctuary.

ADAM AND EVE.[6] The use of Adam and Eve as proper names within the Reformed Churches symbolises a theory of the Paradise story which is distinctively modern and western.

1. Reformation antipathy to allegory.

'The Reformers, always hostile to allegory, and in this matter especially influenced by the Augustinian anthropology, adhered strictly to the literal interpretation, which has continued to be generally identified with Protestant orthodoxy.' This was a necessary reaction against that Hellenistic allegorising which transmuted everything that seemed low or trivial in the early narratives into some spiritual or theological truth. The reaction had begun no doubt in pre-reformation days. Bonaventura, for instance, says that 'under the rind of the letter a deep and mystic

[1] The σφόδρα σφοδρῶς of ⊕[B] may be safely neglected, though if σφοδρῶς (which is wanting in A) be correct, it testifies to the antiquity of the inferior reading (מאד). Symm., according to Field's restoration from the Syr. Hex., gives ἀπὸ αδομ; ⊕L ἀπὸ αδαμῃ (interpolated); Vg. *ab urbe quæ vocatur Adom*. Bennett in *SBOT* (crit. notes) regards the name 'Adam' and the description of it as 'the city,' as suspicious. But 'Adam' should perhaps rather be 'Adamah,' and 'the city,' etc. looks like a gloss. The text on the whole is correct.

[2] בעבה האדמה. The ‖ 2 Ch. 4 17 has בְּעָבִי הָאֲדָמָה.

[3] במעברת אדמה.

[4] Moore, *JBL* 12 77-79 ['94], cp *Judges*, 212 ['95]; Clermont-Ganneau, *PEF Qu. St.*, Jan. 1896, p. 80.

[5] One might conjecturally read Dumah—*i.e.*, the Eduma of the *OS* (255 74; 11 [illegible]), cp Guérin, *Sam.* 2 14 *f.*), which is described as a village about 12 R. m. E. from Neapolis (Nâblus), and is the modern *Daumeh* (see Rob. *BR* 4 292 *f.*). This is obviously not the 'city' intended in Josh. 3 16. It is also not very likely to be meant by Hosea.

[6] On the names see below, § 3.

meaning is hidden,' but states also that 'he who despises the letter of sacred Scripture will never rise to its spiritual meanings.' Still the completion of the movement (within certain limits) was reserved for the great exegetes of the Reformation—Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin. Thus Luther explicitly says—'It were better to read mere poetic fables than attach one's self to the so-called spiritual and living sense to the exclusion of the literal;' and again, 'We should stay by the dry clear words, except where the Scripture itself, by the absurdity of the simple meaning, compels us to understand some sayings figuratively' (quoted by Diestel, *Gesch. des AT in der chr. Kirche*). This predilection for a grammatical and historical interpretation was closely connected with the revival of classical studies, but had its primary justification in the endorsement which the NT appeared to give to the historical accuracy of the story of Paradise. It is the correctness of the historical acceptation of that story which criticism denies, and before proceeding to consider the results of criticism (see CREATION, § 1 and PARADISE), Protestant students may ask whether Jesus Christ and the NT writers really attached importance to the story of Eden as a piece of history. Our conclusion will of course have a direct bearing on the interpretation of the other early narratives.

2. NT views. Let us turn to (i.) passages spoken or written from a purely *Jewish* point of view. (*a*) In Mk. 10 6-8 (Mt. 19 4-6) we have a combined quotation from Gen. 1 27 2 24. Jesus passes over the facts of the Paradise story altogether, and fastens attention on the statement that man was from the beginning differentiated sexually, and that, by divine ordinance (so no doubt Jesus interprets Gen. 2 24), the marriage union was to be complete. His silence about the facts may no doubt be explained by the circumstances; elsewhere Jesus appears to many to accept the historical character of the deluge story (Mt. 24 37-39; Lk. 17 26 27). But one must be cautious; the reference to the deluge story presupposes the typical character of the early narratives, a theory which is inconsistent with a strictly historical point of view. (*b*) In Rev. 2 7 22 2 14, a literalistic view of the tree of life is presupposed. But these passages are undeniably based, not so much on Gen. 2, as on the apocalyptic description in Enoch 24 *f.* (*c*) In Rev. 12 9 20 2 we have a description of SATAN (*q.v.* § 6) as 'the ancient serpent,' alluding to Gen 3 1; it is also said that he will 'deceive' the world as he deceived the first man. It is certain, however, that the writer also draws from a well of popular belief, enriched from a wider Oriental source, to which he gives as implicit a belief as to the biblical statement.

Passing to (ii.) the *Pauline* writings, we find (*d*) and (*e*) in Rom. 5 14 and 1 Cor. 15 22 45 references to details in the story of Adam; but the reference is made in a didactic interest. Paul accepts (as also probably does Luke) the Alexandrian idea of the typical character of the early narratives, and of the double creation of a heavenly and an earthly Adam. The latter doctrine, which the Alexandrian theology founded on the two separate accounts of creation in Gen. 1 and 2, Paul professes to base on the language of Gen. 2 7. There are also other anthropological ideas which he supports by reference to the fall of Adam. His real interest is in these ideas, not in the story of Paradise. He did not deduce them from the Eden story, and only resorts to that narrative as containing material which may, by the methods of Christian Gnosis, be made to furnish arguments for his ideas. (*f*) In Phil. 2 6 we have probably a contrast between the first Adam who thought equality with God an ἁρπαγμὸς (an object of grasping) and the second Adam who, thinking far otherwise, humbled himself even to the death of the cross, and thereby actually reached equality with God (Hilgenfeld). Here the story of Eden is only illustrative of an idea, though the illustration is suggested

by the favourite typical view already referred to. (*g*) In 2 Cor. 11 3 there is a mere casual illustration.

(iii.) *Other* NT writers. (*h*) In Lk. 3 38 Adam is the last human link in the genealogy of the Saviour. The evangelist suggests a contrast between the first and the second Adam (see Lk. 3); but, scholasticism apart, what he really values is, not the historical character of Adam, but the universal Saviourship of Jesus. (*i*) John 8 44 contains a reference to Satan which presupposes the reality of the temptation and fall of the first man, but is simply and solely dogmatic, and belongs to the peculiar dualism of the Fourth Gospel. (*k*) In 1 Tim. 2 12-14 the social doctrine of the subordination of women is *apparently* inferred from the story of the first woman's temptation.

The conclusion to which these phenomena point could be fully confirmed by a similar examination of (iv.) *Apocrypha* passages—even the references in 4 Esd., which imply so much brooding over the Paradise story, being in close connection with the typical theory of the early narratives, and the whole system of thought being quite as much based on the imaginative book of Enoch as on the sober narrative in Gen. 2-3. As a final proof that a historical character could not be assigned to the latter in the early Christian age, it is enough to refer to the Book of Jubilees (first cent. A.D., but before 70), which, at any rate in its view of the biblical narratives, represents the mental attitude of the times. Here the biblical stories are freely intermixed with legendary and interpretative matter (see Charles's translation).

We conclude, therefore, that the NT writers, whether purely Jewish or touched by Greek influences, regard traditional facts chiefly from a didactic point of view, as furnishing either plausible evidence for theories derived from other sources or at any rate homiletical illustrations.

3. Names 'Adam' and 'Eve.' The literal and historical acceptation of the story in Gen. 2 4*b*-4, which strong church authority still considers 'nearer to the truth than any other interpretation as yet propounded,'[1] may be supposed to be required by the phenomena of the narrative itself. Is this the case? First, are the proper names Adam and Eve found in the original story of Eden? The facts are these.

(*a*) Adam (אָדָם; ἀδαμ), as a quasi proper name for the first man (cp ENOSH), belongs with certainty only to P_g (Gen. 5 3-5),[2] who has used it just before generically, in the sense of 'man' or 'men' (Gen. 5 1 ἀνθρώπων [AL.] followed by τὸν Ἀδαμ [*ib.*] (cp 1 26 27). The Yahwist (J) habitually uses the term הָאָדָם, 'the man.' Once, however, if the text be correct,[3] we find אָדָם (Ādām) used generically for 'man' or 'men' (2 20*b*), and once in lieu of a proper name subsequently to the birth of Cain and Abel (4 25), if we should not rather refer 4 25 *f.* to an editor. The conclusion is obvious. It is a true insight which is expressed in the quaint old couplet in Exeter Cathedral.

> Primus Adam sic pressit Adam, salvet Deus illum,
> Is qui venit Adam quærere factus Adam.

'Adam' can be used only in one of two senses (1) mankind, (2) the first man (apart from all historical reference), and to compare a supposed proper name Adam[4]

[1] Bp. John Wordsworth, *The One Religion* (Bampton Lectures for 1881), p. 138. So Bp. H. Browne in the *Speaker's Comm.* and Dr. Leathes in Smith's *DB*(2).

[2] In Gen. 2 19-23 8 *f.* 20 4, RV has rightly 'the man' (= הָאָדָם) for 𝔊 AV 'Adam'; so in Dt. 32 8 'children of men' (= 'sons of Adam'); so EV mg. in Job 31 33 'after the manner of men' for 'as [like] Adam' (𝔊 otherwise 1 25). In $𝔊^{AL}$ the article is omitted in Gen. 2 19*b* 20*a* 23 3 12 [L.] 20 4 1 25 Dt. 32 8 1 Ch. 1 1 ($𝔊^{B}$ also in the last two passages).

[3] In 2 20*b* 3 17 21 read לְאָדָם 'for the man' (τῷ Ἀδαμ [AEL]) with Schr., Dillm., and Kau. *HS*.

[4] The present writer can see no probability in the view of Hommel (*PSBA*, 7th March 1893, pp. 244 *f.*) that Adam in Gen

to that of the Babylonian divine hero Adapa (Sayce, *Crit. and Mon.* 94), or, stranger still, to the Egyptian Atum (Lefébure, *TSBA* 9 1) are specimens of equal audacity. The word *adam* is of course earlier than any developed creation-myth (*sit venia verbo*), though it implies (cp Ass. *admu*, 'child'—*i.e.*, 'one made by God),[1] the existence of the central element of all such mythic stories (see CREATION, §§ 20 *f.*).

(*b*) We must now proceed to consider the name Eve (Hawwah חוה; Gen. 3 20 AV mg. CHAVAH, RV mg. HAVVAH. ζωη [AL], Aq. Αυα, Symm. Ζωογόνος, elsewhere *eva* [BAL]; ܚܘܐ; *HEVA*). This undoubtedly occurs as a proper name (3 20 4 1); but it is most probable that 3 20 formed no part of the original story, and that in 4 1 the name Eve is a later insertion.[2] Can its meaning be recovered? According to 3 20 Eve was so called 'because she was the mother of all living' (חי). This suggests the meaning 'a living being,' or, less probably, because an abstract conception, 'life' (ΘΑΕΕ Ζωή).[3] It is also possible, no doubt, to compare 1 S. 18 18 (Kau. *HS*) and render 'mother of every kindred,'[4] in which case Eve (חוה) will mean 'kinship,' or more strictly 'mother-kinship,' the primitive type of marriage being supposed to be based on mother-kinship (cp Gen. 3 20). It is best, however, to adhere to the first explanation, if we qualify this with the admission that Hawwah may possibly be a Hebraised form of a name in a non-Hebraic story.

4. The Narratives. Next, did the writer of the Eden story understand it *historically*? There are at least three points which must be regarded as decisive against this view. (1) The *naïveté* of the description. The same writer (J), in Nu. 22 28, ascribes the speaking of Balaam's ass to a special divine interference; but the speaking serpent and the enchanted trees in Gen. 2 *f.* appear as if altogether natural. Why? Because the author has no fear of being misunderstood. He knows, and his readers know, that he is not dealing with the everyday world, but with a world in which the natural and the supernatural are one. (2) The idealism of the narratives. The writer chiefly values certain ideas which the narrative is so arranged as to suggest. (3) The total disregard of the contents of these stories in the subsequent narratives of the Yahwist. To these most critics will add (4) the licence which the Yahwist appears to have taken of adding certain features to the primitive story, *e.g.* at any rate the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. It is not safe to add (5) the poetical *form* of the story in Gen. 2 4*b*-3 (Briggs), for all that seems probable is that this story is ultimately based to some extent on lost poetical traditions.

It is equally certain, however, that the writer of our Eden story did not explain it *allegorically*. Reverence for tradition must have assured him that the kernel of it at any rate was trustworthy. After purifying the traditional story by the criticism of his religious sense, he must have supposed it to give an adequate impression of what actually took place once upon a time. Kant, among his other services in refutation of the unhistorical

5 1-5 is altered from Adon, *i.e.* Yahu or Ea. We have no right to take our critical starting-point in a list given to us only in P; apart from this, the theory that the lists of the patriarchs in Gen. 4 and 5 are derived, as they stand, from Babylonian lists is scarcely tenable (see CAINITES, §§ 4 *ff.*).

[1] To the proposal of Wi. (*AOF* 344, following Stucken) to connect אדם with Ar. *adamat*[un], *adim*[un], 'kin,' Del.'s note on Gen. 2 7 (*Gen.*[6] 77) will suggest a pr. bd be answer.

[2] Cp Bu. *Urgesch.* 141, 212 *f.*; St. *ZAT W.*, 1894, pp. 266 *ff.*

[3] Nöld. however (with We. [see now *Heid.*[2] 154] and St.), thinks that חַיָּה properly meant 'serpent' (Aram. חִוְיָא), *ZDMG* 42 487. The Midrash (*Ber. rab.* par. 21, on Gen. 3 20) actually compares the same Aram. word, explaining the name thus, 'She was given to Adam to glorify his life, but she counselled him like a serpent.' This hardly favours Nöld.'s suggestion.

[4] WRS *Kin.* 177. But note that קליתי and בְּלִיתִי are standing Hebrew phrases (see BDB *Lex.*).

rationalism of the last century, has the merit of having forcibly recalled attention to the fact that the narrative of Genesis, even if we do not take it literally, must be regarded as presenting a view of the beginnings of the history of the human race (*Muthmaßliches Anfang der Menschengeschichte*, 1786).

What, then, is the Eden story to be called? It is a problem which there is a growing disposition to solve by adopting, in one form or another, what is called the *mythical* theory. The story cannot indeed be called a myth in the strict sense of the word, unless we are prepared to place it on one line with the myths of heathenism, produced by the unconscious play of plastic fancy, giving shape to the impressions of natural phenomena on primitive observers. Such a course is to be deprecated. The story of Gen. 2 4*b*-3 has been too much affected by conscious art and reflection to be combined with truly popular myths. Hermann Schultz has coined the expression 'revelation-myth'; but this is cumbrous, and may suggest to some an entirely erroneous view of the pre-Deuteronomic conception of revelation (cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 86, 292). The truth is that the story of Eden cannot be described by a single phrase. The mythic elements which it contains have been moralised far enough for practical needs, but not so far as to rob it of its primeval colouring. The parallel story in the Zoroastrian Scripture called Vendidad (Fargard ii.) is dry and pale by comparison. In its union of primitive concreteness with a nascent sense of spiritual realities our Eden story stands alone.

There is therefore no reason for shutting our eyes to the plain results of historical criticism. It is only when, as was the case when the late George Smith made his great discoveries (see his *Chaldean Genesis*), Babylonian myths are adduced as proofs of the historicity of Gen. 1-11, that they may truly be called ἄδωρα δῶρα. It is not the mythic basis, but the infused *idealism* of the Eden story, that constitutes its abiding interest for religious men; and it was owing to a sense of this, quite as much as to a desire to harmonise Greek philosophy with Scripture, that the allegoric spiritualism of Alexandria found so much favour in Greek Christendom. From the point of view of the pre-critical period this system could not but commend itself to earnest and devout thinkers. Who, said Philo, could take the story of the creation of Eve, or of the trees of life and knowledge literally? The ideas, however, which the sage derives from the stories are Greek, not early Jewish. For instance, his interpretation of the creation of Eve is plainly suggested by a Platonic myth. The longing for reunion which love implants in the divided halves of the original dual man is the source of sensual pleasure (symbolised by the serpent), which in turn is the beginning of all transgression. Eve represents the sensuous or perceptive part of man's nature, Adam the reason. The serpent therefore does not venture to attack Adam directly. It is sense which yields to pleasure, and in turn enslaves the reason and destroys its immortal virtue. These ideas are not precisely those which advocates of a mystical interpretation would put forward to-day. There is an equal danger, however, of arbitrariness in modern allegorising, even though it be partly veiled by reverence for exegetical tradition. It is only by applying critical methods to the story, and distinguishing the different elements of which it is composed, that we can do justice to the ideas which the later editor or editors may have sought to convey.

For a discussion of 'Biblical Mythus' see Schultz, *OT Theol.*, c. 2, and cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 123, 119-122; WRS *KS*[2] 19, 440. On the Avesta parallels, see Darmesteter, *Le Zendavesta*, tome 3, pp. 57 *ff.*, and Kohut, 'The Zendavesta and Gen. 1-11,' *JQR* [oo], 223-229. On apocryphal romance of Adam and Eve, see below, APOCRYPHA, § 10. T. K. C.[1]

ADAMAH (אֲדָמָה). 1. One of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali (Josh. 19 36† ΑΡΜΑΙΘ [B]. ΑΔΑΜ[Є][ℓ] [AL]).

[1] The above article is written on the lines and sometimes in the words of WRS.

Apart from its being mentioned along with Chinnereth and Ramah and Hazor we have no clue to its site (cp Dr. *ad loc.*). Cp ADAMI.

2, see ADAM, 1.

ADAMANT (שָׁמִיר, *adamant*; see below, § 4). In modern English poetry and rhetorical prose—for the word is now not otherwise used—*adamant* is simply a term for 'the embodiment of surpassing hardness.' In the EV of OT it can be retained only if understood in the sense in which it is employed by Theophrastus *i.e.*, in the sense of corundum (see § 2). This is crystallised alumina (Al_2O_3), an excessively tough and difficultly frangible mineral; transparent or translucent, vitreous, but pearly to metallic on basal face. Emery is a compact, crystalline, granular variety—grey to indigo-blue. In a purer state corundum occurs in transparent crystals of various tints of colour red (Ruby), blue (Sapphire), green (Oriental Emerald), yellow (Oriental Topaz), purple (Oriental Amethyst), colourless (White Sapphire)—little inferior to the diamond in brilliancy, though they do not disperse rays of light to the same extent.

1. Modern corundum.

The term ἀδάμας, which is not known to Homer, was applied by the Greeks to that substance which from time to time was the hardest known. In Hesiod it means hardened iron or steel, and the adamantine bonds by which Prometheus was fastened to a peak of the Caucasus (Æsch. *PV* 6, 64) must have been of this material, for the manufacture of which the tribes near the Caucasus, such as the Colchians and the Chalybes, were famous. The ἀδάμας of Theophrastus, however, though it is not included in his list of twelve stones used for engraving on, nor mentioned as employed in the art of engraving was (1) a stone and (2) probably the white sapphire (a corundum). This is probable from the fact that a particular kind of carbuncle (ἄνθ, a5) (and near Miletus and described as hexagonal (γωνιώδης ἐν ὥπερ καὶ τὰ ἑξάγωνα) was compared to it. For noble corundums (sapphires, rubies, oriental topaz, and oriental emerald) are, as a matter of fact, found as hexagonal prisms. It is most unlikely that Theophrastus meant the true diamond (see DIAMOND, § 1), though Pliny (*NH* XXXVII. 4 15) confuses with this his *adamas*, which—being hexagonal (whereas the diamond would be rather described as octohedral, or a double pyramid—was, like that of Theophrastus, the white sapphire. As, however, Manilius (1st cent. A.D.) knows the real diamond—he says 'sic adamas, punctum lapidis, pretiosior auro est' (*Astronom.* iv. 926)—it is quite possible that Jerome (in the Vg.) meant by *adamas* the actual diamond; though in that case he was almost certainly wrong (see DIAMOND, § 1).

2. *adamas* of the Greeks.

In the three places where Vg. uses *adamas*, *adamantinus*, it is to render the Hebrew *shamir*, a word which may mean either 'sharp-pointed' or 'tenacious.' In each passage the reference is not to a brilliant gem but to something extremely hard: 'harder than flint' (Ezek. 3 9); paralled to 'a pen of iron' (Jer. 17 1); similarly Zech. 7 12. In the Pesh. *shamir* appears in the Syr. form *šammirā*. Although the Arabic forms *šāmūr* and *šammūr* are identified by the native lexicographers with *'almas*, 'diamond' the Syriac *šammirā* is used not only of ἀδάμας as the 'hardest stone'—employed in cutting others (Bar Bahlūl, *Lex.* col. 39 *l.* 14, col. 803 *l.* 11 or it stands for something hard (Isaac of Antioch, ed. G. Bickell, 2 62, *l.* 39)—but also definitely as = σμύρις or σμυρις, ܫܡܝܪܐ (Duval-Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, 2 9, *l.* 5). There is some probability, therefore, in Bochart's suggested connection of שמיר with σμύρις (whence the English emery), which meant both corundum itself and granulated corundum, emery. Diosc. (v. 166) says:—'σμύρις is a stone with which gem-engravers polish gems,' and Hesychius

3. *Shamir* of OT = corundum.

(*s.v.* σμύρις), 'a kind of sand with which hard stones are polished.' The σμιρίτης λίθος of 𝔊 (Job 41 7 [15]) [BNC]; rot λ. [A]; = חזק מד of MT = 'a close seal' of EV, *v.* 15) is the same as the σμύρις of Dioscorides, by which he meant corundum in mass. Hesychius plainly means corundum in grains—*i.e.* emery. The latter, called Naxium by the Romans (Pliny, *HN* XXXVI. 7 10) from the island of Naxos, where it is still produced in great quantities, was much used by the Greek gem-engravers of the fourth century B.C. Indeed corundum and emery were the only means of cutting gems known to them up to that time. For Theophrastus (*Lap.* 44), writing in 313 B.C., speaks of it alone as used by the engravers. He identifies it with the stone from which whetstones were made, and says that the best came from Armenia. Both corundum and emery are found in many places in Asia Minor, as well as in several of the Greek islands.

EV renders *shamir* by *adamant* only in Ezek. 3 9 and Zech. 7 12. In the remaining passage, Jer. 17 1, it less happily renders it *diamond*. The word adamant occurs also in Ecclus. 16 16 AV; but RV, following 𝔊 ℞ℳA, omits the passage.

4. The versions.

Vg. and Pesh. have been already dealt with (§ 3). 𝔊 in Ezek. 3 9 (διὰ παντὸς [BAQ]) and Zech. 7 12 (ἀπειθῆ [BNAQ]) represents another reading, while in the case of Jer. 17 1 it omits the whole passage [BANQ] (though the verses appear in the Compl. Polygl. and, following Orig. and Theod., on the mg. of Q, where שמיר is rendered by [ὄνυχι] ἀδαμαντίνῳ). With Zech. 7 12 cp 4 Macc. 16 13. Strangely 𝔊 renders אקר by ἀδάμας in Am. 7, EV PLUMMELINE. In the Targum שמיר is identified with חרמש (see FLINT), although the Talm. regards it as a worm, about which extraordinary legends are told (see refs. in Bacher, *Lex.*, or Levy (*NH WB s.v.*),[1] and Paul Cassel in a monograph ('56) tried to show that שמיר was an excessively fine flint-like substance. W. T.

ADAMI. See below, ADAMI-NEKEB.

ADAMI-NEKEB, as RV, or more correctly, ADAMI-HANNEKEB (אדמי הנקב), *i.e.* the pass Adami, on the frontier of Naphtali, Josh. 19 33†; cp Vg. *Adami quæ est Neceb.* AV makes two names, 'ADAMI, NEKEB.' So 𝔊, ΑΡΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΒΩΚ [B], or ΑΡΜΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΚΕΒ [A]; L, however, ΑΔΕΜΜΗ ΑΝΝΕΚΒ. The Jer. Talm. (*Meg.* 1 1) also divides the expression, Adami being represented as *Damin*, and Hannekeb as *Candatah*. Neub. (*La Géog. du Talm.* 222) and G.ASm. (*HG* 396) identify Adami with Dāmieh, 5 m. W. of Tiberias, the site which the PE Survey proposes for the 'fenced city' Adamah of *v.* 36 (*Mem.* 1 384). This, however, seems much too far S. when we consider that the 'tree of Bezaanim' (see BEZAANANNIM) was close to Kedesh, while JABNEEL (*q.v.* n. 2) appears to have been a north Galilæan fortress. These are the two localities between which Adami-nekeb is mentioned in Josh. 19 33. It is probable that the name Nkbu in the Karnak list of Thotmes III. (*RP*[2] 5 47) means the pass Adami. T. K. C.

ADAR, RV, more correctly, ADDAR (אֲדָר; [εἰς] ϹΑΡΑΔΑ [B], ΑΔΔΑΡΑ [AL]), an unknown site mentioned after HEZRON (*q.v.*) as one of the points on the southern frontier of Judah (Josh. 15 3†).

ADAR (אֲדָר [Aram.], Ezra 6 15†; אָדָר [Heb.]), Esth. 3 7 13 8 12 9 1-19; 1 Macc. 7 43 49; 2 Macc. 15 36). See MONTH, §§ 3, 5.

ADASA (ΑΔΑϹΑ [AℵV]), the scene of the victory of Judas the Maccabee over Nicanor (1 Macc. 7 40 45), lay, as is implied in the narrative, not very far from Beth-horon. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 10 5) makes its distance from Beth-horon 30 stadia, and Jer. and Eus. call it a village near Gophna (*OS*, 93 3 220 6). Gophna being obviously the modern *Jifna* between Jerusalem and Shechem, it is reasonable to identify Adasa with the ruin *'Adasch*, on a bare shapeless down, 8 m. S. of that place (*PEF*

[1] Cp Leopold L. w. 'Graphische Requisiten u. Erzeugnisse bei den Juden' ('70), pp. 121-23, in *Beitr. z. jüd. Alterthumskunde*, Bd. 1 of the Leipzig 'Institut zur Förderung d. israel. Literatur.'

Mem. 3 106). The remark of Eus. that Adasa belonged to Judah, at which Jer. expresses so much surprise, rests on a confusion between αδασα, the 𝔊^A reading of HADASHAH (*q.v.*) in Josh. 15 37, and the place of like name in the passage before us.

ADBEEL (אַדְבְּאֵל, NABΔEHA [AFL in Gen. A in Ch.], ΑΔΔΙΗΛ [*D* in Gen. B in Ch.], ΑΒΔΙΗΛ [L in Ch.], ΑΒΔΕΗΛΟΥ [Jos. *Ant.* i. 12 4]; cp Sab. אדבל, see Ges.-Hu. *s.v.*), one of the twelve sons of Ishmael (Gen. 25 13; 1 Ch. 1 29†). Doubtless the Arabian tribe Idibe'il, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. (*KB* 2 20 *l.* 56) with Tema, Sheba, and Ephah, but distinct from the Idibe'ilu named in inscriptions of the same king, who was a *Kapu* (*i.e.*, not 'warden of the marches' but 'governor' (of the N. Arabian land of Muṣri. See MIZRAIM II. [*b*]). Cp Wi. *Altor. Forsch.* 25. For a slightly different view, see ISHMAEL, § 4 (3).

ADDAN (אַדָּן, § 57, connected with the divine name Addu; see HADAD, ADONIRAM), the name, or part of the name, of an undentified town or district in Babylonia, mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Ezra 2 59 (ΗΔΔΑΝ [BAL]) = Neh. 7 61, ADDON (ΗΡΩΝ [BNA], ΗΔΔΑΝ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 36, where אדן represented by *-ahar*, *-alan* of AV CHARAATHALAN, RV CHARAATHALAN (. . . αλαν [B], [Aθ] αλαρ [A], . . . ιδαν [L]). Cp CHERUB, ii.

ADDAR (אַדָּר), Josh. 15 3† RV, AV ADAR (*q.v.*).

ADDAR (אַדָּר), 1 Ch. 8 3†. See ARD.

ADDER. The details are given under SERPENT (§ 1, nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). The Hebrew names are:

1. עכשוב, *'akshūb* (Ps. 140 3 [4]†), generally believed to be a kind of adder. See SERPENT, § 1 (4).

2. פתן, *pethen* (Ps. 58 4 [5] 91 13, AV mg. 'asp,' like AV elsewhere), also believed to be some species of adder or viper. See SERPENT, § 1 (5).

3. צפעוני, *ṣiph'ōnī* (Pr. 23 32; mg. like text elsewhere AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' 𝔊 κεραστης; also Is. 11 8 59 5 EV mg.), likewise some kind of viper. See SERPENT, § 1 (7).

4. צֶפַע, *ṣepha* (Is. 14 29 EV mg.). See SERPENT, § 1, no. 6.

5. שׁפיפן, *shĕphīphōn* (Gen. 49 17†, AV mg. 'arrow-snake,' RV mg. 'horned snake'), the *cerastes*. See SERPENT, § 2 (2).

ADDI. 1. The sons of Addi in 1 Esd. 9 31 (αδδειν [B], αδδι [A], εδνα [L]) appear to take the place of the b'ne Pahath Moab of Ezra 10 30; but the name probably represents ADNA (*q.v.*, no. 1), the first in the group. In 𝔊^L the missing name is restored, but without 𝔊^L's usual ἡγουμένου (see PAHATH-MOAB).

Twenty-fourth in the ascending genealogical series, which begins with Joseph, Mary's husband, in Lk. 3 23-38 (αδδει [Tl. WH following BNA]). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

ADDO (ΑΔΔΩ [A], etc.), 1 Esd. 6 1. See IDDO, iii. 3.

ADDON (אַדּוֹן), Neh. 7 61 = Ezra 2 59, ADDAN.

ADDUS. 1. The sons of Addus, one of the groups added in 1 Esd. 5 34 [BA] (αδδους, see Swete; perhaps corresponding to ΑΓΓΑ [L.] to the 'sons of the servants of Solomon' (see LEVITES) in the great post-exilic list. Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5; see EZRA, ii. § 8.

2. 1 Esd. 5 38. RV JADDUS. See BARZILLAI, 3.

ADER (עֵדֶר), 1 Ch. 8 15†, RV EDER (*q.v.*, ii. 1).

ADIDA (ΑΔΙΔΑ [A]), 1 Macc. 12 38 13 13. See HADID.

ADIEL (עֲדִיאֵל, § 38, 'God passes by'? cp Adaiah).

1. One of the Simeonite chieftains who dispossessed the Meunim (see RV), 1 Ch. 4 36† (εδιηλ [A], αδαηλ [L], perhaps αωσαλ [B]). See GEDOR, 2, and HAM, ii.; and cp AMALEK, § 4.

[illegible] of Maaseiah (1 Ch. 9 12† αδιηλ [AL]).

2. Ancestor of AZMAVETH, *q.v.*, ii. 4 (1 Ch. 27 25† ωδιηλ [BNA]).

4. See ADIEL.

ADIN (עָדִין, § 57, perhaps shortened from יְהוֹעָדִין, 'Yahwè is pleasant,' cp JEHOADDAN, LDEN 1; ΑΔ[Ε]ΙΝ [BA], ΑΔΔΕΙ [L], *ADINA*).

The first Adin (Adina) in the great post-exilic list (See EZRA, ii. § 9). Ezra 2 15 (αδειν [B], αδδ. [A], αδδει [L]) Neh. 7 20 (ηδ[ε]ιν [BA]) 1 Esd. 5 14 (αδειαιου or -ιας [B], αδειου [A], RV ADINU). A band of fifty males of this family came up with Ezra; 1 Esd. 8 30 (1 Esd. 8 32 (ADAN αμιτεαδαβ [L], *i.e.*, Adin and Ebed, the name of their head). The family was represented among the signatories to the covenant, Neh. 10 16 [17] (ηδ[ε]ιν [BNA], αδειν [L]). See EZRA, i. § 7.

ADINA (עֲדִינָא, 'blissful,' cp under ADIN; ΑΔ[Ε]ΙΝΑ [BAL]). 1. A Reubenite chieftain in David's service (1 Ch. 11 42†). See DAVID, § 11 *c*, ii.

ADINO. 'the Eznite,' is appended unexpectedly in EV of 2 S 23 8 to the description of David's principal hero.

The readings of 𝔊 are: αδειωον ο ασωναιος [B], αδειν ο ωναος [A], with the slight variant (ουτος) εσπασατο την ρομφαιαν αυτου in B, though not in A] from 1 Ch. 11 11 (BNAL], where A* has εσπασατο [illegible] 𝔊^L, however, gives the single rendering [of a different text], ουτος διεκοσμει την διασειρ αυτου.

A comparison of vv. 7, 8 shows that what is required to make sense is 'brandished his spear,' מִדִּיד אֶת־חֲנִיתוֹ, and these words are actually given in 1 Ch. 11 11 in lieu of עֹדְנִי הַעֲצֻנִי, the words out of which MT (reading הוּא) and its followers including EV vainly attempt to extract [illegible]. Modern critics (except Klo.) correct MT in accordance with 1 Ch.

Klo.'s correction, 'He [illegible] our pride, he is our terrible one' (after which he ventures to render עַל 'because of') הוּא עֹדְנִי הוּא עָצֻנִי, words which are supposed to be a quotation from a warlike song referring to this hero, is too ingenious. The words might, it is true, be viewed as a misplaced marginal quotation [illegible] relative to *David*; but then we should still have to supply some [illegible] as a predicate to complete the account of David's warrior [illegible]. See ISHBAI; ELEAZAR.

ADINU (ΑΔΙΝΟΥ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 14 RV; AV, KV mg. ADIN.

ADINUS, RV IADINUS (ΙΑΔ[Ε]ΙΝΟΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 48; Neh. 8 7, JAMIN.

ADITHAIM (עֲדִיתַיִם); on form of name see NAMES, § 107; ΑΓΕΘΘΑΙΜ [L]; BA om., but in v. 34 A has ΑΔΙΑΘΑΕΙΜ and B has ΙΑΟΥΘΩΘ for 'Tappuah'), an unknown site in the Shephelah of Judah, apparently somewhere in its NE. portion (Josh. 15 36†).

ADLAI (עַדְלָי; ΑΔΑΙ [BA]; ΑΔΛΙ [L]; *ADL.*, 1 Ch. 27 29†), see SHAPHAT, 5.

ADMAH (אַדְמָה, ΑΔΑΜΑ [BAL]) and **Zeboim** (Hos. 11 8 EV, Gen. 10 19 AV, Dt. 29 23 [22] AV), or, as in Gen. 14 2 8 EV and everywhere RV except in Hos., **Zeboiim** (Hos. 11 8 Kt. צְבוֹאִים, probably = צְבֹעִים [see below]; Gen. 10 19 Kt. צְבֹיִם; 14 2 8 Dt. 29 23 [22] all Kt. צְבוֹיִים; Kr. everywhere צְבוֹיִם; CEBΩΕΙΜ [BAL]; Samar. text om. both names in Gen. 10 19; σαδαμα [F] in Gen. 14 2), are mentioned together in passages of the Pentateuch and in Hos. 11 8. In Gen. 14 2 8 they are stated to have had kings of their own (see SHINAB) who joined in the revolt of certain southern peoples against Chedorlaomer king of Elam; in Dt. 29 23 [22] (σεβωειν [AF]) to have shared the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. In Gen. 10 19 (σεβωιμ [A]) they are mentioned in the definition of the boundaries of Canaan proper—*i.e.*, the land W. of the Jordan. Except in Hos. 11 8 the names Admah and Zeboim are always preceded by those of Sodom and Gomorrah. Of the Pentateuch passages all except Gen. 10 19 are certainly post-exilic, and it is very possible that Kautzsch and Socin are right in regarding the mention of Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim in Gen. 10 19 as interpolated. In this case we have no right to assume it as certain that Admah and Zeboim were among the cities which an early Hebrew tradition stated to have been destroyed by brimstone and fire out of

heaven. Hos 11 8 (imitated perhaps in Is. 15 9 f.) only implies that Admah and Zeboim had suffered some terrible destruction. As to the mode of their destruction and as to their locality no information is given. It is, in fact, not at all likely that the least famous of the 'cities of the plain' should have been selected by Hosea as representatives; Amos (4 11) and Isaiah (1 9 10) mention only Sodom and Gomorrah. It is possible that there was once some distinct legend respecting the destruction of Admah and Zeboim. Possibly too Zeboim was not a town, but the name of the district in which Admah was situated. Against this we must not appeal to Gen. 14 2, since the names of the kings there given are probably unhistorical. Nor can one help conjecturing that (cf. as Rodiger, in Ges. *Thes.* suggests, בבשים בבעים) Hosea alludes to a story which accounted for the dreary character of the Valley of Zeboim (now the *Wâdy el-Kelt*; see ZEBOIM, 1), analogous to that connected with the valley of ACHOR. Such stories of overthrown villages are not uncommon. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

T. K. C.

ADMATHA (אַרְמְתָא), one of the 'seven princes' (cp Ezra 7 14) at the court of Ahasuerus (Est. 1 14 f.) [BAN, Lom.]. According to Marquart, however, these seven names have arisen from an original three (cp the *three* satraps Dan. 6 2 f.) of which CARSHENA (*q.v.*) is one, Shethar and Tarshish are corrupt variations of the second (see SHETHAR), and Meres and Marsena corruptions of the third (see MARSENA). Admatha (or rather רמתא) would then be the father of Haman, and for מרסנא (cp note to MEMUCAN) should be substituted האגגי (the designation applied to Haman). See, further, *Fund.* 68 ff. Cp ESTHER, § 3.

ADMIN (ΑΔΜΕΙΝ [BN]), a link, in the genealogy of Joseph, between Amminadab and Arni (Aram), in Lk. 3 33 RV mg. and W & H. See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

ADMINISTRATION. See GOVERNMENT.

ADNA. 1. (עַדְנָא [Ginsb. *q.v.*], עַדְנָה [Ba.]) One of the bene PAHATH-MOAB in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, 1, § 5 end), Ezra 10 30 (αιδαινε [B], εδ [B^b]. εδνε [A] αιανασηιε [L combining with next name, which in 1 Esd 9 31 (L om. σιδια], εδενεχ' ηΝ [N = Adna + following name, CHELAL]) = 1 Esd. 9 31 (εδνα [L]). ADDI, 1. With this name should be compared Hadauna, a Jewish name of the fifth century B.C., mentioned by Hilprecht as found at Nippur (cp Hazitu = חזיו).

2. (עַדְנָא [Ginsb. Ba.]), priest temp. Joiakim (see EZRA, ii. §§ 6 f., 11), Neh. 12 15 (αδαιας [N^{c.a} mg. inf.], om. [B^{vid}A], εδναι [L]).

ADNAH (עַדְנָה; ΕΔΝΑΑΙΣ [BA], -ΝΑΙΣ [L]), a captain in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch. 17 14).

ADNAH (עַדְנָה [Ginsb. Ba.], other readings עֶדְנָה, עָדְנָה; ΕΔΝΑ [BANL], *Ednas*). A Manassite, who deserted from Saul to David (1 Ch. 12 20 [21]). See DAVID, § 11 (*a*).

ADONAI (אֲדֹנָי). See NAMES, §§ 110, 100 n.

ADONI BEZEK (אֲדֹנִי בֶזֶק, in v. 7 with *makkêf*; ΑΔΩΝΙΒΕΖΕΚ [BAL] Judg. 1 4-7. 𝔊 has ΑΔΩΝΙΒΕΖΕΚ also in Josh. 10 1-3 where MT has Adoni-zedek; a third variation is ΑΔΩΝΙΖΕΒΕΚ [Jos. Procop. 𝔊 *codd*], the change may be accidental or harmonistic), a Canaanite king whom Judah and Simeon, invading southern Palestine, encountered and defeated at Bezek. Adoni-bezek fled, but was overtaken, made prisoner, and mutilated. He was afterwards carried to Jerusalem, where he died (Judg. 1 4-7). The name Adoni-bezek is commonly interpreted 'Lord of (the city) Bezek'; but such a formation is entirely anomalous. In similar compounds (Adoni with proper name) the second element is regularly the name of a god, never of a place (there is in fact no Hebrew or Canaanite proper names of places in the OT thus compounded with the name of a locality), nor is *adôn* used of the sovereign of a city or country. In Jos 10 1 ff., which, in spite of radical differences, is based on a source closely akin to that of Judg. 1, if not identical with it, the head of the native kings who first made front against the Israelite invasion of the S. is Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem (see ADONI-ZEDEK); and it is to Jerusalem that Adoni-bezek is taken (? by his own servants) to die (Judg. 1 7). Hence the conjecture offered under ADONI-ZEDEK appears very probable.

See also BEZEK.

G. A. M.

ADONIJAH (אֲדֹנִיָּה, 2 S. 3 4; 1 K. 1 5 7 18 2 28; 1 Ch. 3 2; Neh. 10 16 [17], elsewhere אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ, 'Yahwe is lord' § 46; cp Phen. אדנבעל, אדנאשמן; ΑΔΩΝΙΑ[Ε]ΙΑΣ [BA] ΟΡΝΙΑ [L]).

1. David's fourth son (in 1 Ch. 3 2 αδωνι[ε]ια [BA; so also in 2 K. 2 21 ff.]. ορνιας [L]). Nothing is known of his mother, Haggith. Like Absalom, he was born at Hebron (2 S. 3 4, ορνειΑ [B], -νιας [A]); like him he was conspicuous by his graceful presence, while like all David's sons he never felt the constraint of his father's authority. Absalom's death left him heir to the throne, and 'all Israel,' as he said himself, 'expected that he would become king' (1 K. 2 15). He therefore, in the manifest failure of the old king's faculties, thought it time to assume a semi-royal state, like Absalom before him (1 K. 1 5). On his side were the old and tried servants of David, Joab, the commander of the forces, Abiathar, who represented the old priestly family of Eli, and had been the companion of David's wanderings—followed by the people as a whole (see 1 K. 2 15). The 'new men,' however, Benaiah, captain of the body-guard, and Zadok, a priest of origin comparatively obscure, looked with evil eyes on his pretensions, and with the powerful aid of the prophet Nathan espoused the cause of the son of Bathsheba. The chance of each party, unless David's death was to be followed by civil war, lay in a sudden stroke which would put their claimant in possession and overawe his opponents.

The story is graphically told, though perhaps with a secret sympathy with Adonijah. Nor can we doubt that, like the other narratives of the same writer, it is in the main trustworthy. Adonijah made the first move. He invited all the royal princes save Solomon, together with Joab and Abiathar and 'all the men of Judah,' to a sacrificial feast at a well-known sacred stone (see ZOHELETH) close to Jerusalem (1 K. 1 9 f.). They had left the weak old king, however, exposed to the machinations of their enemies, while the fortress was in the hands of Benaiah and his trained soldiers. Nathan was quick to seize the opportunity. By the help of Bathsheba, and with a presentation of facts which may or may not have been perfectly accurate,[1] he obtained from David an order for the immediate enthronement of Solomon. Adonijah's banquet was disturbed by news that Solomon reigned by his father's will, and was protected by Benaiah and the foreign guard. The company broke up in dismay, and Adonijah sought an asylum at the horns of the altar. The clemency of Solomon, however, spared his life, and but for an ill-timed revival of his ambitious dreams he might have remained in a happy obscurity. The cause of his ruin was a petition to be allowed to marry Abishag, for which he obtained the support of Bathsheba. Apparently the queen mother did not detect his secret political

[1] The question is whether the promise of Solomon asserted by Nathan (1 K. 1 13) is a deliberate fiction of Nathan, or a statement which (on the description of the doings of Adonijah, it is not, exactly) exaggerated. The former point is the more [illegible] of the two. W. (*OH* [illegible]) and Ku. (*Hist.* ii. 109 [illegible]) [illegible] different [illegible]. We [illegible] to be the latter; [illegible] one; but we must consider Semitic craftiness, and the improbability of a merely private promise of Solomon. See 1 K. 1 12 13.

motive; indeed Abishag had only nominally been David's concubine. Solomon, however, regarded the proposal as virtually, if not expressly, a claim to the throne, and Adonijah perished by Solomon's sentence and Benaiah's sword.

Compare the narrative of Stade (*GI* i. bk. v. *c.* 2), with the somewhat different treatment of the matter by Kittel (*Hist.* ii. *c.* 4). W. F. A.

2. A signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 16 [17] (αδωια [BN] (though the names are otherwise divided)), αδωιας [A], αδωιας [L]). In the great post-exilic list, Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5 (see EZRA, ii. § 9), and in the list (Ezra 8) of those who came with Ezra, the name appears (vv. 11 18 14 11 respectively) perhaps more correctly (so Gray, *HPN* 137, n. 2) as ADONIJAH (*q.v.*).

3. A Jew, temp. Jehoshaphat; 2 Ch. 17 8 (αδωνιας [BA], ωνια [L]).

4. See ADONIJAH.

5. See ADONIAS.

ADONIKAM (אֲדֹנִיקָם; 'the Lord is risen up,' cp AHIKAM; αδωνι[ε]ικαμ [BAL]).

The line Adonikam, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 8c); Ezra 2 13 (αδωνικαμ [B]) Neh. 7 18 (αδωικαμ [B], αδωικαμ [N]) 1 Esd. 5 14; represented in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*), Ezra 8 13 (αδωικαμ [B]) 1 Esd. 8 39 (αδωικαιμ [B]); and probably among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 16 [17], see ADONIJAH, 2.

ADONIRAM (אֲדֹנִירָם, § 40, 'the Lord is high', αδων[ε]ιραμ [BAL]; *ADONIRAM*), chief receiver of tribute under David (2 S. 20 24), Solomon (1 K. 4 6, 5 14 [28]), and Rehoboam, on whose deposition he was stoned to death by the Israelites (1 K. 12 18; 2 Ch. 10 18† אֲדוֹרָם, αδωραμ [A]).

In 2 S. 20 24 (εζεδραν [L]) and 1 K. 12 18 (αδραμ [B]; *Adoram*), it is incorrectly (cp We. Dr. *TPN*) written ADORAM (אֲדוֹרָם). Hilprecht (*PEF Qu. St.*, Jan. '96, p. 35), indeed, attempts to explain the form by connecting it with Addurāmu ('Addu is high'), a Jewish name on a tablet from Nippur; notice, however, that yōd is not expressed and that ⊕BAL reads 'Adoniram.'

ADONIS only in the phrase נִטְעֵי נַעֲמָנִים (a double plur.), Is. 17 10 RV mg. 'plantings of Adonis'[1] (EV has 'pleasant plants'). In spite of the rendering see Che. *Is.*[2] 1 108, Kittel in Di. *Jes.*[6]. To I add (*Proph.* 2 116, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* 718, n. 3) and still more to Lag. (*Semitica*, 1 31, *Uebers.* 205, n.) is due this important correction of the rendering. Clermont-Ganneau should also be consulted (*Études d'archéol. orientale* 1, 1880, pp. 26 *ff.*), also WRS *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1887, p. 307; but cp We. *Ar. Heid.*[1] 7 n. Na'aman (= pleasant, gracious) was doubtless a title of the 'Lord' (Adon, whence Adōnis), and Adonis-worship seems to have penetrated under this title into Syria and Palestine, as we gather from the OT name NAAMAN [*q.v.*], from the names Numāna and Nāmāna in S. Palestine in pre-Israelitish times (Thotmes III.), and from the *Nahr Na'mān* (N. of Carmel), which seems to be the Belus of the ancients. That Adonis-worship flourished in Palestine when Isaiah wrote can easily be believed. The N. Israelites were at this time specially open to Syrian influences. They 'forgot' Yahwè because he seemed unable to protect them. So Isaiah indignantly exclaims, 'Therefore, though thou plantest (little gardens with) shoots of Adonis, and stockest them with scions (dedicated) to a foreign god . . . the harvest shall vanish in a day of sickness and desperate pain.' The phrase 'shoots of Adonis' points to the so-called 'gardens of Adonis,' baskets containing earth sown with various plants, which quickly sprang up and as quickly withered. In reality they were symbols of the life and death of Adonis; but Isaiah takes the withering as an image of the withered hopes of Israel. On these 'gardens' see Frazer, *Golden Bough* 1 224 *f.*; WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 414; Ohnefalsch Richter, *Kypros* 132 *f.*; and cp Che. 'Isaiah,' in *SBOT* (Eng.), 146.

Adonis was one of those local gods who live with and in nature, who suffer in summer's drought, die

1 ⊕ φύτευμα ἄτιστοι [ℵAQT].

with the winter, and live again with the early spring. Legend, however, explained the death of the god as an event of far-off times. Adonis, it said, was killed while hunting, the boar in Lebanon and accordingly in the heat of summer was solemn the great mourning festival (cp WRS *R. S.* 414) at which his corpse was exhibited resting of flowers—the quickly fading Adonis-gardens—up in Lebanon, near the fount in of Afka, death suddenly overtook him, whereupon the spring became red with his blood. By Afka was an ancient temple of the goddess Aphrodite (so Lucian *Dea Syr.* 9, Eus. *Vit. Const.* 3 55, Sozom. *HE* 2 5), of which the ruins still remain; probably it contained the grave of the god. This legend and the cult connected with it, must be very ancient. Indeed, in a source as early as the papyrus Anast. I., mention is made of the goddess of the 'mysterious' city of Byblus. In its origin it was distinct from the Babylonian legend of the loves of Istar and Tammuz, though at an early date both this legend and the Egyptian story of Osiris were combined with it (Plut. *de I.* 15, Luc. *Dea Syr.* 7, cp Apollodor. iii. 1, 3, 7, etc.). The cult spread through all the Phœnician colonies, especially to Cyprus, whence in the seventh century it was imported into Greece. Adonis, however, is not to be taken as the true name of the god; every god can be called 'Adon,' lord, just as every goddess is entitled to be called Kabbath, 'the lady.' At Byblus (see GEBAL, 1) the favourite of the goddess of Byblus was invoked as the 'lord' *par excellence*, and thus it was that the Greeks came to call him Adonis. What his real name was we do not know, for the name Tammuz, which he also bears, is Babylonian, and it is doubtful whether it ever became in use in Phœnicia.

§ Legend and cult.

Possibly his name survives, unsuspected, among the many divine names. Or perhaps the recollection of his sad fate may have hindered the formation of proper names derived from his; but is it impossible that in the worship he never received a real name at all.[1] For in point of fact Philo, who never mentions Adonis, says of a certain Elūn (עליון) – ὕψιστος, that he lived with a woman named Berut in Byblus, that he was slain by wild beasts and was afterwards deified, and that 'his children brought him libations and offerings.' This seems to be the euhemeristic version of the Adonis legend. Now in 'Abeiat in the neighbourhood of Byblus, where doubtless the village Saarna lay, there has been found an altar Διὶ οὐρανίῳ ὑψίστῳ Σααρναίῳ ἐπηκόῳ (Renan, 224), and although such attributes are of frequent occurrence in Syria, Renan is probably right in recognising in this 'highest god' the Elūn of Philo, and Adonis. Moreover, according to Philo (ii. 10), the god Ἀγρουηρος ἢ Ἄγροτης, 'the farmer,' whose brother is called Ἄγρος, 'field' (*i.e.*, שָׂדֶה)[2] and who 'had a sacrosanct image and a temple carried about Phœnicia on wheels,' was honoured in Byblus as θεὸν ὁ μέγιστος. He also recurs in the Greek inscriptions. In Byblus a temple was erected under Augustus Διὶ ὑψίστῳ (Renan, 223; cp 212 θεῷ Διὶ . . .) and the same god had a temple deep in the recesses of the mountains near Kal'at Fakra to the SE. of Byblus (*CIG* 4525 . . . ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μεγίστου θεοῦ φανερομηθη). The Phœnician name represented by Ἀγρουηρος is unknown. See TAMMUZ. T. K. C. § 12; J. M. § 7.

ADONI-ZEDEC, or rather **-Zedek**, as RV (אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק, 'Sedek is lord,' cp MELCHIZEDEK, though to later readers the name very probably meant 'lord of righteousness'; αδωνιβεζεκ [BAL]; *ADONIBEZEC*), a king of Jerusalem at the time of the Israelitish invasion. See Josh. 10 1 *ff.*, where he leads a confederation of five kings of S. Canaan. According to Josh. 10, Joshua came from Gilgal to the relief of the Gibeonites threatened by the coalition; surprised and completely routed the army of the Amorite kings near Gibeon, captured the five kings in the cave of Makkedah; put them to death and impaled their bodies; then, turning back, razed Lachish, Eglon, and Hebron, with many other cities in the region. This story stands in a narrative of the

1 The inscription from the district of Hippo Diarrhytus (*CIL* viii. 1 1 11) *sacrates Adonis* (*Ceres*) proves nothing as to the cultus-name of the god; Adonis has here, as among the Greeks, become a proper name.

2 From the time of Scaliger it has been assumed that this name arose from a corruption or misunderstanding of שַׁדַּי (see SHADDAI). This is possible, but very far from certain.

conquest of all Palestine by Joshua in two great campaigns (Josh. 10 *f.*) which cannot be historical. A much more credible account is to be found, though in an abridged form, in Judg. 1 (see JOSHUA, § 8; JUDGES, § 3). Here Adoni-bezek is the king who opposes the first resistance to the advance of the tribes of Judah and Simeon against the Canaanites of the S. It is therefore in Budde's opinion (*ZATW* 7 148 ['87]) not improbable that the 𝔊 reading 'Adoni-bezek, king of Jerusalem' in Josh. 10 1 3 is correct, especially as Judg. 1 7 may be understood as saying that his own followers carried Adoni-bezek to Jerusalem, and so as implying that that city was his capital. The objection to this view is that the second element in Adoni-bezek ought to be a god, and we know of no god named Bezek. Hence it is very possible that Adoni-bezek in Josh. 10 [𝔊BAL] is a scribe's error, and that the original narrative of Judg. 1 had not Adoni-bezek, king of some nameless city, but Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem (see ADONI-BEZEK). W. R. S. -G. F. M

ADOPTION (υἱοθεσία), Ro. 8 15 23 9 4 Gal. 4 5 Eph. 1 5 f. See FAMILY.

ADORA (see below) or **Adoraim** (אֲדוֹרַיִם; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; ΑΔΩΡΑΙ [B], -Μ [A and Jos. *Ant.* viii 10 1], -ΡΑΜ [L]; *ADURAEI*), mentioned with Mareshah, Ziph, and Lachish among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 9 f.). The sites of all these places having been securely fixed, there can be no hindrance to identifying Adoraim with the modern *Dura*, which is 5 m. W. by S from Hebron, and is described by Robinson (2 215) as 'one of the largest (villages) in the district.' The site is well adapted for a town, being 'on the gradual eastern slope of a cultivated hill, with olive groves and fields of grain all round' (cp *PEF Mem.* 3 304). Under the new Egyptian empire an Adoraim is perhaps mentioned twice (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 167, 174); but it is not clear that Rehoboam's city is intended. At any rate, Adoraim is doubtless the Adora or Dora of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 15 4 and elsewhere ἄδωρα, ἄδωρος, δ.; *C. Ap.* 9 δωρα), and the ADORA of 1 Macc. 13 20 (ἄδωρα [ℵAV]). In the latter, Adora is a point on the route by which Tryphon entered Judæa; in the former, it is usually coupled as an Idumæan city, with Marissa (Mareshah), the fate of which it shared, being captured by John Hyrcanus and compelled to accept circumcision and the Jewish law (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 1; *BJ* i. 2 6). T. K. C.

ADORAM (אֲדֹרָם), 2 S. 20 24; 1 K. 12 18 †. See ADONIRAM.

ADRAMMELECH (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ, ΑΔΡΑΜΕΛΕΧ [BL], ΛΕΚ [A]; Jos. -ΛΕΧΟΣ, ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ)

1. A Babylonian deity. According to 2 K. 17 31, after 'the king of Assyria,' *i.e.*, Sargon (see SARGON), had transplanted the Sepharvites into Samaria, they there continued to worship Adrammelech and ANAMMELECH (*q.v.*), the gods of Sepharvaim. This passage presents two difficulties. In the first place, according to the biblical account the worship of Adrammelech was accompanied with the sacrifice of children by fire: 'they burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech.' Throughout the cuneiform inscriptions, however, there is no allusion to human sacrifice, and in the sculptures and reliefs no representation of the rite has been discovered. The second difficulty concerns the explanation of the name Adrammelech and its identification with some known divinity of Babylonia. The name was originally explained as *Adar-malik*, 'Adar the prince,' Adar being regarded as the phonetic rendering of the name of the god *Anu*. This identification, however, was unsupported by any evidence and has now been abandoned. A clue to the solution of the problem, however, is afforded by the statement that Adrammelech was a god of Sepharvaim, a city that is generally identified with Sippar (cp SEPHARVAIM). The god whose worship was especially centred at Sippar was Šamaš the Sun-god. That this was the case is abundantly proved by references throughout the historical and religious texts of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and the remains of the great temple of the sun-god exist in the mounds of Abu-Habbah at the present day. Some scholars, therefore, would see in Adrammelech a subsidiary name or title of the Sun-god himself. Others, however, do not accept this view. They strike at its chief support by repudiating the identification of ספרים with Sippar, suggesting that it is to be identified with *Šabara'in*, a city mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle. No satisfactory explanation of the name, therefore, has yet been offered. But cp NISROCH. L. W. K.

2. A son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who, according to 2 K. 19 37 (αδρεμελεχ [A]) and Is. 37 38 (αδραμελεχ [BℵAOQ], ανδραμ. [ℵ*]), in conjunction with his brother SHAREZER (*q.v.*), slew his father while he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch at Nineveh, and thence escaped into Armenia. In the Babylonian Chronicle mention is made of this revolt, in which Sennacherib met his death; but the only trace of the name Adrammelech hitherto found is in Abydenus under the form Adramelus, and in Polyhistor under that of Ardumusanus. Scheil however thinks that ADRMLK and Adramelus are corruptions of Aššur-MU-NI-IK (or -GAL), the idiographic reading of the name pronounced Aśur šum-uśabśi. This is the name of a son of Sennacherib for whom his father erected a house amidst the gardens of Nineveh. For analogies cp the royal name Šummughes = Šamaš-MU-GI-NA. The Ardumusanus of Polyhistor may be a corruption of the phonetic form given above, just as Σασδουχινος is Šamaš-šum-ukin, the phonetic reading of Šamaš-MU-GI-NA. (See Scheil, *Z.A* 12 1; *Rev. bib.*, April 1897.) Cp ESARHADDON, NISROCH.

ADRAMYTTIUM (ΑΔΡΑΜΥΤΙΟΝ or ΑΤΡ.; the adjective, which alone occurs in the NT, is, as in some cursive MSS of Acts, ΑΔΡΑΜΥΤΗΝΟΣ or ΑΤΡ.; neither inscriptions nor coins give the form -ΤΤΗΝΟΣ of Tisch. following ℵB[3]; W & H -ΥΝΤΗ, after AB[3]). A seaport of Mysia, which gave, and still gives, its name to the gulf, a great triangular indentation along the S. foot of Mt. Ida, whence it was called also the 'Idæan.' Adramyteum, in the E. recess of the gulf, was always important. It would profit by the trade in timber from Ida. There were also copper mines in the neighbourhood, and iron mines at Andera not far to the NW. Strabo (p. 606) describes it accurately as 'a colony of Athens, a city with a harbour and roadstead'; but its importance goes back to a much earlier epoch if, as Olshausen asserts (*Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* '53, p. 322; cp Hazar-maveth), the name points to foundation by the Phœnicians. Of necessity Adramyteum was intimately connected with the road system of NW. Asia. The coast road from Ephesus and the inland road from Pergamus converged to Adramyteum, whence they diverged, on the one hand, across the Mysian peninsula to Cyzicus on the sea of Marmora, and, on the other, to Assos, Troas, and the Hellespont. Consequently, it became an assize town, or head of a *conventus juridicus*. Adramyttian coasters such as that in which Paul performed the first stage of his journey to Rome (Acts 27 2 f.) must have been familiar visitors to Cæsarea and the Syrian harbours. *Adramyti* (*Edremid*), which preserves the old name, is 5 m. from the sea. Thus, Kiepert is perhaps right in putting the ancient town on an eminence by the sea, 8 m. SW of the modern Adramyti (*Z. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, 1888, 202 *f.*). Nevertheless, Edremid is heir to the importance of Adramyteum. Silver mines are now worked in the hills behind the town. W. J. W.

ADRIA (ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΔΡΙΑ, Acts 27 27 [BℵA]. *ADRIAS*; 'stony sea,' Wiclif), the division of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily and Malta on the W. and Crete on the E. So the name is applied by Paus. v. 25 3 (speaking of the 'traits of Messina), ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ

ἐξ ἑτέρου πελάγους ὃ καλεῖται Τυρρηνόν. Cp id. viii. 54 3. Procopius considers Malta as lying on the boundary (*BV* i. 14: Γαύλῳ τε καὶ Μελίτῃ προσέσχον, αἳ τότε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διοριζουσιν). Ptolemy distinguishes between the Adriatic *sea* and the Adriatic *gulf*. Acts reproduces the language of the sailors. For this extended application of the name cp Strabo, who, writing about 19 A.D., says that the Ionian Sea is 'part of what is now called Adrias' (p. 123). This implies that the ancient use of the word had been more limited. In mediæval times the name was still more widely extended, being practically = 'Levant,' as opposed to 'Ægean' (cp Ram. *Paul* 298. See MYRA). The question is connected with the identification of the island upon which Paul was cast (Acts 28 1) after fourteen days' drifting in Adria (see MELITA). We may compare the shipwreck of Josephus 'in the middle of the Adria' (κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδριαν): he was picked up by a ship sailing from Cyrene to Puteoli (*Vit.* 3).

W. J. W.

ADRIEL (עַדְרִיאֵל, not 'God's flock,' but either (*a*) miswritten for עַזְרִיאֵל, 'God is helper' [cp forms of name in ☊, 2 S. 21 8 below]; or (*b*) the Aram. form[1] of Heb. עַזְרִיאֵל. The former view is adopted in NAMES, § 28; the latter by Nestle, *ZDPV* 15 257; cp BARZILLAI; see also *HPN* 260 n. 1, 309 n. 8). Son of BARZILLAI (*q.v.*, n. 4) the Meholathite, to whom Saul married his daughter MERAB (*q.v.*); 1 S. 18 19 (om. B; ιηλ (usually = ισραηλ) [A], εδριηλ [L]), 2 S. 21 8 (σερει [B], εσδρι [A], εζρι [L]).

ADUEL (ΑΔΟΥΗΛ [BN], ΝΑΥΗ [A]; אדואל), the great grandfather of Tobit (Tob. 1 1). No doubt another form of ADI (*q.v.*).

ADULLAM (עֲדֻלָּם, ΟΔΟΛΛΑΜ [BAL], ΟΔΟΛΑΜ [B, 2 Ch.; Bavid, Mi.; A, 1 S.], ΟΔΟΛΛΑ [A, Josh. 15 35], ΑΔΑΛΑΜ [L, *ib.*]; *ODOLLAM*, ADOLLAM, ODOLAM, ODOLLAM; gentilic עַדֻלָּמִי, **Adullamite**, ΟΔΟΛΛΑΜ[Ε]ΙΤΗΣ [ADEL], ΣΜΗΤΗΣ, ΟΘΟΛΛΑΜΙΤΗΣ [E]), a town in the Shephelah (Josh. 15 33 35), with a changeful history. For a considerable time it seems to have remained Canaanitish. We still have a legend in Gen. 38 1 *f.* (J) which describes the fusion of Judahite clans with a Canaanitish clan whose centre was Adullam. This fusion had apparently not been accomplished in David's time, for Adullam was still outside the 'land of Judah' when David took refuge there (1 S. 22 1; cp *v.* 5). We cannot therefore accept the editorial statement in Josh. 12 15 (cp *v.* 7) that Joshua 'smote' the king of Adullam. The Chronicler speaks of Rehoboam as having fortified Adullam (2 Ch. 11 7). He names the place in conjunction with Soco (Shuweikeh), which harmonises geographically with Micah's combination of it (Mic. 1 15, if the text be correct) with Mareshah (Merâsh). It is included in the list of cities which are stated to have been occupied by the Jews in the time of Nehemiah or Zerubbabel (Neh. 11 30; so ℵ[c.a] mg. inf. L; BℵA om.); but the list in Neh. 11 25-36 appears to be an archæological fiction of the Chronicler. Judas the Maccabee, at any rate, in a raid into 'Idumæa,' occupied Adullam and kept the sabbath there (2 Macc. 12 38).

The chief interest of Adullam, however, lies in its connection with DAVID (*q.v.*, § 3). Here, not in some enormous cave (such as that fixed upon by tradition at Khareitûn),[2] but in the 'stronghold' of the town, David on two occasions found a safe retreat (1 S. 22 1; 2 S. 5 17; cp 23 13).

Where was Adullam? The authority of the Palestine Survey has led many recent writers to adopt the identification of Adullam with 'Id-el-ma, proposed in 1871 by M. Clermont-Ganneau. This is the name of a steep hill on which are 'ruins of indeterminate date,' with an ancient well at the foot, and, near the top, on both sides, caves of moderate size. The site is in the east of the Shephelah, about 3 m. SE. of Soco, and 8 from Mareshah; and, though it is much more from Bethlehem, 'the journey would be nothing for the light footed mountaineers who surrounded David' (Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQ* 177 [75]). The identification, however, is only conjectural. The caves are unimportant (1) because the MT (cp Jos. *Ant.* vi. 12 1) speaks of a single cave, and (2) because with We., Ki., Bu., and Kau. we should correct מְעָרָה, 'cave,' in 1 S. 22 1 2 S. 23 13; 1 Ch. 11 15, into מְצָדָה, 'stronghold'; cp 1 S. 22 4 *f.* 2 S. 23 14. Nor does the position of 'Id-el-ma exactly agree with that assigned to Adullam in the *Onomasticon*. On the very slight resemblance of the name to Adullam no reliance can be placed. Other sites are quite possible. Cp GASm. *HG* 229 *f.* See MICAH, § 2 *a*, n.

T. K. C.

ADULTERY. See MARRIAGE, § 4.

ADUMMIM, The Ascent of (מַעֲלֵה אֲדֻמִּים; Josh. 15 7 ΑΔΑΜΕΙΝ [B], ΑΔΟΜΜΙ [A], ΑΔΑΜΜΕΙΝ [L]; 18 17 ΑΙΘΑΜΕΙΝ [B], ΕΔΩΜΙ [A], ΕΔΩΜΕΙΜ [L]; *ADOMMIM*), a point marking the frontier between Judah and Benjamin. The sharp rise near the middle of the road from Jericho to Jerusalem appears to be intended; the name (connected with אדם, 'red') was perhaps suggested by the ruddy hue of the chalk rocks in that neighbourhood, to which appears to be due the name of the khan el-Ahmar ('the red'), the traditional 'inn' of the Good Samaritan, and that of *Tala'at ed-Dam* ('the hill of blood'), NE. of the khan. With the latter spot the ascent of Adummim has been plausibly identified (*PEF Mem.* 3 172).

ADVERSARY. The word so translated in 1 S. 1 6† (צָרָה, *ṣîra*, RV 'rival,' ΑΝΤΙΖΗΛΟΣ [L],[1] cp Lev. 18 18 [BAL]) is the technical term for a fellow-wife, answering to Ass. *ṣirritu*, Ar. *ḍarratun*, Syr. *'artha* ('ارثا). All these forms are dialectal variations of a single Old-Semitic word. Similarly, in Lev. 18 18 the words 'to vex her' are better rendered by RV 'to be a rival *to her*.' The words that follow may be rendered, interpreting the metaphor, 'marrying the second sister, in addition to the first, in the lifetime of the latter.'

The sense of the metaphor is given by the Arabic *litakûna ḍarratahu*. See Dr. *TBS*, *ad loc.* and especially Lag.'s *Mittheilungen* 1 125 *f.* (*GGN*, 1882, no. 13).

W. R. S.

ADVOCATE (ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ, 1 Jn. 2 1, see PARACLETE).

AEDIAS (ΑΗΔΕΙΑΣ [B]), 1 Esd. 9 27 = Ezra 10 26, RV ELIJAH, 3.

ÆNEAS (ΑΙΝΕΑΣ [BℵA]), a paralytic at Lydda healed by Peter (Acts 9 33†). The form of the name, Ænēas, not as in Homer, Ænēas, is noteworthy. It is met with in Thucydides, Xenophon, and Pindar.

ÆNON (ΑΙΝΩΝ [Ti. WH]), Jn. 3 23†. See SALIM.

ÆSORA (ΑΙΣΩΡΑ [BA], etc.), Judith 4 4† RV = AV ESORA (*q.v.*).

AFFINITY. See FAMILY, KINSHIP.

AGABA, RV ACCABA (ΑΚΚΑΒΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 46, HAGAB.

AGABUS (ΑΓΑΒΟΣ [Ti. WH]; § 68), one of the 'prophets' who came from Jerusalem to Antioch at the time of the dispersion from Jerusalem 'upon the tribulation that rose about Stephen' (Acts 11 19, cp 8 4). He predicted a great famine over all the world, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius' (Acts 11 27 28). The reference, of course, is to the great dearth which visited Judæa and the surrounding districts—especially Jerusalem—between 44 and 48 A.D. (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 2 6; 5 2).

[1] The word is found both with *ʿ* and with *ʾ* in Aram. as well as Heb. (*e.g.*, דרקון (*CIS* 2, no. 124) but דרקון, 'Hebrew' [Ch. 1 19]).

[2] The Magharet Khareitûn exists, but it has had, not with David, but with an ascetic named Chariton, who, after having been taken by robbers on the way to Jerusalem, founded one of his two lauras here, and died in the cave about 400 A.D.

[1] The text of BA differs.

Eus. *HE* ii. 11 3). For other famines in the reign of Claudius, see Suet. *Claud.* 18; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43.

The next mention of Agabus is in Acts 21 10 *f.*, where it is said that he 'came down from Judæa' to Cæsarea when Paul was there, and, taking Paul's girdle, bound his own feet and hands with it to symbolise the captivity of the apostle. As this reference looks like a first mention of Agabus, those who ascribe the whole of Acts to one writer regard it as an indication that the second half of the book was written first. By other s the passage is naturally regarded as one of the indications that the author of Acts did not himself write the 'we' passages, but adopted them from an earlier source. On the other hand, Overbeck and Van Manen regard *vv.* 10-14 as an interpolation, and suppose that the 'we' was introduced by the last redactor. Jüngst thinks that the prophecy cannot originally have been ascribed to Agabus, but must have been assigned to one of Philip's prophesying daughters, or these would not have been mentioned. At all events, it is to be noted that 'from Judæa' (21 10) does not harmonise with 21 8, for Cæsarea belonged to Judæa.

Agabus is included in the lists of the 'seventy disciples of our Lord' by pseudo-Dorotheus and pseudo-Hippolytus, and is commemorated in the great Greek Menæa (Apr. 8), along with Rufus, Herodion, and Asyncritus.

AGAG (אֲגַג, אָגָג, cp Ass. *agagu*, 'be powerful, vehement, angry'; *Igigi*, the spirits friendly to man, Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 634; αγαγ [BAL]), a king of the Amalekites, so celebrated in early tradition that the Yahwist makes Balaam say, by an obvious anachronism, of the future Israelitish kingdom, 'His king shall be higher than Agag' (Nu. 24 7; γωγ [BAL], following Samar. text). Saul, after his successful campaign against the Amalekites, exempted Agag from the general doom of devotion to the deity by slaughter, and brought him to Gilgal, where Samuel hewed him in pieces before Yahwè —*i.e.*, at the great sanctuary where festal sacrifices were offered (1 S. 15 8 *f.* 20 *f.* 32 *f.*). Making allowance for the endeavour of the narrator to harmonise an old tradition with later ideas (see SAUL, § 3), and throwing ourselves back into the barbarous period which begins to pass away under David, we cannot doubt that the slaughter of Agag was a eucharistic sacrifice (see SACRIFICE), akin to that of the *nakî'a* (lit. 'victim rent in pieces'), which was in use among the Arabs after a successful fray, and which might be a human sacrifice (WRS *RS*[2] 491, cp 363; We. *Ar. Heid.* 112 [87]).

AGAGITE (אֲגָגִי; for Greek readings see below), a member of the family of Agag; a title applied anachronistically to Haman (Esth. 3 1 10 8 3 5). Haman, as an Amalekite, is opposed to Mordecai, the descendant of Kish (Esth. 2 5). Neither description is to be taken literally (see ESTHER, § 1, end). The meaning is that there is an internecine struggle between the Jews and their enemies, like that between Saul and Agag of old. Similarly, Haman is called a 'Macedonian' in the Greek parts of Esther; 126 (*μακεδονα* [L^{a}]; but *βουγαιος* [BℵALβ]; AV Agagite; RV BUGEAN) 16 10 (EV Macedonian; *μακεδων* [BℵALβ]; but *βουγαιος* [L^{a}]), and the name has made its way back into 9 24 (*μακεδων* [BℵALβ]); cp ESTHER, § 10. Elsewhere the 𝔊 reading is *βουγαιος* [BℵALαβ] (only in 3 1 8 5 [ℵ$^{c.a\ mg}$]), perhaps a corruption of *Γωγαιος* (in Nu. 24 7, the same version has *Γωγ* for *Αγαγ*).

AGAR (αγαρ [BA]). 1. The sons of Agar, Bar. 3 23 RV; AV **Agarenes**. See HAGAR, § 2, n.

2. Gal. 4 24 *f.*, RV HAGAR (*v.v.*, end).

AGATE (כַּדְכֹּד, Is. 54 12, ιασπις [BℵAQ]; כַּרְכֹּד, Ez. 27 16 [Bi. Ginsb.]. χορχορ [BQ]. κορχορυς [A], etc.; שְׁבוֹ, αχατης [BAL]) occurs four times in AV, twice for Heb. *kadkod*, RV 'rubies' and twice for *shebô*. On the identification of these stones, see CHALCEDONY. On the question whether the

agate, which is a variegated chalcedony (translucent quartz) with layers or spots of jasper, was known to Israel, see PRECIOUS STONES.

AGEE (אָגֵא, αγοα [A]; αca [B]; ηλα [L]; Jos. ηλογ [gen.]; *AGE*), father of SHAMMAH (*v.v.*, 3); 2 S. 23 11. His name should doubtless be corrected to Ela אֵלָא (so Marq. *Fund.* 17); ג and ל in the older character were very similar. He is mentioned again in 1 K. 4 18. See ELAH, 6.

AGGABA (αγγαβα [B$^{ab\ mg.}$ A]), 1 Esd. 5 29† RV = Ezra 2 45, HAGABAH.

AGGÆUS, AV **Aggeus** (*Aggei* [ed. Bensly]), 1 Esd. 6 1 3, 4 Esd. 1 40†. See HAGGAI.

AGIA (αγια [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 34† RV = Ezra 2 57, HATTIL.

AGRICULTURE.—Agriculture is here considered (1) as conditioned by the land (§ 1), (2) as conditioned by the people (§§ 2-10), (3) as a factor in the life of the people (§§ 11-15); a concluding paragraph (§ 16) will contain some notes on historical points.

1. Conditioned by land.

I. The great variety of the conditions in the different natural divisions of Palestine (Dt. 1 7) must be kept in mind.[1] The various local products, natural and industrial, of these districts, so often alluded to by the Old Testament writers, the most important of which are wheat and barley, olive and vine and fig, will be described in special articles (*qq.v.*). On the seasons see RAIN, DEW. We simply note here—*First*, the long dry season (Apr.-Oct.), including all the harvests, the dates of which vary slightly in the different districts (cp FEASTS, § 10): the קציר in spring, when rain seemed miraculous (1 S. 12 16 *f.*) and the steady W. wind every evening made it possible to winnow with ease, barley beginning in April, wheat about a fortnight later; the קיץ, summer fruits and vegetables, in summer; olives in autumn; the בציר, vines, from August onwards. *Second*, the wet season (Oct.-Apr.), the earlier part of which saw the preparation of the soil by the early rain (מורה, יורה) for the winter crops, to be brought to maturity by the succeeding showers, especially those in March-April (מלקוש), before which was the time for sowing the summer crops.

With such stable conditions, all that seems to be needed is a fair amount of intelligent industry; and the lack of this, rather than any great change of climate, is probably the cause of the retrogression of modern times.[2] The productivity, however, was not uniform (cp parable of sower), and there seems to be a somewhat periodic diminution in the amount of rainfall. Agriculture is also exposed to pests; the easterly wind קדים, drought, MILDEW, and LOCUSTS (*qq.v.*: see also ANT, § 4).

2. Sources of information.

II. We consider now, more in detail, agriculture as dependent on the energy, skill, and general condition of the inhabitants. Our account must naturally be fragmentary.[3] The minute prescriptions of the Mishna must of course be used with caution. We begin with—

1. Technical details of agricultural procedure. (For the most part we shall deal only with the raising of grain crops. For other departments see VINES, GARDEN, CATTLE, etc.) Incidentally the biblical records describe many agricultural processes, and mention by name some of the implements used. Of these implements, however, they give no description; and the only specimens found, up to the present time, are of sickles (see below, § 7).

For Egypt, however, we have fuller sources—many pictures of processes and implements, and some actual specimens. And

[1] See PALESTINE for details on Geology (§ 3), Physical divisions (§ 4 *ff.*), Hydrography (§ 13), Climate and Vegetation (§ 14 *ff.*).

[2] See however Fraas, *Aus dem Orient* 199.

[3] There is no Hebrew word corresponding to our term *farm*. Tilling the soil is עבודת האדמה; husbandman is אכר, etc.; field is שדה.

since modern Egypt and modern Palestine are very similar, these ancient Egyptian remains may be used to illustrate ancient Palestine. Further, since modern implements and methods are, in Egypt, very like those of antiquity, the same is probably true of Palestine. Hence it is reasonable to hold that, in Palestine also, modern may be taken to illustrate ancient.

Our main side-lights,[1] therefore, are modern Palestine and ancient Egypt; and they are best used in this order, subordinated always to the actual data of the OT itself.

We shall take the processes in natural order.

Sometimes land had to be cleared of wood or shrub (בּרא Josh. 17 18), or of stone (סקל), chiefly in vineyards.

3. Preparing soil. For loosening or otherwise moving the soil many words are used, such as ניר, חרש, צלם, פּתח, עזק, נעדר; שדד, שוה, of which the first group denotes ploughing, the second, breaking up the soil (אדמה) or the clods (מגרפות Joel 1 17) with the mattock or hoe, while the third as clearly means levelling off the surface with something serving for a harrow. Of the names of the instruments[2] we have מחרשה or מחרשת, מעדר, את, of which the first pair probably represents the plough (NT ἄροτρον); the last, a sort of mattock; while את must remain undetermined, ploughshare or hoe. It is clear, therefore, that we have at least three processes—ploughing, hoeing, and harrowing. We cannot be sure that there was of old in different parts of the country any more uniformity than there is now.

It is not likely that the shallow soil would ever be much more deeply ploughed than now, when a depth of 5-6 inches is considered sufficient. Perhaps ploughing would sometimes (as now), after sufficient rain, be dispensed with.[3] Hoeing would probably take the place of ploughing in steep places (Is. 7 25), as now in stony ground.[4] In modern Judæa there is no ploughing *before* sowing except where manure is used. In Galilee, on the other hand, there is one ploughing, and in some districts more than one. When ground has been left unsown with grain and is overgrown with weed, this is ploughed in.

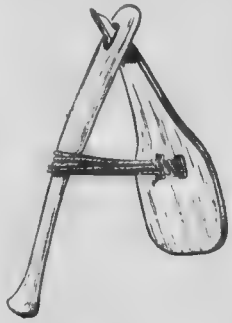

FIG. 1.—Egyptian Hoe (*Brit. Mus.*). For picture of hoe in use see fig. 3, and cp EGYPT, § 34, n.

Turning now to the implements used for these purposes, and beginning with the less important, we note that the Egyptian *hoe*[5] (fig. 1), of such importance in ancient Egypt as to be the natural symbol of agriculture, as the goad is in modern Palestine,[6] has no representative in modern Syria; but neither has it in

4. Implements for preparing soil.

[1] Babylonia, as well as Egypt, no doubt presented points of contact with Palestine; but in the department of agriculture our direct knowledge of Babylonia is very slight. See *KP*(2) 394 *ff.*, and Meissner, *Beitr. z. altbab. Privatrecht.*

[2] See partial list of Talmudic names in Hamburger and Ugolinus, and now also a very full collection in Vogelstein's work (see below, § 17).

[3] In Egypt two ploughs seem generally to have been used, the one behind the other; perhaps the second turned up the soil between the furrows made by the first (cp, however, next note). On the other hand, at least in later times, the Egyptians sometimes used a lighter plough, drawn by men or boys.

[4] If we could regard the Egyptian agricultural pictures as representations of actual scenes we should have to conclude that in Egypt the hoe was used sometimes before (so always[?] in the Old Empire), sometimes after, or both before and after the plough, to break up the great clods of earth. The depiction of the various operations side by side, however, is very likely a mere convention designed to represent in one view all kinds of field work. So Prof. W. Max Müller in a private communication to the present writer.

[5] The illustration (fig. 1) needs only the explanation that the twisted cord adjusts the acuteness of the angle of the two other parts.

[6] Cp Wetzstein's note on Judg. 3 31 (*l.c.* below, § 17).

modern Egypt. A modern Syrian hoe may be seen in *PEFQ*, 1891, pp. 110-115; as also mattock, spade, etc.

The *harrow* does not seem to have been used by the ancient Egyptians, although their modern representatives use a weighted plank or a toothed roller. In modern Palestine a bush of thorns is sometimes used. The writer of Job 39 10, however, seems to have known of some implement drawn by beasts following the labourer; but this throws little light on general usage.

The *plough*, although it is probably, strictly speaking, an inferior substitute for the spade, is in common practice a very important implement, and merits more detailed treatment.

Of the Israelitish plough we know only that it had, at least sometimes, an iron share that needed sharpening (לטש, 1 S. 13 20, editorial comment in corrupt text). That the Syrian plough was light[1] we have the testimony of Theophrastus. The modern Syrian plough, which is light enough to be carried by the ploughman on his shoulder, and is simpler than the usual ancient Egyptian[2] plough (fig. 3) in having only one handle and therefore

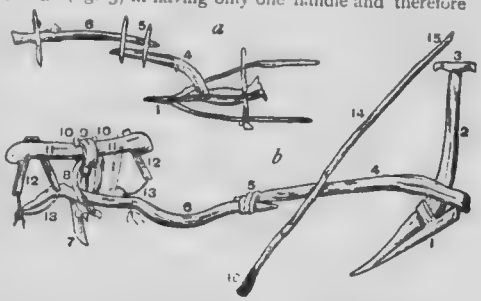

FIG. 2.—*a.* Babylonian Plough (from cylinder seal, *circ.* 2000 B.C., belonging to Dr. Hays Ward). *b.* Syrian Plough and Goad (after *PEFQ*, 1891).

1. *es-sikka* סנכין.[3]
2. *ed-dakar, dhekr*, חרב.
3. *el-kabūsa, kābūsa.*
4. *el-buruk, burk*, בורך.
5. *es-sawājir* (Schum.), בירית.
6. *el-wugla, wasl*, יצור.[3]
7. *ḳoṭrib* (Post), קטרב.
8. *ḥalaḳa* (Post).
9. *eš-šar'a, sher'.*
10. *sifāyah* (Post).
11. *en-nir.*
12. *isbalin* (Post).
13. *jenzīr.*
14. *miṣṣās* or *minṣās.*
15. *naḳūza.*
16. *'aba, sabbūt.*

not needing two men to manage it, may safely be taken to illustrate that used by the Israelites. There is no more uniformity in its construction than in any other matter relating to agriculture, and it would seem to be at its simplest in Southern Palestine. The woodcut (fig. 2) illustrates its general form. It is of wood, often oak. The stake on to which the pointed metal sheath that serves for a share is thrust, passes up through a hole in the pole, to end in a cross handle piece. The pole is of two pieces, joined end to end. The *yoke* (עֹל, מוטה, more rarely מוטות, מוטות; הגל; ζυγόν, ζυγός) is repeatedly mentioned in the OT. It varied in weight according to circumstances (1 K. 12 4). It is now made as light as possible, often of willow. Two pegs, joined below by thongs or by hair string, form a collar for each of the oxen, and two smaller pegs in the middle keep in position the ring or other arrangement for attaching the plough pole. Repairs are attended to once a year by a travelling

[1] The simplest plough would be made of one piece of a tree, bent while growing. See Verg. *Georg.* I 169, and illustration in Guhl and Koner, *Leben der Griechen und Römer*, II, p. 1074.

[2] The [illegible] of Egyptian plough, which underwent little [illegible] in the course of millenniums, was all of wood, although, perhaps, the share was of a wood (harder?) different from the rest of the plough, and [illegible] times have been shod in metal (Wilkinson [illegible]). A [illegible] plough we know [illegible] that it (sometimes) [illegible] and for turning [illegible] with, and just in front of [illegible] that [illegible] down, to be covered by the soil as it [illegible].

[3] Where two forms of the Arabic name are given, the first is from Schumacher, and the second from Post (*op. cit.* below, § 17). The Hebrew names are from Vogelstein (*op. cit.* below, § 17).

expert. The ploughman holds in his left hand a *goad* (*mesnās* = מלמד, דרבן, דרבנית[1]) some eight or nine feet in length, having at one end a metal point, and at the other a metal blade to clean the share.

The *team* (צמד, ζευγος) would, as now, oftenest consist of oxen (Am 6 12), but sometimes of cows (Job

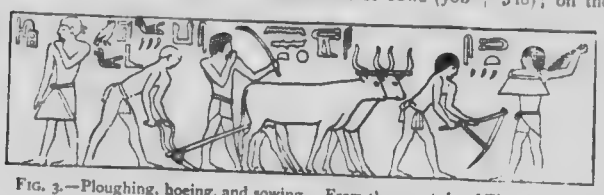

FIG. 3.—Ploughing, hoeing, and sowing. From the *maṣṭaba* of Ti at Saḳḳāra (Old Empire). After Baedeker.

1 14, Heb. text), and perhaps sometimes of asses (Is. 30 24; Dt. 22 10). Even camels and mules may now be seen occasionally. In Armenia many pairs of oxen draw one plough, the driver sitting on the yoke; but this is hardly the meaning of 1 K. 19 19.

The *furrows* were called תלם, מענה[2] (מענים). They are now sometimes very carefully drawn (cp הארינו, Ps. 129 3), and are some nine to ten inches apart.

5. Irrigation, etc. Irrigation (השקה, הרוה; see GARDEN) must have been one of the processes used by Israel.[3] Palestine, indeed, differed from Egypt (Dt. 11 10 *f.*, on which see EGYPT, § 34, n.) in having a copious supply of rain and in having natural springs (Deut. 8 7); hence many districts, especially in valleys,[4] would bear crops without being watered artificially. But later practice shows that even these would yield better harvests if they had artificial irrigation, and there may have been districts under cultivation which were entirely dependent on it. It would not be safe to assign an early date to the elaborate methods and regulations of Mishna times; and it is difficult to determine whether by the streams that were so highly prized (Dt. 8 7; Nu. 24 6, Cant. 4 15),[5] and without which a garden could not live (Is. 1 30), artificial canals are meant, and whether, *e.g.*, the bucket (דלי, Is. 40 15; Num. 24 7) was used in irrigation. The Mishna has regulations concerning *manuring* (זבל), and there *may* be a reference to it in such passages as Ps. 83 10 [11] (דמן לאדמה) or Is. 25 10 (Kthib). In NT times, at least, manure was used for trees (Lk. 13 8; βάλω κόπρια), as now for figs, olives, etc.; it was worked in at the last yearly ploughing, which was after the first winter rain. For grain crops the use of manure is exceptional (*e.g.*, at Hebron). Remains show that in the hilly country *terracing* (מגדלות מדרגים, Cant. 5 11 ?) was used even more than now, especially for vine cultivation; but the wider terraces are still used for grain, the clearing of the soil being called *נכ״ה*.

Fences (גדר) were employed, perhaps only in vine-

1 Vogelstein argues from *Kelim*, 9 6 that this is the name of the metal head.

2 Cp, however, Dt 1, on Ps. 129 3. Cp also Bibl *sub* מעה, etc.

3 See now the important n. Vogelstein, § 4.

4 Cp *EB* 2 1 7.

5 The prophets delight to speak of the copious supplies of water that will refresh even the most unlikely places in the ideal future (see Cheyne on Is. 30 25).

yards (Is. 5 5; Eccles. 28 28), where hedges (משוכה Is. 5 5) were also in use; and there was sometimes a border, *e.g.*, of כסכה (see FITCHES, 2) (Is. 28 25). Between grain-fields, however, the commonest practice was to set up *stones* to mark the line of partition (גבול Hos. 5 10); on the strong sentiment that prevailed as to the unrighteousness of tampering with these, see below (§§ 12, 14).

6. Sowing. Whether the various words used for sowing the seed were technical terms we cannot tell. זרע is a word of general significance. In Is. 28 25 three words are used in one verse: הפיץ and יזרע of scattering קצח (see FITCHES, 1) and cummin with the hand; שם,[1] of setting wheat and barley in the straight furrows.[2] Nowadays a drill is sometimes used. The common practice is, whether the land has been already ploughed or not to plough in the seed.[3] This protects it from ants and from dryness due to intermission of the early rain.[4] As to protection from man and beast, see HUT.

7. Reaping. To reap is קצר. Two names of implements have been preserved (חרמש, only in Dt. [16 9; 23 26 †]; מגל, only in Jer. [50 16; AV mg. scythe[5]] and Joel [3 (4) 13]; δρέπανον); but whether they refer to the same thing or to varieties, we do not know. Perhaps the commonest method was to pull up by the root (see fig. 5), a practice confined in ancient Egypt to certain crops, but still followed both in Egypt and in Palestine. The use of *sickles* in Canaan in very early times is, however, proved by the finding of sickle flints[6] at Tell-el-Hesy in the earliest and all succeeding layers, while the use of iron sickles by the Jews in at least pre-Hellenistic times is proved by the finding of the specimen represented in fig. 7.

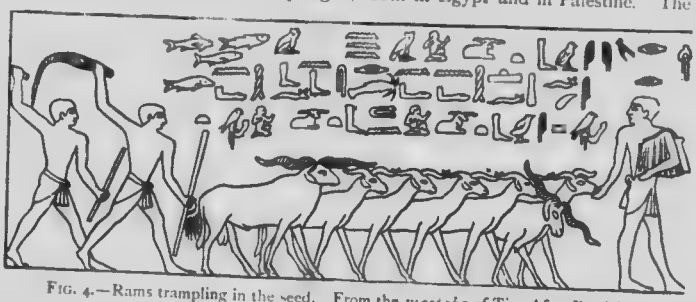

FIG. 4.—Rams trampling in the seed. From the *maṣṭaba* of Ti. After Baedeker.

By putting together different allusions,[7] we can follow the various steps. The reaper (קוצר) filled his hand

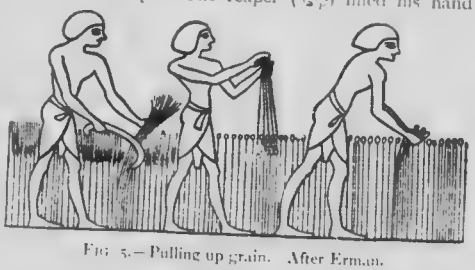

FIG. 5.—Pulling up grain. After Erman.

1 In Am. 9 13 מושך הזרע is used of the process of sowing.

2 It is not unlikely that יעורר is to be dropped, with We. Che. and Dt. (against Dr.), as מעורר.

3 According to Strabo, this was done also in Babylon (cp above, col. 28, n. 2), and in ancient Egypt the seed was sometimes, especially in the Old Empire, trodden in by sheep (Erman, *Life in Anc. Ext Egypt*, ET 429; not goats), in the time of Herodotus by swine.

4 On the stages and accidents of growth cp Vogelstein, § 15.

5 For מגרעת which AV mg. thrice renders 'scythe,' EV has, more correctly, PRUNING HOOKS (*q.v.*).

6 The method of setting the sickle flints is shown by the specimens found by Dr. Petrie in Egypt (*Illahun*, etc. pl. 7 no. 27; see above, fig. 6).

7 *E.g.*, Ruth 2 2; Ps. 129 7; Is. 17 5; Job 24 24; Jer. 9 22 [21].

(קַשׁ) with ears (שִׁבֹּלִים) of the standing corn (קָמָה), and with his arm (זְרוֹעַ) reaped them (קָצַר). The stalks (קַשׁ) were, in Egypt, and still are, in Palestine, cut pretty high up (Anderlind; knee high). They must sometimes have been cut, whether at this or at a later stage, very near the ear (רֹאשׁ שִׁבֹּלֶת Job 24 24). The armfuls (עֳמָרִים) would fall (Jer. 9 22 [21]) in a heap (עָמִיר) behind the reaper, to be gathered by the מְעַמֵּר, in his bosom (בְּחֵיקוֹ) and tied (כָּרַךְ) into sheaves (אֲלֻמָּה) and set in heaps (גְּדִישִׁים).[1]

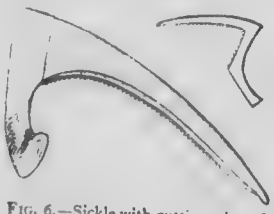

FIG. 6.—Sickle with cutting edge of flints found at Illahun. After Petrie.

In Egypt the sheaf consisted of two bundles, with their heads in opposite directions. In modern Syria frequently the sheaves are not tied at all. It has been supposed[2] that already in Amos's time the bundles (עֳמָרִים) may sometimes have been heaped into a heavy load on a cart (עָגְלָה Am. 2 13); but the reference may very well be to the threshing wain.[3] In Egypt they were conveyed in baskets or bags, by men or on donkeys, to the threshing-floor.

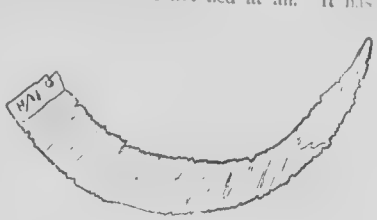

FIG. 7.—Iron sickle found at Tell el Hesi. After *PEFQ*.

Threshing was called חבט, דקק, דוש, חבט נלגל; of which the first describes beating with a rod, the second is indefinite (to break up fine), and the third is literally to trample. (*a*) The first of these evidently represents the most primitive practice, still followed sometimes in both Palestine and Egypt. Naturally, gleaners (לֶקֶט) and apparently others in certain circumstances—*e.g.*, Gideon in time of danger—beat out the grain; and in much later times (Is. 28 27) it was usual to beat out cummin and קצח (see FITCHES, 1) with *rods* (מַטֶּה and שֵׁבֶט respectively). The other processes were probably more common in later times. For these was needed a *threshing-floor* (גֹּרֶן,[1] ἅλως, ἄλων), for which was selected some spot freely exposed to the wind, often a well-known place (2 S. 24 16).[2] Beating the floor hard for use may be alluded to in Jer. 51 33 (Heb. Text; הַדְרִיכָה). Sometimes the wheat heads may have been struck off the straws by the sickle onto the threshing-floor (Job 24 24), as Tristram describes (*East. Cust.* 125); but usually the bundles would be first piled in a heap (גָּרִישׁ) on the floor, and then from this a convenient quantity (מִרְשָׂה)[3] from time to time spread over the floor.

8. Threshing.

The threshing then seems to have been done in two ways: either (*b*) by driving *cattle* round the floor on the loosely scattered stalks till their hoofs gradually trampled (דוּשׁ) out the grain (בַּר), for which purpose oxen[4] were used (Hos. 10 11),[5] or (*c*) by special *implements*.[6]

The instruments mentioned, which were drawn usually by oxen, are (*a*) חָרִיץ,[7] חָרוּץ[8] (?), (חֲרוּץ) מוֹרג;[9] (*b*) עֲגָלָה with אוֹפַן[10] (wheel) prefixed (Is. 28 27), and perhaps alone (Am. 2 13†; see, however, We. *ad loc.*). These two sets of expressions probably correspond pretty closely to two instruments still in use in Palestine, and a description of them and their use will be the nearest we can come to an account of their ancient representatives.

α. The Syrian *nōraǵ* (נוֹרַג) is a wooden drag[11] (see fig. 10) with a rough under-surface, which when drawn over the stalks chops them up. The illustration needs few explanations. The roughness is produced by the skilful insertion in holes, a cubic inch in size, of blocks of basalt (פִּיצִית Is. 41 15) which protrude (when new) some inch and a half. The sledge is weighted by heavy stones, or by the weight of the driver, who, when tired, lies down and even sleeps, or sits on a three-legged stool.

8.—Sickling and bundling. After Lepsius.

β. The *Ḥilān* of Northern Syria, called in Eg. [illegible] by

[1] It is hardly possible to determine how many of these terms are practically synonyms. According [illegible] *op. cit.* (1 *ff.*), the loose עֳמָרִים were tied into אֲלֻמּוֹת, and piled into גְּדִישִׁים, while עָמִיר (see *Excurs.* I.) is an entirely distinct word meaning hay.

[2] *Prog.*, by Wellhausen.

[3] So, *e.g.*, Hoffman and Wetzstein in *ZATW*

[1] 'Barn-floor,' 2 K. 6 27 AV.

[2] But in 1 K. 22 10 בגרן is probably dittography for בגרים.

[3] So written, without dagesh, by Baer.

[4] It is not clear how the horses of Is. 28 28 are supposed to be used. Du. proposes to read ורעיו as a verb.

[5] In Egypt in later times oxen were so used, three in a [illegible] with their heads bound together at the horns by [illegible] (see fig. 9), or in the ancient empire, donkeys, ten in [illegible]; so in modern Syria, the line being called a *ḥaran*.

[6] Just as several rods are used together in [illegible], so there could be duplicates of *ḥaran* (*b*), or of [illegible] (*c*), or mixtures of (*c*) and (*c*) used simultaneously, as now in Hauran.

[7] 'Threshing-sledge,' Job 41 30 [22] RV.

[8] Clearly some kind of sharp instrument of iron (2 S. 12 31, 1 Ch. 20 3†), EV 'harrow,' Hoffm. (*ZATW* 3 [illegible]) 'pick.'

[9] Perhaps by a gloss we have here in [illegible] two names for one thing (Is. 41 15). By מַרְקְדִים (Judg. 8 7, 16), which some [illegible] a [illegible] re, the Talmud (with Gk. [illegible]); Gk. [illegible] [illegible] literature) understands 'thistles'; a view that is confirmed by the existence in modern Egyptian Arabic of a word [illegible] as the name of a thorny plant. See BEER, 1.

[10] אופן alone (threshing) wheel, Prov. 20 26 RV

[11] Some 7 ft. [illegible] 3 ft. [illegible] in.

the name of the unused *nōraǵ* (see fig. 11), and known to the Romans as *plostellum Poenicum*, has in place of sharp stones revolving metal discs, which, when pressed down by the weight of the driver seated in a rude arm-chair, effectually cut up the straw

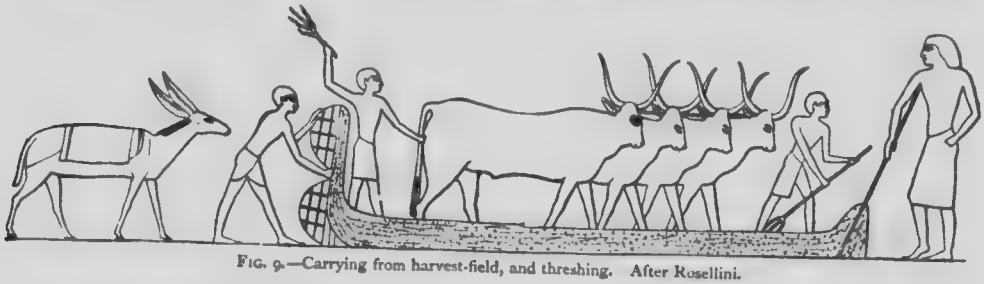

FIG. 9.—Carrying from harvest-field, and threshing. After Rosellini.

The work is done sometimes by horses, but most commonly, as of old, by oxen, either singly or (oftener) in pairs, sometimes muzzled, contrary to ancient Egyptian usage and Hebrew maxim.[1]

The modern floor is a circle some fifty feet in diameter,

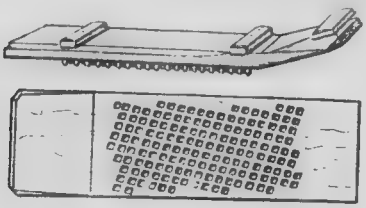

FIG. 10.—Syrian threshing-sledge. After Benzinger.

with the heap (*kadīs*) in the centre, from which a supply (*tarḥa*) is from time to time spread all round in ring form, some two feet deep and seven or eight feet broad. When one *tarḥa* has been thoroughly threshed—to insure which, it is from time to time stirred up with the

FIG. 11.—Modern Egyptian threshing-machine (*nōraǵ*). After Wilkinson.

handle of the winnowing instrument, or even with a special two-pronged fork (*deikal*, δίκελλα)—the mixed mass (*darīs*) of grain (*ḥabb*), chopped straw (*tibn* תֶּבֶן), and chaff etc. (*ḥuvvār*), is formed into a heap (*'arama*), to make room for a new *tarḥa*.

[1] The Mishna seems to assume the practice in *Kelim* 16 7 דישים שלו [illegible] של בהמה. It is doubtful whether the preceding phrase [illegible] refers to a practice, reported by some travellers, of blindfolding the eyes of the oxen in threshing. Philologically considered, it would give a preference to Maimonides's explanation: '*Sic ut bos pelicem in quem colligunt stercus jumenti ne possit trit cum dum triturat.*'

9. Winnowing. The process of winnowing (זרה) is often mentioned. Two names of instruments are preserved, the מזרה (EV 'fan') in Is. (30 24) and Jer. (15 7), and the רחת (EV 'shovel') in Is. alone (30 24).[1] They seem to refer to different things: perhaps to the implements still called by similar names in Palestine[2]—the fork and the shovel. The products are grain (בר), chopped straw (תבן), and chaff (מוץ, קש, עור, ἄχυρον). The first is heaped up in round heaps (עמרים Ru. 3 7; Cant. 7 3, Heb. Text). The second is kept for provender (Is. 11 7). The third is blown away by the wind (Ps. 1 4).

In modern Syria the *midrā* (see fig. given in Wetzstein, *op. cit.* below, § 17) is a wooden fork almost 6 ft. in length, with some at least of its five or six prongs separately inserted, so that they are easily repaired. The prongs are bound together by fresh hide, which on shrinking forms a tight band. The *raḥt* is a kind of wooden shovel (see fig. in Wetzstein, *l.c.*), with a handle 4 ft. long. It is used chiefly for piling the grain, but also for winnowing leguminous plants and certain parts of the *darīs* that have had to be re-threshed. The winnowers stand to the E. of the *'arama* heap, and (sometimes first with a two-pronged fork called *sha'ūl* and then), with the *midrā*, either toss the *darīs* against the wind or straight up, or simply let it fall from the inverted fork, according to the strength of the evening W. breeze. While the chaff is blown away some 10 to 15 ft. or more, the straw (*tibn*) falls at a shorter distance, and is preserved for fodder; the heavy grain, unbruised ears, and joints of stems, fall almost where they were, ready for sifting.

FIG. 12.—Winnowing. After Erman.

FIG. 13.—Sifting. After Lepsius.

10. Sifting, etc. Strange to say, in the case of sifting it is the names of the implement that are best preserved. The *sheve* is called *Kibbarah* (כברה, Am. 9 9) and *nafḥah* (נפה, Is. 30 28). In the former case probably the good grain, in the latter probably the refuse, passes through. In modern Syria there are

[1] ⲟ omits these words; but πτύον occurs repeatedly in the NT.
[2] Fleischer denies any philological connection between Ar. *raḥt* and רחת, regarding the former as a Persian word, borrowed in the sense of *ṭrol*.
[3] But ⲟ λικμός.

two main kinds of sieve used on the threshing-floor. They are made of a hoop of wood with a mesh-work of strips of camel-hide put on fresh, and become tight in drying. The coarser meshed *kibbûl* is like the *kebhirah* of Amos. When the winnowed heap is sifted with it, the grains of wheat pass through, while the unbruised ears etc. remain in the sieve,[1] and are flung back into the *tarḥa* to be re-threshed. The finer meshed *ghirbâl* is like the נפה of Is. 30 28; all dust, bruised grains, etc. pass through, but none of the good wheat.

When the grain has been finally separated, it is heaped with the *rakt* in hemispherical piles (*gôbha*), which probably represent the 'Arêma (עֲרֵמָה) of the metaphor in Cant. 7 3 (Heb.). By this Boaz slept (Ru. 3 7), as do the owners still, while (as a further precaution) private marks are made on the surface, and a scarecrow is set up.

Storage.—In Jer., Dt., Joel, Ps., 2 Ch., there are names of places for keeping stores of grain;[2] but we do not know anything about them.[3] In the dark days of Gedaliah corn and other stores were hidden in the ground (Jer. 41 8); dry cisterns hewn out of the rock are still so used. For a representation of an ancient cistern see *ZDPV* 8, opp. p. 69. The mouth is just wide enough to admit a man's body, and can be carefully covered over. Grain will keep in these cisterns for years.

11. General conditions.

2. Next falls to be considered the dependence of agriculture on the general condition of the people, a dependence that is very obvious from the present state of agriculture in Palestine.

In the days of Israel's greatness, when agriculture was the chief occupation of the people, the population, whatever may have been its numerical strength, was certainly enough to bring the country, even in places that are now quite barren, into a state of cultivation. The land would be full of husbandmen tilling their fields by day, and returning to their villages at night. Yet, down to the end of the monarchy, the old nomadic life still had its admirers (Jer. 35), who, like the Bedouin of to-day, would despise the settled tiller of the soil. At the other extreme also, in such a society as is described, *e.g.*, by Amos and Isaiah, there was an aristocracy that had little immediate connection with the land it owned. Slave labour would doubtless, as elsewhere, be a weak point in the agricultural system, tending to lower its status (Zech. 13 5; Ecclus. 7 15 [16]); though this would not preclude the existence, at some period or other, of honourable offices such as those attributed by the Chronicler to the age of David (1 Ch. 27 25-31). After making allowance for homiletic colouring, we are bound to suppose that agricultural enterprise must have suffered grievously from a sense of insecurity in regard to the claims of property, and from the accumulation of debts, with their attendant horrors. Civil disturbances (such as those abounding in the later years of Hosea) and foreign wars would, in later times, take the place of exposure to the inroads of nomadic tribes. The burden of taxation and forced labour (1 S. 8 12) would, as now in many eastern lands, foster the feelings that find expression in the narrative of the great schism (1 K. 12 4) and in some of the accounts of the rise of the kingdom (on the 'king's mowings,' Am. 7 1, see MOWINGS and GOVERNMENT, § 20).

12. Laws.

The existence of an effort to ameliorate evils of the kind to which allusion has just been made, and of a consciousness of their inconsistency with the true national life, is attested by the inclusion in the Pentateuchal codes of a considerable number of dicta on agricultural matters, in which we see

[1] For צְרוֹר is most likely *stones*.

[2] מִקְנוֹת, מְמֻגָּרוֹת, אוֹצָרוֹת, אֶסְמִים, NT ἀποθήκη.

[3] In Egypt corn was stored in buildings with a flat roof reached by an outside stair. There were two openings, or sets of openings, near the top, for pouring in the grain, and near the bottom, for withdrawing it (see model in Brit. Mus.).

how religious sanctions became attached to traditional agricultural practices.

Already in the *Book of the Covenant* a fallow year (Ex. 23 11), once in seven, is prescribed for the sake of the poor and the beast, and a day of rest (v. 12), once in seven, for the sake of the cattle and the slave; while the principle is laid down that for damage done to a neighbour's field reparation must be made (Ex. 22 5 *f.* [4 *f.*]). In the *Deuteronomic Code*, if there is already the precept against sowing in a vineyard two kinds of seed (22 9), or ploughing with an ox and an ass together (22 10), and the requirement of a tithe (14 22), there are still such maxims as the sacredness of property (19 14, landmarks; = Prov. 22 28 = 23 10a [cp Job 24 2], and, in the form of a curse, Dt. 27 17) on the one hand, and, on the other, generous regard for the needs of others (23 25 [26], plucking ears; 24 19, sheaf; 20, olive; 21 23 24 [23], grapes), even of beasts (25 4, muzzle), with a provision against abuse of the privilege (23 25 [26], no sickle; 23 24 [25], no vessel); while an effort is made to moderate the damage done to agriculture by war (20 7, exemption from conscription; 20 19 *f.*, preserve trees). In the *Priestly Code* there is still, in the remarkable collection preceding the last chapter of Leviticus, a further development of the provision for the poor at harvest time (19 9, corners = 23 22), with a repetition of the charitable maxims (19 9 *f.*); but there is on the whole an emphasising of such prescriptions as non-mixture of seeds (19 19), defilement of seed (11 37 *f.*), uncircumcision of fruit-trees (19 23-25), strict calculation of dates of agricultural year (23 16); while the Jubile year makes its appearance. Here we are appreciably nearer the details of such discussions as those in *Zera'im* etc. Of course, the question how far such maxims made themselves felt in actual practice, or even as a moral directive force, is not answered by pointing out their existence in literary form.

III. We pass now to the consideration of agriculture as a factor in the life of the people.

13. Common life.

That agriculture was an important element in popular life is very evident. Land was measured by yokes (1 S. 14 14; Is. 5 10) and valued by the amount of seed it needed (Lev. 27 16). Time was measured by harvests (Judith 2 27 [1]), and places were identified by the crops growing on them (2 S. 23 11, lentils; 1 Ch. 11 13, barley). Tilling the soil was proverbially the source of wealth (Pr. 12 11 28 19); implements not needed for other purposes would as a matter of course be turned to agricultural use (Is. 2 4)—and so on. That work in the fields was not confined to slaves and people of no culture is evident, not only from the existence of such narratives as that of Joseph's dream, but also from what is told of Saul (1 S. 11 5), and Elisha (1 K. 19 19), and Amos (7 14) before they appeared on the stage of history. On the other hand, the narrator of the story of Ruth seems to represent neither Boaz himself nor his deputy as doing more than overseeing and encouraging the labourers (Ru. 2 5); and in the time of the writer of Zech. 13 5 (RV) a tiller of the soil seemed to be most naturally a purchased slave, while the ideal of the writer of Is. 61 5 is that ploughmen and vine-dressers should be aliens.

At all times, however, even the rich owner entered naturally into the spirit of the agricultural life. If it was perhaps only in the earlier times that he actually ploughed or even followed the oxen, he would at all times be present on the cheerful harvest field and visit his vineyard to see the work of the labourers (Mt. 20 8), his sons included (Mt. 21 28), and give directions about the work (Lk. 13 7), when he would listen respectfully to the counsel of his men (Lk. 13 8 *f.*). It was not derogatory, in the mind of the Chronicler, to kingly dignity to interest one's self in agriculture (2 Ch. 26 10).[2]

[1] The text of 2 S. 23 13 is very doubtful; cp Dr. *ad loc.*

[2] The meaning of Eccles. 5 9 [8] is obscure.

and a proverb-writer points out the superiority of the quiet prosperity of the husbandman to an insecure diadem (Prov. 27 23-27).

Not unnaturally it is the life of harvest-time that has been most fully preserved to us. We can see the men, especially the younger men (Ru. 2 9), cutting the grain, the young children[1] going out to their fathers (2 K. 4 18) in the field, the jealousies that might spring up between the reapers (Gen. 37 7), and the dangers that young men and maidens might be exposed to (Ru. 2 9 perh. Hos. 9 1 *f.*), the simple fare of the reapers (Ru. 2 14), and the unrestrained joviality of the evening meal (Ru. 3 7) after the hot day's work (2 K. 4 19), the poor women and girls gleaning behind the reapers and usually finding more than they seem sometimes to find nowadays, beating out the grain (Ru. 2 17) in the evening and carrying it away in a mantle to the older ones at home (Ru. 3 15), not only the labourers but also the owners sleeping by the corn heaps at night (Ru. 3 7), so that the villages would, as now in Palestine and Egypt, be largely emptied of inhabitants. The Egyptian monuments could be drawn on for further illustrations.

Such a mode of life had naturally a profound effect on the popular sentiment, the religious conscience, and, in time, the literary thought of the people; and, to complete our survey of the subject, a few words must be said here on these matters.

14. Sentiment.

That the agricultural mode of life was regarded as originating in the earliest ages is evident from Gen. 3 and 4;[2] but it was sometimes regarded as a curse (3 17 *f.*), or at least as inferior to pastoral life (4 3 *f.*), while at other times nomadic life was a curse (4 12), instead of being a natural stage (4 20). These two sides are perhaps reflected in the glowing descriptions in which certain writers delight—*e.g.*, Dt. 33 28: a tilled land of corn and wine and oil (Dt. 8 7-9), a pasture land flowing with milk and honey (Ezek. 20 6). This land, which is lovingly contrasted with other lands (Ezek. 20 6 15), was felt to be a gift of Yahwè to his people, and specially under his watchful care (Dt. 11 12). The agricultural life was, therefore, also of his appointment (Gen. 3 23; Ecclus. 7 15 [16]), and indeed lay as the basis of his Torah. From him the husbandman received the principles of his practice (Is. 28 26), as also, he depended absolutely on Yahwè for the bringing into operation of the natural forces (Dt. 11 14) without which all his labour would be in vain (*v.* 17). This, however, was only a ground of special security (Dt. 11 12), for no other god could give such blessings as rain (Jer. 14 22), and Yahwè did give them (Jer. 5 24). If they were not forthcoming, therefore, it was because Yahwè had withheld them (Am. 4 7), and this was because of his people's sins (Jer. 5 25), which also brought more special curses (Dt. 28 38-40). The recognition of Yahwè had, therefore, a prominent place in connection with the stages of agricultural industry (see FEASTS, § 4), the success of which was felt to depend on the nation's rendering him in general loyal obedience (Dt. 11 8-17); the land itself was Yahwè's; the people were but tenants (Lev. 25 23); and the moving of the ancient landmarks, though not unknown, was a great wrong (Job 24 2). Some of the moral aspects of agricultural life have been already sufficiently touched on. It is probable that many of the maxims referred to were widely observed, being congruent with the better spirit of the people. Thus Amos records it as an outrage on the ordinary sentiments of common charity, that even the refuse of the wheat should be sold for gain (Am. 8 6). Other maxims, again, can be little traced in practice.

In this description of Hebrew ideas we have taken no note of the differences between earlier and later times. Deuteronomy and the prophets have been the main

[1] Several children may sometimes now be seen weighting and driving the threshing-sledge.

[2] Cp also Gen. 1 28 *f.* and WRS *R.S.*[2] 20.

authority. In the public consciousness, however, there lived on much of the old Canaanitish popular belief, in which the *Ba'alim* hold the place here assigned to Yahwè, so that, *e.g.*, the fertile spot is the Baal's plot of land, who waters it from unseen sources, underground or in the heavens (see BAAL, § 1)—a mode of expression that lived on into Mishna times, although its original meaning had been long forgotten.

The influence on Hebrew literature was very deep. The most cursory reader[1] must have observed how much the modes of expression reflect the agricultural life. Prophetic descriptions of an ideal future abound in scenes conceived in agricultural imagery.[2] Great joy is likened to the joy of harvest (Is. 16 9 *f.*); what is evanescent is like chaff that is burned up or blown away; something unexpected is like cold (Pr. 25 13), or rain (Pr. 26 1), in harvest—and so on. Lack of space prevents proof in detail of how, on the one hand, figures and modes of speech are drawn from all the operations and natural phenomena of agriculture, while, on the other hand, every conceivable subject is didactically or artistically illustrated by ideas and expressions from the same source. It is a natural carrying forward in the NT of this mode of thought, to find Jesus publishing his epoch-making doctrines of the 'kingdom' so largely through the help of the same imagery. No doubt the commonest general expression is 'kingdom'; but even this often becomes a vineyard, or a field, or a tree, or a seed; and it is extended by sowing etc. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject farther. The whole mode of thought has passed over into historical Christianity, and thus into all the languages of the world.

15. Literature.

We shall now in closing give some fragmentary notes towards a historical outline of the subject.

16. Historical.

The traditional account of the mode of life of the ancestors of Israel in the earliest times introduces agricultural activity only as an exceptional incident. Agriculture must be rudimentary in the case of a nomadic people. That Canaan, on the other hand, was for the most part well under cultivation,[3] when the Israelites settled in the highlands, there can be no doubt. The Egyptian Mohar found a garden at Joppa,[4] and of the agricultural produce claimed by Thotmes III. at the hands of the Rutennu[5] some at least must have been grown in Palestine. Israel doubtless learned from the Canaanite not only the art of war (Judg. 3 2), but also the more peaceful arts of tilling the soil, which, as the narratives of Judges and Samuel prove, were practised with success, while it is even stated that Solomon sent to Hiram yearly 20,000 Kor of wheat and 20,000 Bath of oil (1 K. 5 11 [25] Var. Bible). Later, Ezekiel (27 17; see Cornill) tells us how Judah bartered wheat with Tyre,[6] as well as honey, oil, balm, and פנג (see PANNAG); which illustrates the tradition in 1 K. 20 34 (see *C.T*) that there were bazaars (see TRADE; STRATEGER, § 2) for Israelitish merchants in Damascus, and for those of Damascus in Samaria. It is strange, but true, that in the very period to which this last notice refers, there arose a popular reaction against the precious legacies of Canaanitish civilisation (see RECHABITES). The Assyrian conquest of Samaria naturally checked for a time the cultivation of the soil (2 K. 17 25, lions), the colonists introduced by Sargon and Ašur-bāni-pal being imperfectly adapted to their new home. In Judæa under Gedaliah the Jews 'gathered wine and summer

[1] Even of the English version, which sometimes hides such metaphors as, *e.g.*, 'ploughing evil'—translated 'deviseth,' Prov. 6 14.

[2] Am. 9 13 *ff.*; Hos. 14 6 *f.* [7 *f.*]; Mic. 4 4; Jer. 31 12; Zech. 8 12; Mal. 3 11.

[3] The implements found at Tell-el-Hesy appear to carry us back to the earliest days.

[4] Cp *EP* 1st ser., 2 113.

[5] *Ibid.* 23 and cp Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* ('91), p. 167.

[6] Cp a similar relation in the time of Herod (Acts 12 20).

fruits very much' (Jer. 40 12), and had stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey, carefully hidden in the ground (Jer. 41 8). In Is. 41 15 mention is for the first time explicitly made of a threshing instrument with teeth (מחרוץ); but whether this was of recent introduction it is impossible to determine. On the fall of the Babylonian power the old relations with Tyre were doubtless renewed (Ezra 3 7; cp Is. 23 15 18). The imperial tribute, however, is regarded as heavier than the agricultural resources of the country could then well bear (Neh. 5 3 *f.*). This tribute may have been partly in money (5 4), but also apparently to a considerable extent in produce (Neh. 9 37, תבואה). In Joel, of course, there is a description of agricultural distress, but in such a way as to imply that agriculture was in general receiving full attention. In Eccles. (2 5 *f.*) there is acquaintance, as in other things, so in agriculture, with several artificial contrivances. To go into the detailed accounts of the Mishna is beyond the present purpose.

17. Literature. For complete bibliographies see the larger Cyclopædias, Biblical and Classical. Of special treatises may be mentioned that in vol. 29 of the *Thes.* of Ugolinus; of special articles, on *agriculture* in general, in Mod. Palestine, Anderlind, *ZDPV* 9 1 *ff.*; Klein, *ib.* 3 100-115 (81-101, but especially 457-84; Post, *PEFQ*, 1891, p. 110 *ff.*; on the *plough*, Schumacher, *ZDPV* 12 157-160; on *sickles*, F. C. J. Spurrell in *Archæolog. Journ.* 49, no. 193, 1892, p. 54 *ff.* and Plate I., fig. 1; on *threshing sledge*, Wetzstein, *Z. f. Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 270 *ff.*; on *winnowing*, Wetzstein in Del. *Isa.*(2) 709 *f.*; on the *sieve*, Wetzstein, *ZDPV* 14 1 *ff.*; on place in OT *literature*, O. Ungewitter, *Die landwirthschaftlichen Bilder u. Metaphern i. d. poet. Bich. d. AT* (Königsbg., 1885); on *later* usage, Hermann Vogelstein, *Die Landwirthschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Mischna*, I. (Berlin, 1894), a dissertation that did not reach the writer till this article had been written. H. W. H.

AGRIPPA (Αγριππα), Acts 25 *f.*† See HERODIAN FAMILY, 7.

AGUR (אָגוּר; so Pesh.; ܐܓܘܪ; but 𝔊 and Vg., translating, φοβηθητι [BAN]; *Congregantis*), b. Jakeh, an author of moral verses (Prov. 30 1). His name is variously explained as 'hireling' of wisdom (Bar Bahlûl) and 'collector' of words of Torah (Midr. *Shemoth R.*, par. 6). Such theories assume that Solomon is the author of the verses, which (see PROVERBS) is impossible. All the description given of him in the heading is 'the author of wise poems' (read, not דברי, but משלי, with Grätz, Cheyne, Bickell). Very possibly the name is a pseudonym. The poet who 'takes up his parable' in *v.* 5 expresses sentiments very different from those of Agur; he seeks to counteract the bold and scarcely Israelitish sentiments of his predecessor.

See Ew., *Salom. Schriften* 250 *ff.*; Che., *Job and Solomon* 149 *ff.*, *Jewish Rel. Life*, Lect. V.; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 479 *f.*; and, with caution, Dillon, *Sceptics of the OT* 131 *ff.* 269 *ff.* Cp also PROVERBS; ITHIEL ii.; LEMUEL. T. K. C.

AHAB (אַחְאָב, § 65,[1] 'father's brother,' cp Ahiam and the Assyr. woman's name, Aḫat-abîšu, and see Wi. *ZA*, 1898, Heft 1; also חאב [for אחאב] on an inscription from Safa [*Journ. As.* 1881, 19 463]). 1. (Αχααβ [BAL], -ααμ [A once]; *Achab*; Assyr. *Aḫabbu*.) Son of Omri, and king of Israel (875-853? B.C. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 32, and table in § 37). The importance of this king's reign is shown by the large space devoted to it in the Book of Kings.

1. Sources. To obtain a just idea of his character, however, is not easy, the Israelitish traditions being derived from two very different sources, in one of which the main interest was the glorification of the prophets, while the other was coloured by patriotic feelings, and showed a strong partiality for the brave and bold king. To the former belong 1 K. 17-19 and 21; to the latter, chaps. 20 and 22.[2] Both groups of narratives are very old; but the former is more difficult than the latter to understand historically. In chaps. 20 and 22 we

[1] Cp Nöldeke, 'Verwandtschaftsnamen als Personennamen' in *Kleinigkeiten zur semitischen Onomatologie* (*WZKM* 6 307-316 [1892]).

[2] See KINGS, § 8, and cp Ki. *Gesch.* 2 184-186 [ET. 2 214-216].

seem to get nearer to the facts of history than in chaps. 17-19, 21; at the same time we must remember that even here we have to deal, not with extracts from the royal annals, but with popular traditions which are liable to exaggeration, especially at the hands of well meaning interpolators.[1] The story of Ahab, in his relation to Elijah has been considered elsewhere (see ELIJAH, § 1 *ff.*). We can hardly deny that the writer exalts the prophet to the disadvantage of the king. Ahab was not an irreligious man, but his interests were mainly secular. He wished to see Israel free and prosperous, and he did not believe that the road to political salvation and physical ease lay through the isolation of his people from all foreign nations. The most pressing danger to Israel seemed to him to lie in its being slowly but surely Aramaised, which would involve the depression and perhaps the ultimate extinction of its national peculiarities. Both under Baasha and under Omri, districts of Israelitish territory had been annexed to the kingdom of Damascus, and it seemed to Ahab to be his life's work to guide himself, not by the requirements of Yahwè's prophets, but by those of political prudence. Hence he not only maintained a firm hold on Moab, but also made himself indispensable as an ally to the king of Judah, if he did not even become, in a qualified sense, his suzerain (see JEHOSHAPHAT, 1). Besides this, he formed a close alliance with Ethbaal, king of Tyre (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 1), whose daughter Jezebel (Baalizebel?) he married. The object of this alliance was doubtless the improvement of Israel's commerce. The drawback of it was that it required on Ahab's part an official recognition of the Tyrian Baal[2] (commonly known as Melkart), which was the more offensive because the contrast between the cultus even of the Canaanitish Baalim and that of the God of Israel was becoming stronger and stronger, owing to the prophetic reaction against the earlier fusion of worships. Ahab himself had no thought of apostatising from Yahwè, nor did he destroy the altars of Yahwè and slay his prophets. Indeed, four hundred prophets of Yahwè are said to have prophesied before him when he set out on his fatal journey to Ramath Gilead. His children, too, receive the significant names of Athaliah, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.

2. Ahab's policy.

We can understand Ahab's point of view. But for its moral dangers, we might call it thoroughly justifiable. It was of urgent importance to recover the lost Israelitish territory and to secure the kingdom of Israel against foreign invasion. If Israel were absorbed by Damascus, what would become of the worship of Yahwè? To this question Elijah would have given the answer which AMOS (*q.v.*, § 18) gave after him: 'Perish Israel, rather than that the commandments of Yahwè should be dishonoured.' Jezebel's judicial murder of Naboth and Ahab's tame acquiescence showed Elijah what might be expected from the continued combination of two heterogeneous religions. It was for the murder of Naboth that Elijah threatened king Ahab with death,[3]

[1] We must begin, however, with an analysis of the narratives. Van Doorninck (*Th.T*, 1895, pp. 576-584) has made it highly probable that the narrative of the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek in 1 K. 20 has received many interpolations tending to make the deliverance of the Israelites more wonderful, in addition to those already pointed out by We. (*CH* 285 *f.*), and Kue. (*Einl.* § 25, n. 10).

[2] Of Baalath, the female counterpart of Baal, the Hebrew tradition makes no mention. It is an interpolator who has introduced into 1 K. 18 19 the words 'and the prophets of the Ashera, 400,' which are wanting in the MT of *v.* 22, though supplied in 𝔊[1]: [𝔊[L] omits 400 in *v.* 22] (cp WRS, *RS*(2) 189; We. *CH* 281; Klo. *Sa. KU.* 367; Ki. in Kau. *HS*). Of course, Baalath may have had her cultus by the side of Baal, but not in such a way as to strike Israelitish observers. Nor could either Baalath or Astarte (Jezebel's father had been a priest of Astarte, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18) have been called 'the Asherah' by a contemporary writer.

[3] Note that 1 K. 21 20*b*-26—in which (1) the whole house of Ahab is threatened, and (2) the punishment is connected with Ahab's religious policy—forms no part of the old narrative (see Ki. in Kau. *HS*).

and it was probably for this, or for other unrecorded moral offences of Ahab and the partizans of Baal, that the uncourtly prophet Micaiah 'never prophesied good concerning Ahab, but evil' (1 K. 22 8).

To what precise period of Ahab's reign his encounters with Elijah belong, we are not told. Nor is it at all certain to which years the events recorded in 1 K. 20 are to be referred. To the popular traditions further reference is made elsewhere (see ISRAEL, HISTORY OF, § 29). Suffice it to say here that they show us Ahab's better side; we can understand from them that to such a king much could be forgiven. Our remaining space will be devoted to the two inscriptions relative to episodes in the life of Ahab.

3. Mesha Inscription. The earliest record comes from MOAB (*q.v.*). King Mesha informs us in his famous inscription (*l.* 8) that Moab had been made tributary to Israel by Omri, and that this subjection had continued 'during Omri's days and half of his son's days, forty years,' after which took place the great revolt of Moab.[1] How this statement is to be reconciled with that in 2 K. 1 1 3 4 need not be here considered. It is, at any rate, clear that the loss of the large Moabitish tribute, and of the contingent which Moab would have to furnish to Israelitish armies, must have been felt by Ahab severely.

4. Shalmaneser II.'s Inscription. The second mention of this king occurs in the Monolith Inscription of SHALMANESER II. (*q.v.*). In the list there given of the allied kings of Syria whose forces were defeated by Shalmaneser at the battle of Karkar (near the river Orontes) in 854 B.C. occurs the name of Ahabbu Sir lai, which, as most scholars are now agreed, can only mean Ahab[2] of Israel[3] (or, as Hommel thinks, of Jezreel). Two important questions arise out of this record.

5. Why was Ahab at Karkar? (1) Did Ahab join Bir idri (Benhadad I.) of Damascus of his own accord, jealousies being neutralised by dread of a common foe? or was he a vassal of Bir idri, bound to accept the foreign policy of his suzerain and to support it with (or at any rate through) his warriors on the field of battle? The former alternative is adopted by Kittel[4] and M'Curdy; the latter by Wellhausen and Winckler. To discuss this here at length is impossible. The remarks of Wellhausen will seem to most students very cogent. 'If feelings of hostility existed at all between Ahab and Benhadad, then Ahab could not do otherwise than congratulate himself that in the person of Shalmaneser II. there had arisen against Benhadad an enemy who would be able to keep him effectually in check. That Shalmaneser might prove dangerous to himself probably did not at that time occur to him; but if it had, he would still have chosen the remote in preference to the immediately threatening evil. For it was the political existence of Israel that was at stake in the struggle with Damascus.'[5] Cp BEN-HADAD, § 2.

It does not follow, however, that we must give Wellhausen's answer to the second question, which is (2) Are the events related in 1 K. 20 22, with the exception of the contest for Ramath Gilead, to be placed before or after the battle of Karkar (854 B.C.)?

6. Relative date of Karkar and 1 K. 20 22. It is, no doubt, highly plausible to suppose that Ahab took advantage of the blow dealt to the power of Damascus at Karkar to shake off the suzerainty of Benhadad: so far, at least, it seems reasonable to follow Wellhausen. But it is not likely that, considering the threatening attitude of Assyria, Benhadad would have thought it prudent to fritter away his strength on those 'furious attacks' on Israel to which Wellhausen refers;[1] it is not likely, in short, that the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek are to be placed after 854 B.C. It may be asked, if they are not placed thus, where are we to find room for them? In 1 K. 20 23-34, Ahab is represented as gaining the mastery over Benhadad, who has to make most humiliating concessions to him. After such a success, how can we account for Ahab's enforced presence at Karkar as vassal of Benhadad? The answer is that tradition selects its facts, and that the facts which it selects it idealises as an artist would idealise them. We may admit that Ahab, in his obstinate and patriotic resistance to Damascus, was not unvisited by gleams of good fortune; but the fact, which tradition itself records, that he was once actually besieged in his capital, cannot have stood alone. Of Ahab's other misfortunes in war tradition is silent; but we can easily imagine that the power which was too strong for Omri was at last able to force his son to send a large contingent to the army which was to meet Shalmaneser at Karkar.

That the siege of Samaria, at any rate, was before 854 B.C. is rendered probable by the criticism given elsewhere (see JEHORAM, 1, § 2) of the narrative in 2 K. 7. In particular, the kings of the Hittites and of *Muṣri*, who are referred to in v. 6, are just those with whom Benhadad would have to deal before 854 B.C., while Shalmaneser was still occupied at a distance.

The above solution of the historical problem is that of Winckler, which unites elements of Wellhausen's view and of that of Kittel.

The last-named critic deserves credit for an ingenious explanation (*Gesch.* 2 232) of the magnanimity attributed to Ahab in 1 K. 20 31-34. It will be remembered that, according to Kittel, Ahab sent forces to Karkar of his own accord, not as a vassal of Benhadad. This enables him to suggest that the king of Israel may have spared his rival's life in order to enlist him in a coalition against Assyria, the idea of which (according to this hypothesis) was Ahab's. It must be confessed, however, that this view ascribes more foresight to Ahab than, according to AMOS (*q.v.*, § 5), was possessed by the Israelites even at a later day, and it was certainly unknown to the compiler of our traditions, who makes no mention of the battle of Karkar.

We may regard it, then, as highly probable that the battle of Karkar was fought at some time in the 'three (?) years without war between Syria and Israel' mentioned in 1 K. 22 1.

7. Ahab's army. The numbers of the force assigned by Shalmaneser in his inscription to Ahab (2000 chariots, 10,000 men), as compared with those assigned to other kings,[2] deserve attention. It is possible, no doubt, as Winckler suggests, that contingents from Judah and Moab were reckoned among the warriors of Ahab.[3] This does not, however, greatly diminish the significance of the numbers. After all, the men of Judah were southern Israelites. Even if Moabitish warriors were untrustworthy against a foe such as Benhadad, there is no reason to doubt that the men of Judah would sooner see Israel free from Benhadad than swallowed up by its deadly foe. Ahab was certainly no contemptible antagonist in respect to the number of warriors he could bring into the field.

8. His death. He himself, like David (2 S. 18 3), was 'worth ten thousand,' and the dread with which he inspired the Syrians is strikingly shown in the account of his last campaign. We read that

[1] For a somewhat different view, see CHRONOLOGY, § 29, n. 1.

[2] Against Kamph.'s view, that Ahab is mentioned by a mistake of the Assyrian scribe instead of Joram, cp Schr. *KGF* 370.

[3] The form Sir'lai may be illustrated by the vocalisation אֲסָרֵאל Asarel, 1 Ch. 4 16, which Lag. (*Uebers.* 132) thinks may represent the original pronunciation rather than יִשְׂרָאֵל.

[4] Ki., however, after adopting this view of the course of events in his narrative, turns round, and with some hesitation indicates his preference for the view of Kamph. (*Chronologie der hebr. Kön.* 80), held also formerly by We., according to which the Assyrian scribe confounds Ahab with his son Jehoram (*Hist.* 2 273). On the whole question cp Schr. *KGF* 356-371.

[5] *Hist.*[3] 61. So the conservative critic Köhler (*Bibl. Gesch.* 3 379). On the other side, see M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 277 *ff.*

[1] *IG* 50; 2nd and 3rd ed. p. 71.

[2] Bir'idri (Benhadad) has 1200 chariots, 1200 horsemen, 20,000 men (Schrader, *COT* 1 186).

[3] That Jehoshaphat's military support of Ahab was not altogether voluntary is surmised by We. and positively asserted by Wi. That it only began at the expedition to Ramath Gilead is too hastily supposed by Ki. (*Gesch.* 2 232 [ET, 2 272]).

Benhadad charged the captains of his chariots to 'fight neither with small nor great, save only with the king of Israel,' and that when they thought they had found him they 'surrounded him (𝔊) to fight against him' (1 K. 22 31 *f.*). It was not, however, by a device of human craft that the great warrior was to die. A chance shot from a bow pierced Ahab's armour. The grievous wound prompted the wish to withdraw; but for the king in his disguise (*v.* 30) withdrawal was impossible, for the battle became hot and the warriors pressed on from behind. The dying king stood the whole day through, upright and armed as he was, in his chariot. At sunset he died, and when the news spread 'The king is dead' (2 K. 22 37, 𝔊), the whole Israelitish army melted away. In Micaiah's language, it became 'scattered abroad, as sheep that had no shepherd' (2 K. 22 17). The dead body of the king was carried to Samaria and buried there.[1]

A brief reference is made in 1 K. 22 39 to Ahab's luxury, which confirms the reading of 𝔊ᴬ in Jer. 22 15: 'Art thou a true king because thou vieest with Ahab?' (ἐν Αχααβ [A], εν αχαβ [BNQ], κεδρω [Q mg.], MT בארז), an indignant protest addressed by Jeremiah to Jehoiachin (so Cornill in *SBOT*, who enters into the text-critical points more thoroughly than Giesebrecht).

2. (Αχιαβ [BNAQ]), perhaps the most correct form; see NAMES § 65. In Jer. 29 22 אחב is clearly a scribe's error; Eastern MSS have a *Kᵉrê* אחאב.) Son of Kolaiah and fellow-exile of Jehoiachin (Jer. 29 21 *f.*). He and another exile (Zedekiah) fed the fanaticism of the Jews with false hopes of a speedy return. They were denounced by Jeremiah, who predicted for them a violent death at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar. We learn more about them from the writer (probably the editor of the Book of Jeremiah) who inserted *vv.* 22b-32a. It was in his time, perhaps, a matter of notoriety that Ahab and Kᵉnaʿanah had suffered the cruel punishment of being burned alive (cp Saulmugina's fate, *KPM* 177). Therefore he makes Jeremiah refer to this, and at the same time accuse the false prophets of having led a profligate life, in accordance with the idea which underlies Gen. 38 24; Lev. 20 14 21 9. Cp Cornill, *Jeremiah* (*SBOT*, Heb. text). T. K. C.

AHARAH (אַחְרָח [Ba]), or Ahrah (אַחְרָח [Ginsb.]), third son of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 1†. See AHIRAM.

AHARHEL (אַחַרְחֵל; ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΡΗΧΑΒ [BA], ΑΡΑΙΗΛ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΡΗΧΑΒ [L]; *AHAREHEL*), a name in an obscure part of the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 8†).

AHASAI, or rather as RV, AHZAI (אַחְזַי; in some MSS and edd. אַחַזַי; a shortened form of Ahaziah; om. BA, ΑΖΑΧΙΟΥ [𝔑ᶜ a mg. inf.], ΖΑΚΧΙΟΥ [L]), a priestly name in a list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. §§ 5 [*b*], 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 13† = 1 Ch. 9 12† JAHZERAH (יַחְזְרָה; ΙΕΔΕΙΟΥ [B], ΙΕΖΡΙΟΥ [A], ΕΖΕΡΑ [L]), which is probably a corruption of Jahzeiah (see JAHAZIAH).

AHASBAI (אַחַסְבַּי), 2 S. 23 34. See ELIPHELET, 2.

AHASUERUS (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ; in Kt. of Esth. 10 1, the edd., following the Palestinian reading, have אחשורש). 1. An Ahasuerus is mentioned in MT in Ezra 4 6 and Dan. 9 1; and in Esther he is one of the leading *dramatis personæ*.

In MT of Esther he is mentioned in 1 1 *f.* 9 *f.* 15* *f.* 19 2 1* 12* 16 21‡ 8 1 6 *ff.* 12‡ 6 2 7 5* 8 1 7*; 10*‡ 12 9 2* 20 30* 10 1* 3.[2] The readings of 𝔊 are: Ezra 4 6, ασθηρου [B], ασσουη. [A], ασουη. [L]; Dan. 9 1, ασουηρου (Theod.), but βαρβου [87, *i.e.*, the LXX; also Syr. mg.]; in Esther ασουηρου [a text of 𝔊ᴸ, on which see below], but ασταξερξου [β text of 𝔊ᴸ and 𝔊ᴺᵐᵃ], -ξεξ. [B* vid. once], αναξερξης [A* once], αρταξερξης [A thrice].

In Ezra 4 6, where he is a king of Persia whose reign fell between that of Koresh (Cyrus) and that of Artahsasta (Artaxerxes Longimanus), he can hardly be any other than the king called *Khshayarshâ* in the Persian inscriptions (Persep., Elvend, Van), [illegible] in an Aramaic inscription [481 B.C. from Egypt (*CIS* ii. 122), and Ξέρξης by the Greeks (cp above, readings of Dan. 9 1). This name, which to Semites presented difficulties of pronunciation, was distorted likewise by the Babylonians in a variety of ways. As Prof. Bezold has informed the writer of the present article, we find on Babylonian tablets not only such forms as *Khishiarshu*, *Akhshiyarshu*, *Ikkashiarshi*, *Akkisharshu*, but also *Akkhiyauarshu*, *Akkhiuarshi*, and *Akkhiuarshu*, with the substitution of *u* for *y*, as in [illegible].[1] In other cases also the OT uses [illegible] to represent the Persian *khsh*, at the beginning of words. The insertion of *â* before the final *sh* rendered the pronunciation easier to the Hebrews; but whether the vowel was contained in the original form of the Hebrew texts we cannot determine.[2]

The Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther is a king of Persia and Media (1 3 18 *f.*), whose kingdom extends from India to Ethiopia and consists of 127 satrapies (1 1 8 9 30). He has his capital at Shushan in Elam. He is fond of splendour and display, entertaining his nobles and princes for 180 days, and afterwards the people of his capital for seven (𝔊ᴸᴺᴬ six) days (1 3-8). He keeps an extensive harem (2 3 14 *f.*), his wives being chosen from among all the 'fair young virgins' of the empire (2 2-4 12-14). As a ruler he is arbitrary and unscrupulous (3 8-11, and *passim*). All this agrees well enough with what is related of Xerxes by classical authors, according to whom he was an effeminate and extravagant, cruel and capricious despot (see ESTHER, § 1). This is the prince, son of Darius Hystaspis (Vishtâspa), whom the author of Esther seems to have had in mind. There has been an attempt to show, from the chronological data which he gives, that he knew the history of Xerxes accurately. He tells us that Esther was raised to the throne in the tenth month of the seventh year of Ahasuerus (2 16 *f.*), after having spent twelve months in the 'house of the women' (2 12). The command to assemble all the 'fair young virgins' in his palace (2 2-4) must, therefore, have been promulgated in his sixth year. But, in what is usually reckoned as the sixth year of his reign—viz. 480 B.C.—he was still in Greece. He could not, therefore, issue a decree from Shushan till the following year. This can be regarded as the sixth of his reign only by not counting the year of his accession, and taking 485 as the first of his reign. It is not impossible that the Persians may have taken over from the Babylonians the practice (see CHRONOLOGY, § 9) of reckoning the whole of the year, in the course of which a change of ruler occurred, to the late king; but it is not known as a fact. In this uncertainty we shall do well to suppose that the author of Esther has arbitrarily assigned his chronological data, and that his occasional coincidences with history are accidental merely.

2. For the Ahasuerus who is called the father of Darius the Mede in Dan. 9 1, see DARIUS, 1.

3. Tobias heard (Tob. 14 15†) of the destruction of Nineveh by 'Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus' (so RV, AV ASSUERUS: ασυηρος [B], ασσυ [𝔑ᶜ·ᵃ], ασου. [A], but 'Achiacharus, king of Media' [𝔑*], cp ACHIACHARUS, 2). See TOBIT, BOOK OF.

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[1] In 22 38, the words 'They washed his chariot in the pool of Samaria and the dogs licked his blood, etc.,' are an interpolation intended to explain how the dogs could lick Ahab's blood (which must have been dried up in the long journey from Ramah) and so fulfil the prediction of 21 19. But this was to have happen at Jezreel, not at Samaria (We. *CH* 360).

[2] The asterisks (*) indicate that 𝔊ᴸᴺᴬ omits the proper name, which is sometimes inserted by 𝔑ᶜ·ᵃ mg. The double-daggers (‡) indicate that the editions following the Palestinian reading omit the second ו.

[1] Cp Strassmaier, *Actes du viiiᵉ congrès des orientalistes*, sect. sém. 18 *f.* for a form corresponding to אחשורש (Ahshawarsh?) found on Babylonian contract tablets.

[2] See further Bevan, *Daniel* 120, where Ahaẓyarâ or Ahsayarâ is proposed as the original Jewish form.

AHAVA (אַהֲוָא), a place (Ezra 8[15]; ΕΥΕΙΑΜ [B], ΕΥΕΙ [AL]) or, as in the parallel 1 Esd. 8[41] (THERAS; om. B; Θερας, accus. [A], ΕΕΙΑ [L]) and Ezra 8[21] (ΘΟΥΕ [B], ΑΟΥΕ [B^1A], in v. 31 sup. ras.], ΑΑΟΥΑΘ [L]) in 1 Esd. 8[50] ('for the young men, τῶν νεανιῶν [BAL] . . . apparently בחורים for אהוא [Ezra 8[21]]) 8[61] (THERAS, ΘΕΡΑ [BA], ΕΕΙΑ [L]), a river, near which Ezra assembled his caravan before its departure for Jerusalem. The site and the river remain unidentified. We know that both were in the Euphrates basin, and that CASIPHIA (q.v.; cp. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5 2; see BE-RYS, *Ezra, ad loc.*) was not very far off. The form Theras (see above) seems to have arisen from אהוא (ם) for אהוא, which is the reading of some MSS for אהוא in Ezra 8.

AHAZ (אָחָז), a shortened form of JEHOAHAZ, the Jauḥazi of the inscriptions: see *KB* 2[20]). 1 (A)AZ [BRAQIL], see also below, § 4 end, Jos. Ἀχάζης. ACHAZ [Vg. and Mt. 1[9] AV]). Son of Jotham and eleventh king of Judah (733?-721, cp CHRONOLOGY, § 34 *ff.* and table in § 37). He was young, perhaps only twenty years of age[1] (2 K. 16[2]), when he ascended the throne, and appears already to have struck keen observers such as Isaiah by a want of manliness which was quite consistent with tyranny (Is. 3[12a]). The event seems to have been regarded by Rezin (or rather Rezon) of Damascus as favourable to his plan for uniting Syria and Palestine in a league against Assyria. Pekah, who had just become king of Israel by rebellion and assassination, was only too glad to place himself at the disposal of Rezin, who alone could defend him from Tiglath-pileser's wrath at the murder of an Assyrian vassal. Rezin and Pekah, therefore, marched southward, being safe for the moment from an Assyrian invasion with the object of forcing Judah to join their league (2 K. 16[5]; Is. 8[1-9]; cp ISAIAH, i. § 11). They could feel no confidence, however, in any promise which they might extort from Ahaz. For Ahaz, who, unlike Rezin, had no personal motive for closing his eyes to the truth, was conscious of the danger of provoking Assyria. Let us, then, said Rezin and Pekah, place a creature of our own, who can be trusted to serve us, on the throne of Judah (Is. 7[6]). Their nominee is called *ben-Tabel* (see TABEEL, 1), whom the language ascribed to the allies hardly allows us to identify with Rezin.[2] He was probably one of Rezin's courtiers, and thus (what a disgrace to Judah!) a mere Syrian governor with the title of king. The attempt to take Jerusalem was a failure. The fortress proved too strong to be taken by storm, and to have prolonged the siege, in view of the provocation given to Assyria and the terrible promptness of Assyrian vengeance, would have been imprudent. Ahaz, too, in his alarm (which was fully shared by the citizens),[3] had already made this vengeance doubly certain by sending an embassy to Tiglath-pileser with the message, 'I am thy slave and thy son: come up and deliver me' (2 K. 16[7]; this verse should be read immediately after v. 5).[4]

1. Syro Ephraimitish war.

[1] In 2 Ch. 28[1] some MSS of 𝔊 and Pesh. read 'twenty-five' for 'twenty.' This is more natural, in view of the age assigned to Hezekiah at his accession. The 'five' may, however, have crept in from 27[1], 29[1]. 𝔊 vl reads 'twenty.'

[2] Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 73-75; cp, however, ISRAEL, HIST. OF, § 22.

[3] See Is. 7[2b-6]. The latter passage is partly corrupt; but it is clear, at least, that the people of Judah are reproved for distrusting Yahwe's power to save his people, and 'desponding' because of 'Rezin and ben-Remaliah.' The 'waters of Shiloah' are a symbol of Yahwè (cp Ps. 46[4]; Is. 33[21]). See Che. 'Isaiah' (*SHOT*). The interpretation of 𝔊, which paraphrases משיש את (AV and RV, ungrammatically, 'rejoice in') by βουλεσθαι ἔχειν βασιλέα, is certainly wrong, though supported by some eminent names (Ges., Ew., Kn., St.), for it is opposed to Is. 7[2-8-12]. Even were the supposition that there was a large party in the capital favourable to Rezin and Pekah more plausible than it is, it would still be unwise to base the supposition on a passage so strangely expressed and of such questionable accuracy as Is. 8[6].

[4] If the statement of the compiler in 2 K. 16[3] that Ahaz

One man, Isaiah ben Amoz, had kept his head cool amid this excitement. He assured Ahaz on the authority of the God of prophecy that the attempt of Rezin and Pekah would be abortive and that Damascus and Samaria themselves would almost immediately become a prey to the Assyrian soldiery (Is. 7[4-9] 16[8-14] 17[1-11]). He bade Ahaz be wary and preserve his composure (השקט והשקט)—to take no rash step but quietly perform his regal duties, trusting in Yahwè. When the news came that Ahaz had hurriedly offered himself as a humble vassal to Assyria in return for protection from Rezin, Isaiah changed his tone. He declared that Judah itself, having despised the one means of safety (faith in Yahwe and obedience to his commands), could not escape punishment at the hands of the Assyrians. Under a variety of figures he described the havoc which those dreaded warriors would produce in Judah—a description to which a much later writer has added some touches of his own (17[5] 21-25; see *SHOT*).

2. Isaiah's advice.

Was Ahaz right or wrong in seeking the protection of Assyria? Stade has remarked that 'he acted as any other king would have acted in his position.'[1] On the other hand, Robertson Smith thought that 'the advice of Isaiah displayed no less political sagacity than elevation of faith.' 'If Ahaz had not called in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, his own interests would soon have compelled the Assyrian to strike at Damascus; and so, if the Judæan king had had faith to accept the prophet's assurance that the immediate danger could not prove fatal, he would have reaped all the advantages of the Assyrian alliance without finding himself in the perilous position of a vassal to the robber empire. As yet the schemes of Assyria hardly reached as far as Southern Palestine.'[2] There is some force in this. The sending of tribute to Assyria was justifiable only as a last resource. To take such a step prematurely would show a disregard of the interests of the poorer class, which would suffer from Assyrian exactions severely. It is doubtful, however, whether the plans of Assyria were as narrowly limited as is supposed. Tiglath-pileser did not, even after receiving the petition of Ahaz, attack Damascus instantly. First of all he invaded Philistia and Northern Arabia.

3. Ahaz's policy.

We shall have occasion to refer again to the important chapter of Isaiah which describes the great encounter between the king and the prophet (see ISAIAH, i. § 2 *b*). Suffice it to say that we misunderstand Isaiah if we connect his threat of captivity in chap. 7 *f.* too closely with the foreign policy of Ahaz. It was not the foreign policy but the moral weakness of Ahaz and his nobles which had in the first instance drawn forth this threat from Isaiah (Is. 5[8-16]). Nor can we venture to doubt that, if Ahaz had satisfied the moral standards of Isaiah, this would have had some effect on the prophet's picture of the future. 'Visions' and 'tidings' of men of God such as Isaiah are not merely political forecasts: they are adjusted to the moral and mental state both of him who speaks and of those who hear.

It is not to Isaiah or to a disciple of Isaiah, but to the royal annalist, that we owe the notice that the tribute of Ahaz was derived from the treasury of the palace and of the temple, and that Ahaz did not spare even the sacred furniture (2 K. 16[8 17]).[3] It would be interesting to know whether he sent the brazen oxen on which the brazen 'sea' had hitherto rested (they were copies of Babylonian sacred objects, and properly symbolised Marduk) to Tiglath-pileser, or whether he melted them off red up his son (𝔊L and Symm. say 'his sons,' with 2 Ch. 28[3]) is correct, we may perhaps assign the fearful act to this period.

4. Consequences.

[1] *GI* II[1] 75.

[2] WRS *Proph.*[2] 265; cp Kittel, *Hist.* 2 346 (near foot).

[3] On the text of 2 K. 16[17], which is corrupt, see St. *ZATW* 6 163.

down for himself. It is more important, however, to notice that [illegible] apparently the tribute for Assyria was [illegible] at any increase in the taxation. Isaiah, we may suppose, would have approved of this.

Isaiah's forecasts were vetoed, nor, indeed, to such an extent as much modern speculation about the prophetic books demands, but as far as his own generation required. Damascus fell in 732, Samaria had a breathing time till 722, and, according to Sennacherib, there was a partial captivity of Judah in the next reign. It was after the first of these events that Ahaz first came in contact with an Assyrian king. In 734 the name of Jauhazi of Judah occurs among the names of the kings who had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser; but we have no reason to suppose that he paid it in person. It was in 732, after the fall of Damascus, that he paid homage in person to his suzerain. On this occasion he 'saw the altar that was at Damascus' (2 K. 16 10-), and, on æsthetic grounds, liked it better than the bronze altar which had hitherto been used at Jerusalem for burnt offerings. It [illegible] probably an Assyrian altar, for the Assyr[illegible] principle introduced their own cultus into [illegible] cities. So Ahaz sent a model of the altar [illegible] priest Uriah (cp Is 8 2), who at once me[illegible] upon the pattern and transferred the old [illegible] position. This was, doubtless, against th[illegible] who in his earliest extant prophecy ass[illegible] the love of foreign fashions. Pos[illegible] Ahaz borrowed the sun-dial [illegible] phrases the expression 'the step[illegible] ever' (DIAL). Nor is it likely that [illegible] A suggestive allusion to the addictio[illegible] worship is to be [illegible] in 2 K. 23 12, [illegible] difficulty in the passage (see Kamphaus[illegible] *HSz.*[2]

The reign of Ahaz was inglorious, but [illegible] peaceful. It was a severe blow to the con[illegible] Judah when Rezin, on the accession of Ahaz [illegible] and captured Elath (on the Arabian Gulf), and [illegible] it to its former possessors, the Edomites; but at the close of Ahaz's reign Isaiah was able to contrast the peace enjoyed by 'the poor of Yahwè's people' with the chastisement inflicted by Assyria on the restless Philistines.[3]

Other readings of 𝔊 are: αχας [B often, A[1] vel forte A[2] once, A once, Q [illegible] χαας [A twice], αχαβ [A, 2 Ch. 18]. In Jer. 22 15 𝔊[BQ] 'Ahaz' takes the place of the true reading 'Ahab' of 𝔊[A] (see AHAB, 1 fend).

2. (χαας [A]; αχας [L]), a descendant of Saul; 1 Ch. 8 35*f.* (ζαα [B]; [illegible] EV M 1 𝔊[BA]; but correctly inserted by 𝔊[L] Pesh.), 9 42 (αχας [B]). See BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. β.

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AHAZIAH (אחזיה, אחזיהו, 'he whom Yahwè supports'; ΟΧΟΖΕΙΑΣ [BAL]; for other readings see end of no. 2). 1. Son of Ahab and Jezebel, and king of Israel (853-851? B.C. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28 and table in § 37). A poor successor to the heroic Ahab. Once more Israel must have been dependent on Damascus, while Moab (see AHAB, § 2) continued to enjoy its recovered independence. The single political action reported of him is his offer to JEHOSHAPHAT (*q.v.*, 1) to join in a trading expedition to Ophir (1 K. 22 49). The close of his life is described in a prophetic legend of very late origin (see ELIJAH, § 3). He fell through the lattice of an upper room in his palace in Samaria, and though he lingered on a sick-bed for some time, did not recover. The story (2 K. 1 2-17) is a painful one, and was used by Jesus to point the contrast between the unchastened zeal of his disciples and the true evangelical spirit (Lk. 9 54-56). The one probably historical element is the consultation by Ahaziah of the oracle of Baal-zebub of Ekron. To most of Ahaziah's contemporaries his action would have seemed quite natural[1] (cp 2 K. 5 8 7 *ff.*).

2. Son of Jehoram (or Joram) and Ahab's daughter Athaliah, king of Judah (843 842? B.C.). Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28 and table in § 37). He was only twenty-two when he ascended the throne; and only one event in his brief reign has been recorded—the part which he took with Jehoram king of Israel in a campaign against Hazael of Damascus. The kings of I[illegible] and Judah laid siege to Ramah in Gilead (the place before which Ahab lost his life in battle) which was still held by the Aramæans. Jehoram withdrew wounded. Ahaziah also went to his home; but afterwards visited his sick kinsman at Jezreel. During this visit JEHU (*q.v.*) revolted, and the two kings (equally obnoxious to Jehu) went forth in their chariots to meet him. Ahaziah saw his uncle Jehoram pierced by an arrow, and took to flight. As he fled in the direction of BETH HAGGAN (*q.v.*, 2 [illegible] 9 27, 𝔊) Jehu dashed after him with the cry, 'Him too.' At the ascent of Gur by Ibleam, on the road to Jerusalem, he too was struck by an arrow. Thereupon he turned his h[illegible] northwest, and reached Megiddo, but died [illegible] and [illegible] He was buried in the royal [illegible]lem. The conflicting account in [illegible] whatever late source derived, is of

[illegible] K 8 29 9 21 οχοζει [F]; 2 K. 14 13 ιωαχας; 1 Ch. 3 11 οζια [B], [illegible]ας [AL]). In 2 Ch. Jehoahaz, and in 22 6 Azariah. See [illegible]

[illegible] 8. § 45, meaning obscure, for form [illegible] other of an intelligent one' [BDB], or [illegible] brother has given heed,' so GRAY, *HPN* [illegible] who suggests the vocalisation אַחִיבֶן), a Jerahme[illegible] Gray name, 1 Ch. 2 29† (αχαβαρ [B], οζα [A], ΝΑ[illegible] 9 [illegible] 28 30], *AHIEBEN*).

AHER אחר: αερ [B], αορ [A], om. [L Pesh.]; [illegible]ry doubtful Benjamite name (1 Ch. 7 12+). See HUSHIM, 2; DAN, § 9; BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. a.

Be. (*in loc.*) explains the name as meaning 'the other one,' and conjectures it to be a euphemism for Dan, the express mention of the name of this tribe seeming in more than one instance to have been deliberately avoided. (See however DAN, § 6). On the other hand 𝔊[A] reads 'his son' for 'the sons of' (בני for בני), and the name is entirely wanting in 𝔊[L] and Pesh., the former (and perhaps originally also the latter) connecting Hushim (ισσουδ, *Ḥûsîm*) with what goes before (see IRI). See also AHARAH.

AHI (אחי. § 52, probably abbrev. from AHIJAH).

1. In genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5 15† (Vg. wrongly translates, *fratres gaadi*; Pesh. and 𝔊[L] om.; 𝔊[A] combines with the preceding name Ruz: ζαβουραα [B], αχι(δου) [A]).

2. In genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 n.), 1 Ch. 7 34. 𝔊[A], attaching [illegible] of the following name (see KOHEGAH), produces Αχι(ε)ω [A], or Αχι(ουια) [B]; but 𝔊[L] has ηειγ.

AHI, NAMES WITH. See ABI, NAMES WITH.

AHIAH, frequently in AV and once (Neh. 10 26 [25]) inconsistently in RV. See AHIJAH, 1 *f.* 4.

AHIAM (אחיאם. § 65, for which we should probably point אחיאם, 'mother's brother' [cp AHAB], analogous to the Sab. pr.n. אחתאמו, 'sister of his mother'; cp *HPN* 64, n. 2), one of David's heroes, 2 S. 23 33 (αμναν [BA], om. [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 35† (αχειμ [BK], αχιαμ [AL]). See DAVID, § 11 *a* i.

AHIAN (אחין. § 65, 'relative, cousin,' cp أسنا; ιααιμ [B], αειν [A], αειμ [L]; *AHIAN*), a Manassite name (1 Ch. 7 19). See SHEMIDA.

AHIEZER (אחיעזר. § 44, 'the [divine] brother is help,' cp Abiezer, Eliezer; αχιεζερ [BAFL])

1. b. Ammishaddai, chief of the Danites, temp. Moses [P] (Nu. 1 12 2 25 7 66 71 10 25)†.

2. One of David's archers (1 Ch. 12 3†). See DAVID, § 11 *a* iii.

1 Schr. *COT* 1 240 255; Wi. *GBA* 234.

2 For לאלם read ואדם; cp the Krê, ואדומים for ואדומים.

3 The heading of Is. 14 28-32 is probably correct. See Che. *Intr Is.* 80*f.*; but cp Duhm *ad loc.*

1 Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 157.

2 So 2 K. 8 26. In 2 Ch. 22 2 his age is given as forty-two (𝔊[L] 22 2); but this is clearly miswritten for twenty-two (so 𝔊[L]; cp 21 5 20).

AHIHUD (אֲחִיהוּד, 'the [divine] brother is praise,' cp AHIHUD; αχιωδ [A], -ωρ [BFL], *AHIHUD*), an Asherite selected to assist Joshua and Eleazer in the division of Canaan (Nu. 34 27 P†)

AHIHUD (אֲחִיחוּד, ιαχειχωδ [B], -χιχαδ [A], ογδ [L]; *AHIHUD*), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 7†. Cp UZZA, 1

AHIJAH (אֲחִיָּה, 'Yahwé is brother' [*i.e.*, protector]; cp Abijah and the Babylonian name A-ḫi-ia-a; Jastrow, *JBL.*, 1894 p. 1 18; αχ[ε]ια [BAL])

1. b. Ahitub, priest at Shiloh, bore the ephod, temp. Saul; 1 S. 14 3 (Jo. Ἐχιας, Ἀχιας, AV AHIAH). In 4 Esd. 1 21 he appears as ACHIAS (*Ἀχίας* [ed. Bensly]) between Ahitub and Amariah of Ezra 7 1-5, or 1 Ch. 6 7.

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), one of those who were 'carried captive' (1 Ch. 8 7; AV AHIAH), whose name should perhaps be read in *v.* 4 for AHOAH (אֲחוֹאָח; αωα [L], *Ahoe*; but αχια [B], [illegible]; A om.); see further AHOHITE.

3. The Pelonite; a corruption of Ahithophel the Gilonite, the name of his son (one of David's heroes) being omitted (1 Ch. 11 36; see ELIAM, 1; AHITHOPHEL).

4. b. Shisha (SHAVSHA), and brother of ELIHOREPH (*q.v.*); one of Solomon's secretaries of state (1 K. 4 3; AV AHIAH). See BEN-HESED, § 3.

5. A Levite, who owes his existence to a demonstrable text-corruption (1 Ch. 26 20; read with BAL, ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν, 'and the Levites their brethren').

6. According to AV (which with ⊕U prefixes 'and') the fifth son of JERAHMEEL (*q.v.*, 1), 1 Ch. 2 25. But ⊕BA, yes correctly ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, *i.e.*, אָחִיהוּ (so Ki.). We. (*De Gent.* 15) prefers אָחָיו, 'his brothers.' (L αχιαμ.)

7. An Issacharite, father of King Baasha (1 K. 15 27 33, etc.).

8. Signatory to the covenant; Neh. 10 26 [25] (αρα [B]; αια [Nᵛᵈ. A], αδειας [L]; *ACHIAH*). See EZRA, i. § 7.

9. A Shilonite; the prophet who foretold to JEROBOAM (*q.v.*, 1) the disruption of Solomon's kingdom (1 K. 11 29, etc.; αχ[ε]ας [BA twice]). In 2 Ch. 10 15 (χια A* but not in 1 K. 12 15), and in the story of his meeting with Jeroboam's wife (1 K. 14 4-18), the name appears in the form אֲחִיָּהוּ (Ahiyyahu), on which see ABIJAH (beginning)

AHIKAM (אֲחִיקָם, § 44, 'the [divine] brother riseth up,' cp Adonikam and Phœn. אבקם; αχ[ε]ικαμ [BNᵃᶜᵗ QL]; χεικαμ [N* once]; Jos. ΑΧΙΚΑΜΟΣ, 4K., *AHIKAM*), Heb. his father SHAPHAN (*q.v.*) a courtier of Josiah. He appears to have belonged to the party favourable to religious reforms. Hence he was included in the royal deputation to Huldah (2 K. 22 12 14, 2 Ch. 34 20; cp HULDAH), and was forcemost in the defence of Jeremiah on a critical occasion (Jer. 26 24). He was the father of GEDALIAH (*q.v.*, 1) (2 K. 25 22 Jer. 39 14 40 5)

AHILUD (אֲחִילוּד, § 45). 1. Father of Jehoshaphat, David's 'recorder' or vizier (2 S. 8 16; αχεια [B], αχιμελεχ [A], αχιναδαμ [L], Jos. Ἀχιλοῦς; 20 24, αχ[ε]λουθ [BA], αχιθαλαα [L]; 1 K. 4 3, αχειλιαδ [BN], αχιμα [A]; αχιθαλαμ [L]; 1 Ch. 18 15 αχεια [BN], αχελουδ [AL]). The name does not mean 'child's brother' (BDB with a ?) nor is it connected with the Ar. tribal name Laudhan (Hommel ? see *Exp. Times* 8 [1897]). It is difficult not to suspect that אחילוד = אחי[ב]מלך Ahimelech (so Ki. [2]). Ahimelech is a priest (above 2 S. 8 17 [A], and below [2]). 1 K. 4 12 (Bp) [illegible] has vizier David would naturally choose some one from a family well known to him. One [illegible] of Ahimelech's daughters was a priest of David; another married well known Jehoshaphat his vizier. See JEHOSHAPHAT, 2. AHIMELECH, 1.

2. Father of Baana, one of Solomon's prefects or governors of districts (1 K. 4 12 αχιναδαχ [B], ενοιδ [A], αχιναδαβ [L]). He was another of Naphtali, [illegible] is called Ahimaaz, [illegible] the son of Zadok who bore [illegible] Ahimelech is the same name [illegible] Solomon appointed two for the families of his father's friends—Zadok, Ahimelech, Hushai, and Nathan (cp AHIMAAZ, 1, 2; BAANA, 2, AZARIAH, 6)

T. K. C.

AHIMAAZ (אֲחִימַעַץ, § 45, meaning uncertain, cp MAAZ; αχ[ε]ιμαας [BAL]).

1. b. Zadok; 2 S. 15 27 (αχειμαας [B]), 36 (αχιμασιος [A*, σ 2ᵒ Las. Aᵛᵈ]); 17 17 20 (αχιμας [B]), 18 19-29, and, according to the Chronicler, eleventh in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar, 1 Ch. 6 8 [7], and 53 (αχεισαμα [B]). Along with his father and brother he remained faithful to David during the revolt of Absalom, and brought important information from Jerusalem to the king as to the enemy's plans; he was also the first courier to reach the king after the battle in which Absalom was killed. Most probably identical with

2. One of Solomon's prefects (see GOVERNMENT, § 18, end), governor of Naphtali; 1 K. 4 15. Cp AHILUD, 2.

3. Father of Ahinoam (1), Saul's wife; 1 S. 14 50† (αχ[ε]ναας [B]).

AHIMAN (אֲחִימָן,[1] § 45; *ACHIMAN, AHIMAN*). 'Ahi,' as usual, is a divine title, and 'man' may be the name of a deity (Mēni; see FORTUNE).

1. One of the sons of the ANAK (*q.v.*); cp also SHESHAI, TALMAI); Nu. 13 22 (αχ[ε]μαν [BFL], αχικαμ [A]); Josh. 15 14 (αχ[ε]μα [BAL]); Judg. 1 10 (αχινααν [B], αχ[ε]μαν [Bᵃᵇ·ᵐᵍ L], τον αχιμααμ [A])

2. One of the 'porters for the camps of the Levites'; 1 Ch. 9 17 (αιμαμ [B], -ν [AC]; *Ahimam*, Cod. Am. *Abiman*). Neh. 11 19 (om. everywhere) in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end); Ezra 10 24 (where he is called URI)—1 Esd. 9 25 (RV om.). The name in 1 Ch. is probably corrupt. See URI, 3.

AHIMELECH (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ, 'the [divine] king is brother,' see ABIMELECH and cp Phœn. חמלך, Ass. *Aḫimilki*; αχ[ε]ιμελεχ [BAL]).

1. Father of Abiathar, erroneously described in 2 S. 8 17 as *son* of Abiathar, also in four places in 1 Ch., in the first of which, moreover, the name in MT is ABIMELECH; see ABIATHAR (last paragraph). For a conjecture that Jehoshaphat, David's vizier, and Baana, Solomon's prefect, were also sons of this Ahimelech, see AHILUD, 1 and 2.

⊕A reads αμιμελεχ in 1 S. 21 1α 22 9 and αβιμ. in 1 S. 21 1β 2; B has αδειμελεχ invariably except in 1 S. 21 1α, and Ps. 52 title, αβιμ.; and in 1 S. 30 7 and the five corrupt passages, αχειμ.; V. *Achimelech*, but in 1 Ch., though not in 2 S. 8 17, *Ahim.* The Vᵍ. and ⊕U read Ahimelech also in Ps. 34, title; see ABIMELECH (end).

A Hittite companion of David in the time of his outlawry, 1 S. 26 6† (αχ[ε]μελεχ [BᵃL], αβ[ε]μ. [BA]).

AHIMOTH (אֲחִימוֹת, § 45. αλειμωθ [B], ογιμ A], αμιωθ L]), a name in the genealogy of Kohath (1 Ch. 6 25 [10]). If the reading of MT and Versions is correct, *-moth* should be a divine name or title. Barton compares the cosmogonic Mot in Philo of Byblus; but this is too doubtful (see CREATION, § 7), and though מות, 'death,' in Ps. 49 14 [15] and elsewhere is personified, a name like 'Death is (our) brother' or 'protector,' is improbable. Possibly Ahimoth should be Ahimahath (see [illegible] [26], cp 2 Ch. 29 12); see MAHATH, 1.

AHINADAB (אֲחִינָדָב, § 44; 'the [divine] brother apportions,' but cp further ABINADAB; αχεινααβ B], αιναδαβ [A], αχιναδαβ [L]; *AHINADAB*), Solomon's prefect over the district of Mahanaim beyond Jordan (1 K. 4 14†). See GOVERNMENT, § 18 (end).

AHINOAM (אֲחִינֹעַם, § 45, 'the [divine] brother is pleasantness, αχ[ε]ινααμ [BAL]; Jos. αχινα; *Achinoa*), 1. Daughter of Ahimaaz and wife of Saul, 1 Sam. 14 50† (αχ[ε]νοομ [BA])

2. Of Jezreel in Judah (see ABIGAIL, 2) whom David married during his outlawry. Like Abigail she was carried off by the Amalekites when they plundered Ziklag. At Hebron she bore to David his eldest son, Amnon, 1 S. 25 43 (αχινοαν [B]); 27 3; 30 5 (αχινοομ [B]).

1 A better pointing would be אֲחִינָן; the present vocalisation, אֲחִימָן, is due to a popular etym. אח יכן, frater meus quis? (Jer. in [illegible] 2 [illegible] 1, etc.).

2 Other readings here, αδειμ. [R]; *Abinadab*; Peshitta quite different.

αχινααμ [A, αμ. sup. ras. A^1]), cp v. 18; 2 Sam. 2 2 (αχινοομ [BA]), 3 2 (αχινοομ [B]); 1 Ch. 3 1†.

AHIO (אחיו). §§ 24, 43, possibly, if MT is correct, 'brother of Yahwè,' or 'Yahwè is brother.' The analogy of other names ending in ô seems against this view; Jastrow, *JBL*, 1894, p. 101).

1. b. Abinadab, brother of UZZAH (*q.v.*, 1), 2 S. 6 3 4; 1 Ch. 13 7 has 'his brethren,' and We. reads אָחִיו, 'his brother'; see Dr. (in each case, however, ⊕HAL has οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, *i.e.*, אָחָיו, in 2 S.).

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), one of the sons of Beriah, who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath, 1 Ch. 8 14 (ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, 'his brother' [B], οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐ., 'his brethren' [A], οἱ ἀ. αὐτῶν, 'their brethren' [L]; Be. and Kau. אָחָיו; We. אָחָיו [*De Gent.* f. 29]; Ki. אחיהם).

3. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), son of Jehiel, the 'father' of Gibeon; 1 Ch. 8 31 ἀδελφὸς α᾽ τοῦ [B], -φοὶ αὐ. [A], οἱ ἀδ. αὐ. [L]) 9 37† (BA om. αὐτοῦ).

AHIRA (אחירע; αχ[ε]ιρε [BAFL]; أحيرا; *AHIRA*). A Naphtalite family-name reported in P (Nu. 1 15 2 29 7 78 83 10 27†). The old interpretation 'my brother is evil' must be abandoned. Either ע is miswritten for ם (see the Palmyrene characters), in which case we get the good Heb. name Ahiram,[1] or we have here a half-Egyptian name meaning 'Ra' (or Re' *i.e.*, the Egyptian sun-god) is brother or protector' (so Che. *Ist.* 2 144). The latter view is quite possible (cp the Egyptian name Pi-baal). The Canaanites, who were strong in the territory of Naphtali, were very receptive of foreign religious influences.[2] Cp ASHUR, HUR, HARNEPHER. The reading of Pesh. (uniformly Ahida') is no doubt either merely a natural variant, or a copyist's substitution of a more normal for a rarer form; cp AHIDA. T. K. C.

AHIRAM (אחירם. § 44, cp Jehoram; αχ[ε]ιραν [AL], ιαχ. [B], αχιαν [F]; *AHIRAM*). 1. In the genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 i.); Nu 26 38 (where we have also the gentile **Ahiramite**; אחירמי; αχειραμι [F], ια . . νει [B], αχωαι [A], ιανει [F]) = Gen. 46 21, where 'Ahiram, Shephupham' ought no doubt to be read for 'Ehi and Rosh, Muppim' (אחיראשמפים for אחירשפים), cp ROSH. In the similar list in 1 Ch. 8 we find in v. 1 AHIRAH [*q.v.*] (אחרח), and in that in 1 Ch. 7 6 *ff.* in v. 12 AHER [*q.v.*] (אחר), cp HUSHIM, 2; DAN, § 9.

2. Perhaps we should read Ahiram also for AHIRA (*q.v.*) in Nu. 1 15, etc.

AHISAMACH (אחיסמך, 'the [divine] brother sustains'; αχισαμαχ [B], μαχ [AFL]; Jos. ΙΣΑΜΑΧΟΣ, ΙΣΑΧΑΜΟΣ), a Danite; Ex. 31 6 (αχισαμαχ [B]) 35 34 38 23 [P]. See DAN, § 9 n.

AHISHAHAR (אחישחר, §§ 35, 44, 'the [divine] brother is dawning bright'; cp Abner, Shebaniah; αχεισαλαρ [B], αχισααρ [A], ασσαειρ [L]), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. α), 1 Ch. 7 10†. See JEDIAEL, 1.

AHISHAR (אחישר, § 44), Solomon's comptroller of the palace (1 K. 4 6†). The name, however, is suspicious.

⊕B gives the double rendering, αχει ὁ οἰκονόμος, and ελιαα ὁ οἰκ., and perhaps even ... ελιαβ υἱος σαφ ἐπὶ τῆς παστάδος; ελιαα ... αχισαφ, which ⊕L has, and may be the true ⊕ reading. ... AV ($⊕^A$ αχισαρ) has yet to be accounted for. For אישר we should probably read אשר. Zadok, who has just ... is described as not merely a priest but 'the oth[er] ... the palace' (so Klo.). See ZADOK, 1. T. K. C.

AHITHOPHEL (אחיתפל, § 45, meaning uncertain; αχ[ε]ιτοφελ [BAL]. Λοις, Jos.), a Gilonite (see GILOH), a counsellor of David much esteemed for his unerring insight (2 S. 15 12 16 23). His son ELIAM (*q.v.*, 1) was, like Uriah, a member of David's bodyguard (2 S. 23 34; cp DAVID, § 11 *a* i), and since Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, is described as the daughter of Eliam (2 S. 11 3), it has been conjectured that Ahithophel was her grandfather, and that indignation at David's conduct to Bathsheba led Ahithophel to cast in his lot with Absalom's rebellion. This, however, is a mere possibility, and ambition would be a sufficient motive for Ahithophel's treason to David, just as the slight involved in Absalom's preference of Hushai's counsel to his own was certainly one chief cause of his final withdrawal from Absalom. At first, indeed, he had full possession of the ear of the pretender. It was by his advice that Absalom took public possession of his father's concubines, and so pledged himself to a claim to the throne, from which there was no retreat (2 S. 16 20 *ff.*). Ahithophel was also eager in his own person to take another bold and decisive step. He wished to pursue David with 12,000 men and cut the old king down in the first confusion and entanglement of his flight towards the Jordan (2 S. 17 1-4). This plan was defeated by Hushai, whereupon Ahithophel, seeing that all hope was gone, went to Giloh and strangled himself.

In 1 Ch. 11 36 'Ahithophel the Gilonite' has been corrupted into 'Ahijah the Pelonite,' אחיה הפלני for אחיתפל הגלני; cp Klo. *Sam.*, *ad loc.* (αχ[ε]ια [BAKL]), and see GILOH, end. W. E. A.

AHITOB (αχειτωβ [B], etc.), 1 Esd. 8 2 RV, 4 Esd. 1 1† RV. See below, AHITUB, 2.

AHITUB (אחיטוב or אחטוב [1 S. 14 3 22 9 ff.], § 45; cp Ahi-ṭâbu *KB* 5, no. 11 14, αχ[ε]ιτωβ [BAL]).

1. A member of the family in which the priesthood, first at Shiloh, then at Nob, appears for some generations to have been hereditary. He was grandson of Eli, son of Phinehas, and elder brother of Ichabod (1 S. 14 3; cp 4 19-21). His son, Ahijah, is mentioned as priest in 1 S. 14 3; another son, Ahimelech, appears as priest in 1 S. 22 9 11 12 20. It is unnecessary with Thenius and Bertheau to identify Ahimelech with Ahijah; but that Ahitub, the father of Ahimelech, is identical with Ahitub, the father of Ahijah, is clear from 1 K. 2 27, which implies that Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech (1 S. 22 20), was of the house of Eli. Nothing further is directly told of Ahitub; but, if Wellhausen's suggestion that the destruction of Shiloh (Jer. 7 12) took place after the battle of Aphek (1 S. 4) be accepted, the transference of the priestly centre from Shiloh to Nob (1 S. 22 9-11), will have taken place under him.

The description of Ahitub as father of Zadok (2 S. 8 17; 1 Ch. 18 16, 1 Ch. 6 8 [5 34], 5 3 [38]) is due to an intentional early corruption of the text in Samuel, which originally ran 'Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, and Zadok were priests' (for the argument see We. *TBS* 176 *f.*).

2 and 3. Father of a (later) Zadok, mentioned in 1 Ch. 6 11 *ff.* [5 17 *f.*], and in pedigree of EZRA (see EZRA, i. § 1) Ezra 7 2 – 1 Esd. 8 2; 2 Esd. 1 1 (in the last two passages AV ACHITOB, RV AHITOB); and a priest, father of Meraioth and grandfather of Zadok, in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA, ii. §§ 5 [5], 15 [c] α), 1 Ch. 9 11; Neh. 11 11 (αχιτωβ [B], αχιτωβ [N], αιτωβ [A]). These references, however, are probably due to intentional or accidental amplification of the original genealogy, and do not refer to any actual person. Ryle, apparently takes another view; see his notes on Ezra 7 1-5, and Neh. 11 11.

4. Ancestor of Judith; Judith 8 1† RV, AV following ⊕A αχιθω ACHITHO, *Achitob*; so also It., Syr.; om. B. G. H. B.

AHLAB (אחלב, *i.e.*, 'fat,' 'fruitful'; ΔΑΛΑΦ [BAL], *i.e.*, ΑΑΛΑΦ [Clermont Ganneau points out the place-name Mahalab, N. of Tyre (*Rev. Crit.* 1897, p. 503)]), a Canaanite town claimed by Asher (Judg. 1 31), and referred to probably in Josh. 19 29, at the end of which verse there appears to have been originally a list of names including (by a correction of the text) Ahlab and Achzib.[1] See HELBAH.

[1] Αχειρα in 3 K. 2 46 *h* [B] answers to Adoniram (cp 1 K. 16) of MT.

[2] On names of foreign deities in Israelite names, see under ELIADA, and NAMES, §§ 1 ...

[1] Josh. 19 29 ends thus, וגבולה מחבל אכזיבה, which AV renders 'at the sea from the coast to Achzib,' and RV 'at the sea by the

Many (*e.g.*, Neubauer, Grove, Fürst) identify either Ahlab or Helbah with the Gush Hālāb (גוש חלב, 'fat clods') of the Talmuds—the Gischala of Josephus. But this place (*el Jish*), which is mentioned with Meron (*Meiróm*), and Biri (*Kefr Bir'im*), must have lain on Naphtalite ground. The statement in Talm. *Menachoth* 85 *b*, that Gush Halab belonged to Asher is a mere guess, suggested by the blessing of Asher in Dt. 33 24. For a sounder view see HELBAH.

AHLAI (אַחְלַי, acc. to Olsh. [*Heb. Gr.* 610] = *utinam*. Del., *Prol.* 210, compares Bab. interj.-name *Aḫulaipia*, 'O that I at last.' More probably the name is a corruption of אחיאל, or the like).

1. Son, or (on inference from *v.* 34 which comes from a later hand) daughter of Sheshan b. Isha, a Jerahmeelite; 1 Ch. 2 31 (αχαι [B], ασδαι [A], ουλαει [L]). See JERAHMEEL, 1.

2. Father (or mother?) of ZABAD (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 11 41† (αχαια [B], αχεα [N] ολι [A], σαμααλι [L], *i.e.*, a combination of part of Σαμμα or Σαμαια with ααλι). T. K. C.

AHOAH (אָרוֹחַ), 1 Ch. 8 4†. See AHIJAH, 2, BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. *β*.

AHOHITE, THE (הָאֲחֹחִי, *i.e.*, a man of the family of Ahoah or AHIJAH? *q.v.*, 2). The designation (1) of Zalmon (2 S. 23 28†, αωειτης [B], ελω. [A], ακαχι [L]; [illegible]) = ILAI [see ZALMON, 2] (1 Ch. 11 29: αναχωνει [N*], αχ. [BN¹], final χ being confounded with ν; αχωρ [A² sup. ras. seq. ras.], ακαθι [L; [illegible]).

Also (2) of Dodai, or of Eleazar b. Dodai (as in 1 Ch. 27 and in 2 S. and 1 Ch. 11 respectively; see DODAI, ELEAZAR, 3), one of David's heroes (see ELEAZAR, 3) in the list 1 Ch. 27 4 (εκχωχ [B], αωθι [A], αχωχι [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 12 (αρχωνει [B], αχ. [N], αχωχι [A], υἱὸς Δωδαι πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ [L]) = 2 S. 23 9 (that is, if with AV we treat בן־אחי as = האחי of the parallel passages, and do not [with Marq. *Fund.* 16 *f.*] correct the whole expression everywhere into בת הלחמי 'the Bethlehemite' [cp *v.* 24], the corruption in the Heb. text of Sam. being accounted for by the half-effacement of the letters, which the scribe read in the false light of *v.* 28). 𝔊 evidently omits, since the forms σοισει [B], δοιδει [B^vid. L], σωσει [A] must be corruptions for דודי, Dod(a)i.

AHOLAH, RV correctly **Oholah** (אָהֳלָה; ΟΟΛΑ [B indecl. and decl., and, except *v.* 44, Q; but B, not B² -ΛΛ, *v.* 4], ΟΛΛΑ [A and in *v.* 44 Q]), a symbolical name equivalent to Oholibah (see AHOLIBAH), given by Ezekiel to Samaria (23 4 *f.* 6 44†).

AHOLIAB, RV correctly **Oholiab** (אָהֳלִיאָב; ΕΛΙΑΒ [BAFL]), the associate of BEZALEEL (*q.v.*) in the work of the tabernacle in P (Ex. 31 6 35 34 36 1 2 38 23 [𝔊 37 21†]). See DAN, § 8 n., and cp HIRAM, 2.

AHOLIBAH, RV correctly **Oholibah** (אָהֳלִיבָה, *i.e.*, 'she in whom are tents'—alluding to the worship at the high places; cp Ezek. 16 18; ΟΟΛΙΒΑ [BQΓ], ΟΛ. [A, *v.* 22 Q, *v.* 36 B]), a symbolical name, equivalent to Oholah (see AHOLAH), given by Ezekiel to Jerusalem (23 4 11 22 36 44†).

AHOLIBAMAH, RV correctly **Oholibamah** (אָהֳלִיבָמָה, § 61, *i.e.*, 'tent of the high place, cp Phœn. אהלמלך *CIS* 1, no. 50, and see HIRAM, 2.

1. Wife of Esau (ολιβεμα [ADE]; ελιβαμα [L]; αλιβαωην [Jos.; cod. Laur. ολ.]); Gen. 36 2 (ολιβαιμα [E]), 5 14 (ελιβεμα [A], 18 (ελιβεμα [A once], ολιβεμμα and ελιβαμα [D]), 25† (ολιβα [E], ελιβεμαθ [L, before θυγατηρ]). See BASHEMATH, 1; ANAH, 3 (end).

2. An Edomite chief (ε[ε]λιβαμας [D^vid. L], ελιβεμας [A^c]), Gen. 36 41, and (ελ[ε]αβαμας [BA], ελιβαμα [L]), 1 Ch. 1 52†. See EDOM, § 4.

AHUMAI (אֲחוּמַי, § 65; ΑΧΕΙΜΕΙ [BA*], ΑΧΙΜΑΙ [A² sup. ras. et in mg.], ΑΧΙΜΑΝ [L], [illegible]; *Ahumai* [cod. am. *Akimai*]), the eponym of a clan of Judah (1 Ch. 4 2†). Should we read Ahiman (L)?

AHUZAM, RV correctly **Ahuzzam** (אֲחֻזָּם, perh. = 'possession'; for pr. names in *am* see NAMES § 77), one of the sons of Ashhur 'father of Tekoa'; 1 Ch. 4 6† (ωχαιδ [B], ωχαζαμ [A], ΟΖΑ [L]).

AHUZZATH (אֲחֻזַּת, 'possession'; ΟΧΟΖΑΘ [AEL], -ΖΑΧ [D]; *OHOZATH*), the 'friend' (𝔊, wrongly, νυμφαγωγος) of Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gen. 26 26†). 'Friend' = minister; cp 1 Ch. 27 33, and see HUSHAI.

The name with the title ὁ νυμφαγωγος αὐτοῦ is introduced also in 𝔊 ADL in the similar narrative of Gen. 21 22-34. For the termination *-ath* there are parallels in Basemath (fem.), Gen. 26 34; Mahalath (fem.), Gen. 28 9; Goliath (the Philistine), 1 S. 17 4; Gittaim, 1 K. 11 20; cp names in *-ath* in Aram. inscriptions (Cook, *Gloss. Aram. Inscr.* under ת). Cp Dr. *HTSb* 236, n. 2.

AHZAI (אַחְזַי), Neh. 11 13† RV, AV AHASAI (*q.v.*).

AI (1) (הָעַי, always thus with def. article, *i.e.*, 'the stone heap'; ΓΑΙ [BAL, etc.]; written **Hai** in Gen. 12 8 13 3† AV; ΑΓΓΑΙ [BAL]). The name appears also in various other forms.

AIJA, or rather Ayya (עַיָּא; om. BN*A, αιω [N^c, mg. inf.], γαι [L], Neh. 11 31†); AYYAH, RV mg. (עַיָּה [Ba Gi], not עַוָּה as in most edd., AV GAZA [*q.v.*, 2], RV AZZAH; γαιαν [B], γαζης (genit.) [A], αδια [L]; *aza*; [illegible], 1 Ch. 7 28); AIATH, or rather Ayyath (עַיָּת: αγγαι [B^vid.AQ], Is. 10 28†).

As to the site of Ai, we learn from Josh. 7 2 (in clause *ὁ γην* [AFL]; in *v.* 3 γαι sup. ras. [B²]) that it was situated 'beside Beth-aven, on the east of Bethel,' and, from the account of Joshua's stratagem, that it lay on the S. side of a steep valley (Josh. 8 11), while from the description in Gen. 12 8, it appears that there was a 'mountain' or flat ridge with a wide view between Ai and Bethel. That there was a close connection between the two places appears also from the expression 'the men of Bethel and Ai' (Ezra 2 28; αια [BA]). With the position thus suggested, Isaiah's graphic picture of an Assyrian invasion from the north (Is. 10 28 *ff.*; αγγαι [BN^c.a.c.b AQ]; αγγε [N*] = GEBA in *v.* 28) entirely agrees. Where, then, shall we place Ai on the map? Scarcely at et-Tell (Sir C. W. Wilson, *PEFQ*, 1869, 12 3-6, and Smith's *DB*²)—there are no signs that et-Tell was ever the site of a city—but at some other spot in the neighbourhood of *Der Dīwān* (a village twenty minutes SE. of et-Tell). Robinson, with some hesitation, fixed on a low hill, just S. of this place, where there are still foundations of large hewn stones, one on the W., another [illegible] mostly dug out of the rock. The spot (called *Khirbet Haiyan*) is 'an hour distant from Beth-el, having near by, on the N., the deep Wady el-Mayah, and towards the SW. other smaller wādys, in which the ambuscade of the Israelites might easily have been concealed' (*BRA* 2 [illegible]). To Tristram in 1863, the conjecture 'carried with it the weight of evidence,' particularly because it would be difficult to assign a site to Abraham's camp between Beth-el and Tell el Hesi, and because Robinson's site afforded ample space for the military evolutions described in Josh. 8, over which, however, some uncertainty [illegible] by the variations of 𝔊 in *vv.* 11-12. But [illegible] and the PEF Survey corroborate this view, [illegible] not [illegible] probable.

As to the history of Ai, it was a royal Canaanitish city, and was the second city conquered by [illegible], who destroyed it and doomed it to be 'a mound for [illegible]' (Josh. 8 28). In Isaiah's time, however, it had been rebuilt (Is. 10 28) and after the Exile it was re-[illegible] *HTSV* 2, 279, n. 10.

occupied by Benjamites; Ezra 2 28 (αια [BA]) = Neh. 7 32 (αλεια [BN], αι [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 21 (𝔊BA and EV om.; γαι [L]). In the time of Eusebius (*OS* 181, 76, Αγγαι) it was once more deserted; but its situation was still pointed out. Its name was prophetic of its history. Or had it some other name before its destruction by Joshua?

2. (עַי; without article; Γαι [Q]; Symm. ἡ ἰσχύς) an Ammonite city, if the text in Jer. 49 3† is correct (𝔊LNA omits; Kohlstein in Kau. *HS* and Co. in *SBOT*, after Graf, read 'Ar עָרִי). T. K. C.

AIAH, more strictly Ayyah (אַיָּה, 'falcon'). 1. An Edomite tribal name individualised, Gen. 36 24 (AV AJAH; αιε [AD], ν. [E; N precedes], αιαι [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 40 (αιθ [B], αια [AL]). The tribe seems to have broken off from that of Zibeon, and to have been less important than that of ANAH (*q.v.*). To identify this insignificant Aiah with the 'goodly land' in which Se-nuhyt the Egyptian exile found a home, according to the old story (so Maspero, *RP*(2) 2 17 23; *PSBA* 18 106 ['96'] is unsafe. On the Iaa (Maspero, Aia) of the story of Se-nuhyt, see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 47.

2. Father of Saul's concubine Rizpah (2 S. 3 7, ιαλ vel forte ιαα [B*], ιοδ vel forte ιολ [B²], Ιολ [A], Σιβα [L], Σιβατος [Jos.]; 21 8 *ff.*, Αια [BA], Ασαια [L']). To draw a critical inference (with Mez, *Der Bibel des Jos.* 35 *f.*), from L's Σιβα in 3 7 seems unwise. We must not assume that Ziba is the original reading rather than Aiah. ι and ζ could very easily be confounded, and from Σια to Σιβα was but a step. The name of one of Rizpah's sons was Mephibosheth (Meribaal), and the son of Jonathan, whose steward was Ziba, was also called Mephibosheth (Meribaal). The question as to the source or sources of the passages in which RIZPAH (*q.v.*) is referred to, remains therefore where it was.

AIATH (עַיָּת). Is. 10 28†. See AI, 1

AIJA (עַיָּא). Neh. 11 31. See AI, 1.

AIJALON, or (Josh. 10 12 19 42; 2 Ch. 28 18†, all AV) less correctly AJALON (אַיָּלוֹן from אַיָּל 'hart'; αιλων [BAL]).

1. A town in the Shephēlah, assigned to Dan in Josh. 19 42 (αμμων [B], ιαλων [A'], ελ. [L]; but with ιαλων v. 43 for Elon [L]) and named as a Danite Levitical city in 21 24 [B] (ιαλων [A'] = 1 Ch. 6 69 [54] (corrected text, see Ball *ad loc.* in Ellicott's Bible; εγλαμ [B], ηλων [A']). It is the modern *Yālō*, situated on a ridge on the south side of the broad level valley of Aijalon, well known from Joshua's poetical speech (Josh. 10 12; αιλωμ [L']), and now called *Merj* (the meadow of) *Ibn 'Umar*. It is about 5 m. from Lower Beth-horon, and 14 from Jerusalem. In the time of the Judges it was still in the hands of the Amorites (Judg. 1 35; apparently misread αἱ ἄρκοι [BAL], and translated a second time μυρσινών [B], which, however, stands for HERES in L), but was afterwards occupied by Benjamites, 1 Ch. 8 13 (αιλαμ [B], αδαμ [A], αλων [L']); cp. 2 Ch. 11 10. The Chronicler states that Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch. 11 10, αλδων [B], αιαλων [AL']), and that Ahaz lost it to the Philistines (2 Ch. 28 18, αιλω [B']), on whose territory it bordered. In 1 S. 14 31, the occurrence of the word is doubtful. For 'to Aijalon' Klost. and Budde (*SBOT*) read 'until night.' 𝔊LAL omits altogether. Some fresh references to Aijalon are derived from Egyptian sources. For instance, Sûshak (Sheshonk I.) mentions Aiyurun—*i.e.*, Aijalon—among the conquered cities of Judah in his Karnak list, and there is an earlier mention still in the Amarna tablets, where Aiâluna appears as one of the first cities wrested from the Egyptian governors. A vivid sketch of the battle-scenes of the valley of Aijalon will be found in GASm. *HG* 210 13.

2. [illegible] 12 [illegible], Αιλων [B], Αιγιλω [M] [illegible] a locality in Zebulun, [illegible] ELON (*q.v.*, 2 [illegible]).

Its name ought probably to be pointed אֵילוֹן (Ēlōn), and etymologically connected with אֵיל or אֵלָה, 'oak' or 'terebinth' (see TEREBINTH, § 1), indicating a sacred spot. Cp ALLON, 2. T. K. C.

AIJELETH-SHAHAR, UPON, RV '**set to Aijeleth hash-Shahar** (אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר, [ὑπὲρ] τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς [BNA]; Aq. [ὑπὲρ] τῆς ἐλάφου τῆς ὀρθρινῆς), Ps. 22, title. If we consider the tendency of the phrase, 'Upon ALAMOTH (*q.v.*),' to get corrupted, it seems highly probable that 'Aijeleth' should rather be read 'Alamoth' (ע and ע confounded), while Shahar should perhaps rather be שִׁיר חָדָשׁ, 'a new song.' (The article prefixed to Shahar may be in the interests of an exegetical theory.) The latter corruption has very probably taken place in Ps. 57 9 (see Che. *Ps.*(2)). A 'new song' would be a song upon a new model.

AIN (עַיִן). 1. If MT may be followed, this is the name of a city in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15 32) assigned to Simeon (19 7; cp 1 Ch. 4 32). According to Josh. 21 16 it was one of the priests' cities; but the parallel list in 1 Ch. 6 59 [44] probably correctly substitutes ASHAN (*q.v.*) which is mentioned in Josh. 19 7 [MT 𝔊BAL] alongside of Ain as a distinct place. The name being thus removed from this list, Ain always appears in close conjunction with Rimmon, and Mühlau (*HWB*(2) *s.v.* 'Ain') suggests that the two places may have lain so close together that in course of time they joined. Hence he would account for the EN-RIMMON (עֵין רִמּוֹן; om. BNA; κ. εν ρεμμιον N[c.a mg. inf.]; κ. εν ρεμμων L) of Neh. 11 29. But if we consider the phenomena of 𝔊 (see below), and the erroneous summation (if MT be adhered to) in Josh. 15 32, it becomes evident that Bennett's thorough revision of the readings in his Joshua (*SBOT*) is critically justified (cp ASHAN), and that the real name is EN-RIMMON[1] (*q.v.*)

How, indeed, could a place dedicated to the god Rimmōn (Rammān) have been without a sacred fountain?

Josh. 15 32, και ερωμωθ [B], και ρεμμων [A], και αιν και ρεμμων [L]; Josh. 19 7, αιν κ. ρεμμωθ [A], αιν κ. ρ[illegible] [L]; [illegible] [B]; Josh. 21 16, ασα [B] which tally [illegible] (*q.v.*) [illegible] [A], ναειν [L], which harmonise with MT. In 1 Ch. 4 32 (κ. ρεμμων [B], κ. ην [sic] Pe sup. ras. [A*]) followed by -μμων [A'] κ. ευρεμμων [L]) we should also, with Kn., read Enrimmon.

2. (עַיִן [הַ־], the article being included; εἰς πηγας BAL]; Vg. (*contra*) *fontem Daphnae*; Tg. Onk. as MT; for the rest see below.) A place mentioned in Nu. 34 11 to define the situation of one of the points on the ideal eastern frontier of Canaan: 'to Hubel on the east side of Ain' is the phrase. Though both AV and RV sanction this use of עַיִן, it is more natural to render '*the* fountain,' and to find here a reference to some noted spring. Jerome thought of the spring which rose at the famous grove of Daphne, near Antioch; in this he followed the Targums of Ps. Jon. and Jerus. which render '(the) Riblah' (דְּרִבְלָה) by 'Daphne,' and 'the fountain' (הַעֲיָן) by 'Aiuthā. Robinson[2] and Conder prefer the fountain which is the source of the Orontes. Both these views rest on the assumption that Riblah on the Orontes has just been referred to, which is a pure mistake (see RIBLAH). The fountain must at any rate be not too far N. of the Lake of Gennesaret which is mentioned at the end of the verse. Most probably it is the source of the Nahr Hāsbāny, one of the streams which unite to form the Jordan (see RIBLAH). From this fountain to the 'east shoulder' of the Lake of Gennesaret a straight line of water runs forming the clearest of boundaries. If, however, we place Ibla and at Banias, we shall then, of course, identify 'the fountain'

1 Except of course in Josh. 21 16 (see above). In Zech. 14 10 the first half of the name is omitted (see [illegible]).

2 See [illegible] (connecting it with the spring at Dafne [illegible] Kôsij) seems erroneous.

with that w[illegible]ch springs from the famous and romantic cavern at the southern base of the Hermon mountains. It should be added that it is not impossible to alter the pointing and read עִיָּין, '(eastward) of Ijon,' Ijon being mentioned elsewhere as on the N. frontier of the land of Israel. But then why did the writer introduce it merely incidentally? T. K. C.

AIRUS (ΙΑΙΡΟϹ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 31 AV = Ezra 2 47 REAIAH, 3.

AJAH (אַיָּה), Gen. 36 24† AV = RV AIAH (*q.v.*, 1).

AJALON (אַיָּלוֹן), Josh. 10 12 AV = RV AIALON, 1.

AKAN (עָקָן), Gen. 36 27† = 1 Ch. 1 42 AV JAKAN.

AKATAN (ΑΚΑΤΑΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 38† RV = Ezra 8 12 HAKKATAN.

AKELDAMA (ΑΚΕΛΔΑΜΑϹ [B]), Acts 1 19† RV, AV ACELDAMA.

AKKOS (ΑΚΒΩϹ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 38† RV = Ezra 2 61 HAKKOZ, 1.

AKKUB (עַקּוּב), 'posthumous,' but the name seems corrupt; ΑΚΟΥΒ [BA], ΑΚΚ[illegible] [L]). 1. b. Elioenai, six generations removed from Zerubbabel[1]: 1 Ch. 3 24 (ακουν [B], ακκουβ [A], ακουν [L]).

2. (1) b. Bani Akkub, a group of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Ezra 2 42 (ακουμ [BA], ακκ. [L]) Neh. 7 45 (ακουν [B], [illegible] [NA], -υβ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 28 (DACOBI; RV DACUBI; δακουβι [A], λακουβατου [B]). Akkub is a porter in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [b]), § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 17 (ακουμ [B]) : Neh. 11 19 (ακουβ [L]), cp Ezra 10 24, 1 Esd. 9 25 (where, however, the name is omitted between Shallum and Telem). He is mentioned also in Neh. 12 25 (ακουβ [N^c.a mg. sup.]; om. BN^*A).

(2) An expounder of the Law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 [f]); cp i. § 5, ii. §§ 10 [b], 15 [1] *c*). Neh. 8 7 (ακουβ [L], om. BAN) = 1 Esd. 9 43 (FV, JAC[illegible] ιακουβος [A], ιαρσουβοος [B]).

4. The b. Akkub, a family of NETHINIM (*q.v.*) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 45 (ακαβωθ [B]) Neh. 7 47 (ακουδ [A], ουα [N], om. B with MT, EV) = 1 Esd. 5 30 (ακουδ [BA]; AV [illegible]A; RV AKUD).

AKRABATTINE, RV; AV incorrectly ARABATTINE 1 Macc. 5 3†, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 1; ΑΚΡΑΒΑΤΤΗΝΗ [NA]; ΑΤΤΑΝΗ [N^c.a V]; ACRABATTENE [Cod. Am.]; עקרבתה (cp Judith 7 18, below), a district where Judas the Maccabee fought against the Edomites, situated 'in Idumæa' [NV Jos.] or 'in Judæa' [A]. The district intended is no doubt that to the SE. of Judæa, in Idumæa (see AKRABBIM). There is no sufficient ground for the opinion of Ewald that the Edomites had settled as far N. as another Akrabatta, a toparchy or district in Central Palestine, to the N. of Judæa (*Akrabattá*, ακραβετα, etc. Jos. *BJ* iii. 3 5 [Pl. *HN* v. 14 iv. 9 3 9]; ακραββειν [Eus. *OS*[2] 21461]), apparently represented by the modern '*Akrabeh*, 8 m. SE. of Nāblūs. (The reading ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ in 1 Macc. must therefore be rejected.) See Schür. *Hist.* 1 220 n. 2, 3 158.

Doubtless, however, we should identify with 'Akrabeh the EKREBEL (εγρεβηλ [BN], εκρεβηλ [A]; עקרבת), near Chusi, on the brook Mochmur (Judith 7 18†), the names being almost the same in the Syr. (= Talm. עַקְרַבְּתָא). T. K. C.

AKRABBIM, Ascent of, so always in RV; also Nu. 34 4 in AV, which has in Judg. 1 36 'going up to Akrabbim,' in Josh. 15 3† mg. '[illegible] to ACRABBIM,' text MAALEH-ACRABBIM (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים, *i.e.*, 'ascent of Scorpions,' [ΠΡΟϹ ΑΝΑΒΑϹΙϹ[2] ΑΚΡΑΒΕΙΝ [BAL]; *ascensus scorpionum*), mentioned in Josh. 15 3 (ΑΚΡΑΒΒΕΙΜ [sup. ras. A^vid.], ΕΚΡΑΒΕΙΝ [L]) as one of the localities marking the southern frontier of Judah.

It must have been one of the passes leading up from the [illegible] continuation of the Ghōr into the wa[illegible] mountain country to the west. Knobel identifies it

[illegible]

[illegible] ἀπὸ βάτους in Judg. 1 36 [AL; Lag. point-[illegible]

with the pass of es-Safā, leading up towards Hebron out of the W. el-Fikreh on the road from Petra. Robinson (*BR*[2] 2 150 f.) describes this pass as being 'as steep as a man can readily climb.' 'The rock is in general porous and rough, but yet in many spots smooth and dangerous for animals. In such places a path has been hewn in the rock in former days; the slant of the rock being sometimes levelled, and sometimes overcome by steps cut in it. The vestiges of this road are more frequent near the top. The appearance is that of a very ancient pass' (*BR*[2] 2 291). Robinson, however, identifies this Nakb es-Safā with Zephath or Hormah, and not with Akrabbim (see also HALAK, MOUNT). Scorpions are of frequent occurrence throughout this neighbourhood.]

AKUD (ΑΚΟΥΔ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 30 RV = Ezra 2 45 AKKUB, 4.

ALABASTER (ΑΛΑΒΑϹΤΡΟΝ [accus. Tischendorf WH] Mk. 14 3, also with art., ΤΗΝ Α. [W & H after BN], ΤΟΝ Α. [Tischendorf after N^*A], ΤΟ Α. [TR after G, etc.; also F in Lk. 7 37]; cp Ο ΑΛΑ. [B], ΤΟ ΑΛΑ [A] 2 K 21 13 [for צלחת 'dish,' 'cup']) was found in large quantities in Mesopotamia, and from it are made the huge balls which are to be seen in the British Museum and in the Louvre. The alabaster of the ancients was a stalagmitic *carbonate* of lime hence called by mineralogists 'Oriental alabaster' to distinguish it from the modern alabaster, which is the *sulphate* of lime. See *EB*[9], *s.v.* ALABASTER. In Greek the word ἀλάβαστος or ἀλάβαστρος is frequently used of vases or vessels made to hold unguents, as these were generally fashioned out of this material, which was thought by many (cp *e.g.*, Pl. *HN* xiii. 3) to preserve the aroma of the ointment: Theocritus (*Id.* 15 114) is able to speak of 'golden alabasters.' Many alabaster vases have been found in Egypt, and the specialised sense given to צלחת in the Egyptian Greek version of Kings (see above) is natural enough. The town of Alabastron, near the famous quarries of Ḥat-nub[1] (cp Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 470, n. 3), was well known for the manufacture of such articles (in fact it seems to have derived its name from the material).[2] Many of these go back to nearly 4000 B.C. and often show fine workmanship. Similar articles have been found in Assyria dating from the time of Sargon (8th cent. B.C.).

Such a vessel was the 'alabaster cruse' which was emptied upon Jesus's head by the woman at the house of Simon the Leper at Bethany (Mt. 26 7 = Mk. 14 3 Lk. 7 37†). The expression 'brake' in Mark does not refer, it would seem, to the breaking of a seal or of the neck of the vessel; the object was to prevent profanation of the vessel by subsequent use for any commoner purpose (cp *Comm.*, *ad loc.*).

ALAMETH (עָלֶמֶת), 1 Ch. 7 8 AV, RV ALEMETH.

ALAMMELECH, RV ALLAMMELECH (אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ [Ba.], אֶל [Gi.], אלמיך [v.d. Hooght]; ελειμελεκ [B], ελμελεχ [L; om. A]), a place in Asher on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19 26†), the name of which is possibly echoed in that of the *Wādy el-melek*, which drains the plain of the Buṭṭauf (Asochis), and joins the Nahr el-Muḳaṭṭa' (Kishon). So Di., Buhl. The pointing of the Heb. is peculiar: אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ is usually explained as if אֵלַת מֶלֶךְ, 'sacred tree of Melech'; but ת can hardly have been assimilated to מ, nor is this the best reading. Possibly the real name was אַל מֶלֶךְ (אי), El Melech; cp El Paran. The authors of the points may have wished to avoid confusion with the personal name Elimelech. Or the name might be a corruption of ēlammāḳ (see ALMUG TREES), if Solomon was able to naturalise this tree. T. K. C.

[1] Near Tell el-'Amārna (see *PSBA* 16 74 ['94]).

[2] The reverse supposition is sometimes held, viz. that the material is derived from the place-name. The ultimate origin of the word is unknown.

ALAMOTH, UPON (עַל־עֲלָמוֹת), a technical musical phrase of uncertain meaning; cp MUSIC, § 6.

(*a*) Ps. 46 title [1] (*ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων* [BNRT] = עַל־עֲלֻמּוֹת; om. A; Aq. *ἐπὶ νεανιοτήτων* = עַל־עֲלֻמִּיּוֹת; Symm. *ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰωνίων*); (*b*) 1 Ch. 15 20 (*ἐπὶ αλαιμωθ* [B], . . *αλεμ.* [N], . . *αλημ.* [A], *περὶ τῶν κρυφίων* [L]. two anonymous Gk. versions have *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν* [מַעֲלוֹת] and *ἐπὶ τῶν αἰωνιων* [עֹלָמִים]). In two other passages, (*c*) Ps. 9 title [1] (*ὑπὲρ τ. κρ.* [BNAR]; Aq. *νεανιότητος*, Symm. *περὶ τοῦ θανάτου* עַל־מוּת. Th., Quint. *ὑπὲρ ἀκμῆς*, Sext. *νεανικοτης*); (*d*) in Ps. 48 14 [15] (*εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* [NART], *i.e.*, apparently עֹלָם [B] . . om. Aq. *ἀθανασια*, Symm. *εἰς το διηνεκες*) it appears in the corrupt form עַל־מוּת, which Tg. takes to be עַלְמָה 'youth' (?).

Thus we find it three times forming part of a heading of a psalm (for עַל־מוּת in *d* should be restored as עַל־עֲלֻמּוֹת from its present position to the heading of Ps. 49, on the analogy of Ps. 46). Of the two half-translations of AV [illegible] 'Alamoth,' 'set to Alamoth' [illegible] the former presupposes that the phrase denotes the particular instrument of accompaniment; the latter, that Alamoth [illegible] the name of a tune. Most moderns explain [illegible] 'maidens' having the constant meaning 'maidens.' Whether soprano voices would be suitable for Ps. 46, the musical reader may judge. Grätz and Wellhausen suppose a reference to some *Elamite* [illegible] There is, however, a more probable [illegible] PSALMS, and cp MUTH-LABBEN, MAHALATH, NIHILOTH, and SHIGGAIONOTH-SHAHAR.

ALCIMUS (ΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ [N]), occasional forms -ΙΜ, ΕΙΜ, ΙΜ, ΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ, ΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ [N]; in several cursive MSS of 1 [illegible] 2 Macc. and in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9 7 with add. ΚΑΙ or Ο Κ. Ι[Ω]ΑΚΕΙΜΟΣ; in *Ant.* xx. 10 3, and one cursive at 1 Macc. 7 9 simply Ι[Ω]ΑΚ[Ε]ΙΜΟΣ; *i.e.*, יָקִים = Eliakim or Jehoiakim, for which he adopted the like-sounding Greek name by which he is known; cp NAMES, § 86), 'priest' of the race of Aaron'[1] (*Ant.* xx. 10 3, admitted by the inimical[2] writer of 1 Macc.; 'of the seed of Aaron,'[3] 7 14), *i.e.*, a Zadokite, though not of the family of Onias (?not of this house,[4] *Ant.* xx 10 3).

[illegible] (*ἑτερον οἶκον*) with [illegible] the stock of the high priests [at all]' (*οὐκ ὄντι τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων γενεᾶς*); but the source here followed by Jos. is on other grounds apparently inferior, and we may conclude that Alcimus was really merely eligible to the high priest's office than [illegible] who were ordinary priests.

When, therefore, the victorious king of Syria, DEMETRIUS I. (*q.v.*, 1) determined (1 Macc. 7 9) to support his claim to the high priest's office (*v.* 5) with force, Alcimus was accepted not only by the Hellenising party but also (*v.* 13) largely by the legitimist party, the Assideans (*q.v.*).

The treaty (1 Macc. 6 59) of Lysias (and the youthful Antiochus V. Eupator) in 163 B.C., which satisfied the aims of the Assideans and made it unnecessary for them further to identify themselves with the 'friends of Judas' (1 Macc. 9 26; cp 28), had been immediately followed, if we may trust *Ant.* xii. 9 7, by the execution of the now 'impossible' high priest MENELAUS (*q.v.*) (1 Macc., our most important source, not having mentioned Menelaus at all, says a thing of what took place between his tenure of office and the effective appointment [*ἵστησαν αὐτῷ τ. ἱερωσυνην*, 7 9; cp 2 Macc. 14 13 *καταστησαι*] of Alcimus by Demetrius). According to the same passage in Jos., which states also that a young Onias, son of Onias III., made his way to Egypt on the death of his father (on which, however, see ONIAS; ISRAEL, § 59), Alcimus became (*ἐγενετο*) high priest on (*μετὰ τὴν*) the death of Menelaus, the office being indeed bestowed (*δεδωκεν*) on him by the king (Antiochus V. according to the present context). According to 2 Macc. 14 1, too, Alcimus had been at some time high priest before his appointment by Demetrius. We know really nothing certain about the events of this short interval. We first reach firm ground with the intervention of Demetrius.

Demetrius did not mean to resume the hopeless policy of his uncle Epiphanes (or the Assideans would have held aloof); but he wanted Alcimus and his friends to help him in crippling the Hasmonean party of political independence.

There would be a special reason for Alcimus being active against the Hasmoneans if he was shrewd enough to foresee (what we now know) that their ultimate goal must be the high priesthood. (On the other hand the 'calumny' (*v.* 27) put into his mouth by the author of 2 Macc. [14 *ff.*] that Judas had already been made high priest seems historically impossible; it belongs to the distorted story of 2 Macc., see next note.)

Bacchides (*q.v.*) was the agent selected for the task.[1] At first the presence of Alcimus was a great help; his legitimacy was a source of strength.

This would have special weight if his predecessor Menelaus is really to be regarded, with 2 Macc. (3 4 + 4 29) as a 'Benjamite,' and with Wellhausen (*HC* 20, n. 1, 2nd ed. 2 5, n. 1) as one of the Tobiade (see, however, Lucius, *Der Essenismus* 77, and cp ISRAEL, § 60). If we could trust the Talmud there would be a special point in his favour in his connection with Jose b. Jo'ezer, leader of the Sanhedrin (his uncle, *Ber. Ka'ma*, ch. 65; his father, *Bab. Bathra*, 13 *a*).

The mass of the people seem to have followed the Assideans in accepting Alcimus (1 Macc. 7 13 'first'; cp We. *Phar. u. Sad.* 84, n. 2); but the severity of the measures taken by the representatives of Demetrius,[2] sixty men (perhaps those that had been till now much implicated with the Hasmonean party)[3] being slain in one day (1 Macc. 7 16), in face of solemn pledges of peaceable intentions, entirely changed the situation. Fear and dread fell on all the people (1 Macc. 7 18). After some further severities Bacchides consider his task accomplished and returned to Antioch. These late severities, however, had turned the heart of the people again to Judas, who was trying to strengthen his position (1 Macc. 7 24), and Alcimus judged it prudent to withdraw (*v.* 25). He had of course no difficulty in bringing further incriminating charges against Judas (*ibid.* [illegible] *Ant.* xii. 10 1). This time NICANOR (*q.v.*) was entrusted with the task of restoring Alcimus. During the various exciting incidents of the next interval,—the diplomacy, battles, and death of Nicanor,—we hear nothing of Alcimus[4] (1 Macc. 7 [illegible]).

Of course in the rejoicings over N[illegible] of the Maccabean party h[illegible] had no part; perhaps he was absent. (It is at this point, indeed, that *Ant.* xii. 10 1 makes Alcimus die;[5] but this belongs to the story there of Jonathan's succeeding to the high-priesthood, on which see Macc. [illegible] § 4 and cp below.)

When Bacchides came a second time (1 Macc. 9 1) to carry through what Nicanor had been unable to accomplish, Judas failed to find adequate support and fell (160 B.C.), and the Macc[illegible] without a leader. Alcimus was once m[illegible] generally accepted by all except the Maccab[illegible] chose Jonathan as successor to J[illegible]

How far the Hellenistic tendencies of Alcimus carried him we do not know. At his death (159 B.C.)[6] he seems to have been engaged on some changes in the temple enclosure, the nature and even the object of which we do not know [illegible]

According to Josephus he had 'formed the intention of pulling down the wall of the temple' (*βουλεύσαντα καθελεῖν το τεῖχος του ἁγιου*, *Ant.* xii. 10 2 beg.). 1 Macc. states (9 54) that it was the wall of the inner court of the temple (*τὸ τ. τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἁγίων τῆς ἐσωτερας*) that he commanded (*ἐπεταξεν*) to pull down, adds that he pulled down the works (*τὰ ἔργα*) of the prophets, and then appends the peculiar statement that he began the [illegible]

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1 *γένους μὲν τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος.* 2 See 1 Macc. 7 9.
3 *ἐκ τοῦ σπερματος Ἀαρων.* 4 *της νίκας ταύτης.*
5 Although we cannot of course trust 2 Macc. 14 7, 'mine ancestral glory (*τὴν προγονικὴν δόξαν*). According to 2 Macc. Alcimus's fault was his *voluntary* Hellenising (*ἑκουσίως*, 14 3; contrast 'by compulsion,' *κατα ἀνάγκην*, 15 2). Cp Kosters, *Th. T* 12 538 ['78].

1 So 1 Macc. 7 8; on the distorted account in 2 Macc., which 14 12 has to do duty for both 1 Macc. 7 8 and 7 26, see Kosters, *Th. T* 12 533 535, and on the displacement of Bacchides to 2 Macc., 8 30, *ib.* 5 24 *ff.* (cp the placed Bacchides in Jos. *BJ* 1 1).
2 How far these transactions are to be attributed directly to Alcimus (so apparently 1 Macc. 7 14 *ff.* 24), and how far they were due to Eng. leaders (so apparently *Ant.* xii. 10 2, cp 1 M[illegible] 7 19) we cannot say.
3 His uncle being, according to *Ber. Kabba* and *Baba Bathra* (*ll.c.*), of the number.
4 On the motive of the author of 2 Macc. in representing Nicanor as untrue to his master (2 Macc. 14 26–28) and thus bringing Alcimus again on the scene (*v.* 29) see Kosters, p. 535.
5 'And when he was dead the people bestowed the high-priesthood on Judas, who, hearing of the power of the Romans,' etc. (1 Macc. 8).
6 Josephus assigns him variously three years (*Ant.* xx. 10 3) or four years (*ib.* xii. 10 1) of office.

down. It seems rash to assume that this confused account is in its original form. If the last clause is not an interpolation (and there is cursive MS authority for its omission, see H & P), and even perhaps if it is, should we not perhaps read 'to pull' for 'he pulled' (καθελεῖν for καθείλεν)?

The much discussed question what the wall (τεῖχος) referred to was, we have really not the means of determining. Its identification with a low barrier in the Herodian temple beyond which Gentiles must not pass, the *soreg* (סורג) described in *Middoth* 2 3 is at the best precarious[1] (see the remarks of Schurer, *GJV* 1 176, n. 5 and the discussions there referred to).

The somewhat sudden death of Alcimus (1 Macc. 9 55 *f.*; cp however, *Ant.* xii. 106, σιγνὰς ἡμέρας) was naturally treated by his enemies as a sign of divine displeasure. The moderation (such as it is) of the writer of 1 Macc. was not at all to the taste of the later rabbis (see the stories in Hamburger, *RE* 428 *f.*, Derenbourg, *Hist. Pal.* 52, n. 2). That on the whole, however, Alcimus did not interfere much with ritual and practice is plain, or at least probable, from this last act being all that is mentioned against him, and even in this case we do not know his motive (cp Grimm *ad loc.*, and We. 216, *IJG*[3] 262). Still, if he has been rather severely judged, even for the evidence supplied by the opposite party, Wellhausen (*l.c.*) seems to go to the other extreme.

The historical importance of this, perhaps in himself somewhat insignificant character (who figures all the more strikingly on the scene that we cannot find very clear traces of any immediate predecessor or successor[2]), lies in the fact that his tenure of office formed a turning-point in the development of Jewish parties.[3] The Assideans refused to follow the Hasmoneans. Two generations later, the meaning of this became more apparent (see ASSIDEANS, PHARISEES, ESSENES).

The primary source is 1 Macc. 7-9. Cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9 7-11 2, xx. 10 [illegible] the relation of these see MACCABEES, FIRST, § [illegible] the relative value of 2 Macc. 14 see the elaborate article of K[illegible]es, 'De pedemiek van het tweede boek der Makkabeen,' [illegible] 12 401-552 [78], especially as cited above; on parties, We. *Pharr. u. Sad.* § v., 76 *ff.* Lucius *l.c.*; on later Jewish sentiment [illegible]erning Alcimus, Hamburger, *RE* 1 42 *f.*; on סורג, etc. [illegible]ter, *GJV* § [illegible] and Graetz in *MGWJ*, 1876, pp. 385-397; [illegible]tivals [illegible] Mo[illegible]ban in *Meg. Taan.*, Derenbourg, *l.c.*, Gratz, [illegible]

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ALCOVE (קִבָּה). Nu. 25 8† RV mg., AV TENT (*q.v.*).

ALEMA (ΕΝ ΑΛΑΜΟΙΣ [A], -ΛΕΜ. [N*], -Λ[Ε]ΙΜ. N[illegible] V), Syr. ܐܠܡܐ, *in Alimis*), a place mentioned along with Bosora, Carnaim, etc. (1 Macc. 5 26). Being in Gilead it cannot be, as some say, the Beer-elim [illegible]ken of in Is. 15 8 as belonging to Moab, and the B[illegible] of Nu. 21 16 (see BOSOR). It has been placed by Merrill at Alma, S. of Edrei, and by Schumacher at Kefr el-Ma, E. of Lake of Galilee; but it is probably *'Almā*, 10 m. SW. of the Lejā, and of Busr el-Hariri, which is probably Bosor. (Cp Buhl *Topog. des N. Ostjordanlandes* 13; We. *IJG* 212 [3rd ed. 257] n.) G. A. S.

ALEMETH or **ALLEMETH** (עַלְמֶת; so everywhere Ba Gi], except 1 Ch. 7 8 'in pause' עַלְמֶת. ALAMETH, ΓΕΜΕΕΘ [B], ΕΛΜΕΘΕΜ [A]; ordinary edd. have עַלְמֹת, whence RV ALLEMETH in 1 Ch. 6 60 [45 in Josh. 21 18, where the form is ALMON, עַלְמֹן, ΓΑΜΑΛΑ B, ΑΛΜΩΝ A, ΕΛΜ. [L]; usually ΓΑΛΕΜΕΘ BA ΑΛΑΜΩΘ L), a Levitical town in Benjamin (1 Ch. 6 60 [45], ΓΑΛΗΜΕΘ A), the name of which appears in 1 Ch. 8 36 (ΑΛΑΙΜΑΘ B, ΓΑΛΕΜ. A, ΑΛΕΦ L) [illegible] 9 42† (ΓΑΜΕΛΕΘ [B], ΑΛΕΦ L) [illegible] was that of a descendant, or a family of BENJAMIN (§ 9, n. 3). See [illegible] ALMON.

[1] The seventeenth of the thirty-five festivals prescribed in *Meriklath Taanith* [illegible] Gratz, been brought into connection with the [illegible] and [illegible] This [illegible] Derenbourg, *Hist. Pal.* 60 *f.* [illegible] We. (*Ges.*, iv. 442 *ff.*) [illegible] Ant. xx. 10), already quoted above, expressly says (*Ant.* xx. 10) that [illegible]

[2] Cp We. *Pharr. u. Sad.* § v.; Lucius *Der Essenismus*, 66 *ff.* [81], with Schurer's review (*ZLZ* [81], especially col. 402).

ii. (end), ELAM, ii. 1. Robinson's identification (*LBR*) with the modern *'Almit*, 1 m. NE. from *'Anāta* (Anathoth), is generally accepted.

ALEXANDER (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ [ANV], 'helper of men'). 1. Alexander III., king of Macedon (336-323 B.C.), surnamed the Great. The victories of Alexander powerfully impressed the Jewish imagination; yet the only biblical passages in which he is mentioned by name are 1 Macc. 1 1-8 6 2. The writer of Daniel (166 or 164 B.C.) recalls a 'mighty king' ruling 'with great dominion,' whose kingdom is 'broken' after his death (Dan. 11 3 *f.*). In the vision of chap. 7, it is the fourth of a series of 'beasts'; it is 'dreadful and terrible,' and 'devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped' the rest. Naturally, it was the destructive side of Alexander's work that impressed the imagination; the fall of Tyre and Gaza would bring that aspect into prominence. His Palestinian conquests are thought to be alluded to in Zech. 9 1-8 (see ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF); and in Is. 23 *f.*, the fate of Tyre may be contrasted tacitly with that of Jerusalem (see ISAIAH, ii. § 13). It is during the seven months' siege of Tyre that Jewish history comes into connection with Alexander (333-332 B.C.). The tradition is given by Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8 3 *ff.* (cp *Yoma*, 69*a*).

The Jews refused compliance with Alexander's requisitions. After the two months' siege of Gaza he advanced on Jerusalem; but Jaddua (Jaddus), the high priest (cp Neh. 12 11 22), warned by a dream how to avert his anger, met the conqueror at Scopus. Alexander worshipped the Name on the high priest's mitre, and entering Jerusalem sacrificed in the Temple, heard Daniel's prophecies relating to himself, and gave the Jews autonomy, not only in Jerusalem but also in Babylon.

As to all this other writers preserve absolute silence, and the story in Josephus seems inconsistent with the statement in Arr. iii. 1, that in seven days from Gaza Alexander was at Pelusium in Egypt. Yet Just. xi. 10 says that 'many kings wearing fillets met him'; and Curt. iv. 5 17, that he visited some who refused to submit. Jewish soldiers were certainly in his armies, even on his most distant expeditions; and in Alexandria, founded immediately after the supposed visit, the Jewish element was large. The privileges conferred on the Jews are a feature of subsequent history. It is possible that Alexander derived from the Jews much valuable information about the interior of Asia (Mahaffy, *Greek Life*, chap. 20). Whether true or false, the episode strikes a true note in Alexander's character. Nevertheless, it raises suspicion to find the story appropriated by the Samaritans. Still more, to remember the visit to Gordium before the battle of Issus, and that to the oracle of Ammon before the Persian expedition. Finally, the king's action at Babylon is a curious parallel (Arr. iii. 16). He there rebuilt the shrines destroyed by Xerxes, especially that of Belus—τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βηλῷ καθὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἔθυσεν.

The Jerusalem episode must be characterised as an attempt to secure Jerusalem a place in the cycle of Alexander-legends, on the model of the visit to the Egyptian Ammon. (Cp H. Bois, *Rev. de th. et phil.*, Lausanne, 1891; Henrichsen, *St. Kr.*, 1871.)

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2. Alexander Balas, a man of low origin, who passed himself off as the son of Alexander Epiphanes (cp 1 Macc. 10 1, 'Α. ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ὁ Ἐπιφανής ANV), see MACCABEES, FIRST BOOK OF, § 2): Ἀλέξανδος [A] in v. 58. His real name was Balas (so Strabo (p. 751), τὸν Βάλαν Ἀλέξανδρον; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4 8, on the other hand, Ἀ. ὁ Βάλας λεγόμενος), which may possibly be connected with בעל 'Lord.' The additional name 'Alexander' seems to have been given him by Attalus II. of Pergamum, who was one of the first to support him against DEMETRIUS. In rivalry with the latter Balas exerted himself to secure an alliance with JONATHAN (1 Macc. 10 1 *ff.*), and by conferring upon him the title of 'high priest of the nation and friend of the king' was successful (v. 20). After a varying career he was compelled to flee to Arabia

where he was killed at Abæ after a reign of five years, 150-145 B.C. (1 Macc. 11 13-18). For classical references see *Dict. Class. Biog.*, s.v.; Schürer, *GJV* I 178, n. 10; and for the history of the time see ISRAEL, § 76, MACCABEES, i. § 5.

4. Son of Simon of Cyrene, mentioned together with his brother, RUFUS (*q.v.*) (Mk. 15 21).

4. A member of the family of the high priest in Acts 4 6, probably to be identified with the third son of Annas, called Eleasar by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 2 2). See ANNAS.

5. Of Ephesus, a Jew, who was 'brought forth' (προεβιβασαν [Text. Rec.]) from the multitude, or 'brought down' (κατεβ. [D, etc.]) or (more probably) 'instructed' (συνεβ. [BNA], cp RV mg.) by the Jews, and unsuccessfully attempted their defence in the theatre, on the occasion of the tumult excited by Demetrius, the silversmith (Acts 19 33). There is no conclusive reason either for or against identifying him with:

6. The coppersmith (ὁ χαλκευς), who is described (2 Tim. 4 14) as having done Paul 'much evil' (at his trial?).

7. Mentioned with HYMENÆUS (*q.v.*) as having 'made shipwreck concerning the faith' (1 Tim. 1 19 *f.*), and as having been, in consequence, delivered by the apostle unto Satan. Whether or not he is to be identified with no. 6 above, we cannot tell. In some texts of the Apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, he appears with Demas and Hermogenes as a hypocritical companion of Paul; in others it is 'Alexander the Syriarch' who is mentioned. See Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap. Gesch.* ii. 1 462 466.

ALEXANDRIA (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[Ε]ΙΑ [VA], 3 Macc. 3 1; gentilic ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ [BNA], Acts 6 9 18 24†). The site of the city was chosen by Alexander the Great during his

1. The city. passage from Memphis down the Canobic (Canopic), or most westerly, branch of the Nile, on his way to the Oracle of Ammon (331 B.C.)

Holm remarks that it was a novelty to call a city after its founder, this particular form of name having previously been made only from names of deities (*e.g.*, Apollonia); it indicates Alexander's desire for divine honours, a claim supported by the priests of Ammon (Holm, *Gk. Hist.* 3 384 ET). The city was laid out by Deinocrates under the king's supervision, 12 m. W. of the Nile, and thus its harbours were not choked by the Nile mud, which is carried east by the current.

It lay on the neck of land, 2 m. broad, interposed between the Mareotis lagoon and the sea. A mile distant, parallel with the coast, lay the island of Pharos, connected with the city by a dam (which served also as an aqueduct to supply the island), seven stades in length (hence called the Heptastadium), pierced with two openings. Two harbours were thus created, both protected by projections from the mainland.

The western harbour was called that of Eunostus, after a king of Soli, son-in-law of Ptolemy I. (but see Mahaffy, *Greek Life* 164, for another suggestion). The eastern harbour was then the more important, although it is not so to-day. Its entrance was marked by the huge lighthouse (built on the island by the Cnidian Sostratus) which gave its name (*pharos*) to all similar structures. Opposite to it ran out the point of Lochias.

Bordering on the great (eastern) harbour was the palace-quarter (Bruchéum), the abode of the Macedonians. The western division of the city, occupied previously by the village Rhacotis, continued to be the Egyptian quarter. The Jewish colony was in the east of the city.

Lake Mareotis was connected with the sea by a canal, and as it communicated also with the Nile, the periodical flood prevented the accumulation of silt and the formation of morass. To this, and to the constant Etesian winds, Strabo traces the salubrity of the site (p. 793). The lake was the haven for the products of upper Egypt coming directly from Syénê, as well as for those of India and the East, brought by way of Arsinoë on the Red Sea and the royal canal to the Nile, or through Berenicê or Myos Hormos, lower down the coast. Hence the commerce of the lake was more valuable than that of the outer ports, whose exports largely exceeded their imports (Str., p. 793). Alexandria became the great port of transshipment for eastern commodities; while Egypt, under the Ptolemies, also took the place of the Black Sea coast as a grain-producing country. Most of her grain went to Italy (cp Acts 27 6 28 11; Jos. *BJ* vii. 2 1; Suet. *Tit.* 5). Near Ostia was a sanctuary modelled on the Alexandrian temple of Sarapis, with a

mariners' guild (*CIL* 14 47). Even under the Lagids Alexandria contained a large colony of Italians engaged in the trade with the West (cp *Eph. Epigr.* 1 600 602). For the importance of Egypt to Rome see Mommsen, *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 232 ET.

Alexandria was not organised as a πόλις—*i.e.*, it possessed neither deliberative assembly nor senate (βουλή).

2. Its constitution. but from the first was merely a 'royal residence of the satrap king, never a foundation of Graeco-Macedonians with city privileges in a foreign land' (Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.* 76). The burgess body was Greek (primarily Macedonian),—standing alongside of the native Egyptian and the foreign elements not reckoned Hellenic, in somewhat the same way as the English in India alongside of the natives (Momm. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 262 ET). Chief among the non-Hellenes were the Jews, occupying two out of the five wards, apparently here not on the Ghetto system, but on the basis of original settlement; they were naturally attracted by the commercial advantages of the city, and were also deliberately settled there by the founder (Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 4, *BJ* ii. 18 7). Josephus asserts that the Alexandrian Jews had equal rights with the Macedonians and other Greeks. This, though technically an exaggeration, was probably practically true, seeing that such rights can only have been privileges enjoyed by the Greeks over the natives; but it is doubtful whether the Jews were free from the poll-tax. Of all the non-Hellenes, the Jews alone were allowed to form a community within that of the city, with a certain amount of self-government. 'The Jews,' says Strabo (quoted by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2), 'have in Alexandria a national head of their own (ἐθνάρχης), who presides over the people and decides processes and disposes of contracts as if he ruled an independent community' (ὡς ἂν πολιτειας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς). Josephus traces their legal position to Alexander: but it was apparently Ptolemy I. who settled them in Egypt in large numbers (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1; App. *Syr.* 50). The general result was that 'in acknowledged independence, in repute, culture, and wealth, the body of Alexandrian Jews was, even before the destruction of Jerusalem, the first in the world' (Momm. *op. cit.* 2 267 ET). Cp DISPERSION, §§ 7, 15 *ff.*

Of the development of the city, and especially of the foundation of the institutions which gave it its place in

3. Letters. the history of literature and science, little is known. The famous Museum was probably founded by Ptolemy I., aided by the advice of Demetrius of Phalerum, who migrated to Egypt on his expulsion from Athens (307 B.C.).

The name (Μουσεῖον) points to an Attic origin. No detailed description can here be given. Besides, the materials are very scanty. It was a royal foundation, with a common hall, porticoes, and gardens, for the exclusive use of literary and scientific workers dependent on royal bounty, under the presidency of a priest who was the king's nominee; it was the 'first example of a permanent institution for the cultivation of pure science founded by a government' (Holm, *op. cit.* 4 317 ET). It was not a teaching establishment or training-place for youth, but a home of research adequately endowed. Attached to it was the Library, with more than 500,000 volumes (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2 1).

The Museum and the Library combined were essentially a centre of learning, not of creative power. In their artificial atmosphere exact science and literary criticism flourished with brilliant results; but literature decayed perhaps the uninspiring environment of the city had no slight effect upon its art and poetry (Mahaffy, *Greek Life* 165).

The Museum served as a model for subsequent foundations [illegible] that of the emperor Claudius; both Jews and Christians [illegible] at a later time had similar centres of learning in the city. The fate of the library is [illegible] it is [illegible] it accidentally burnt along with the arsenal in 47 B.C. (Caesar [illegible]). The words of Dio, 43 38 ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ [illegible] τῆς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βιβλίων,—πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὡς φασι, γενομένων, καυθῆναι [illegible] stores of books for sale (Mahaffy, *Emp* [illegible]).

Ptolemy II. established a supplementary library in the Sarapieion, in the quarter Rhacotis. In science,

especially, Alexandria maintained a sort of primacy throughout the imperial period, and residence in the Museum was the hall-mark of learning (cp Acts 18 24, and a φιλόσοφος ἀπὸ Μουσείου, in Halicarnassus, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 4 45. Alexandrian physicians, in particular, were regarded as the best in the empire; cp οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἰατροί [Wood, *Ephesus*, Appendix, Inscriptions from Tombs, etc., 7, *l.* 6]).

In Roman times Alexandria was the second city in the empire, and the first commercial city in the world

4. Character. (Strabo, p. 798; μεγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης). At the end of the Ptolemaic period she numbered upwards of 300,000 free inhabitants, and in imperial times still more (Diod. 17 52). Mommsen (*op. cit.* 2 262 ET) develops the comparison between her and Antioch—both 'monarchical creations out of nothing' (Paus. viii. 33 1)

The latter excelled in beauty of site and in the magnificence of her imperial buildings; the former in her suitability for world-trade. In the character of their population and their attitude towards their respective national religions, the similarity between the two cities is close. The Alexandrian mob, like that of Antioch, was capricious and turbulent; the smallest spark kindled a conflagration to be quenched only with blood (Diod. 1 84, Dio 39 57).

Polybius (34 14) says that a personal visit to the city filled him with disgust at the demoralisation produced by the constant presence of masses of mercenaries necessary for keeping under control the mongrel mob, the degenerate descendants of the Greeks; compared with these two, the native Egyptian element struck him as 'acute and educated.' Cæsar draws a similar picture (*BC* 3 110). A vivid illustration is found in the bloody scenes which heralded the accession of Ptolemy V. (Pol. 15 30-33). A point of similarity with the Antiochians was the fondness of the Alexandrians for giving nicknames (cp Paus. v. 21 12: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπίχωριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεύσιν ἐστίν. Id. i. 9 1; Sen. *ad Helv.* 19 6: 'Longum et in contumelias praecorum ingeniosa provincia . . . etiam periculosi sales placent'). The Ptolemies had each a nickname, and even Vespasian, for his tax on salt fish, was called the 'sore-shoulder' (Suet. *Vesp.* 19: Κυβιοσακτης). As regards the state of the highly composite population, the Roman emperors merely retained the old state of things. The Alexandrians continued to stand quite apart from the rest of the country in character and in privileges (cp Philo, *in Flac.* 8 10 (*Op.* 10 7), so much so that the Alexandrian franchise was at one time a necessary preliminary to the acquirement of Roman citizenship (Pliny, *Epist.* 10 6 22): 'Admonitus sum a peritioribus urbis et maxime ex Alexandrinis civitatem impetrare, deinde Romanam quam non esse [illegible] *Ad.* 2 4). The Egyptians of the Nomes were unable to gain Roman citizenship, like other provincials, by enlistment in the legions.

The greatness of Alexandria has led some to speak of its founder as though he were endowed with more

5. Its success. than human foreknowledge, and had foreseen the future of the city as a centre of Hellenism and queen of the Levant. Others regard the city as merely a Greek emporium, a second and more successful Naucrátis, owing to accident its rise to the position of a cosmopolitan capital

Nevertheless, it must have been evident to Alexander that, after the destruction of Tyre, 'the great trading area of the Levant was for the moment without focus' (Hogarth, *Philip and Alex.* 1 [illegible]), and the site actually selected was the only one possible on the Egyptian coast (though Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.* 12, calls this in question). Egypt, further, offered peculiar facilities for that amalgamation of Greeks and Mahommedans which he desired, and, owing to its support of his secret belief in his divinity, it had a special place in his affections. The success of Naucrátis undoubtedly exerted an influence in the way of directing attention to the W. of the Delta; and it is not without reason that Cleomenes, a native of Naucrátis, created financial governor of Egypt, is called one of the architects of Alexandria (Justin 13 4). Nor should we fail to take account of the fact that the island of Pharos was the traditional landing-place of Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 4 [illegible]). This influence is distinctly asserted in the story of the dream which directed the king to the site opposite Pharos (Plut. *Alex.* 26).

In fine, considering Alexander's economic designs and achievements in the far East, and the success of his eastern colonies, we cannot venture to deny that he consciously created a centre for a new mixed race, with a definite dream of the possibilities afterwards realised

Much has been hoped from systematic exploration. The modern t[illegible] [illegible] either

6. Sites not recoverable. [illegible] of the Heptastadion [illegible] the island of Pharos [illegible] a peninsula. All the great monuments of the Ptolemaic age seem to have stood within the present inhabited

area, or on ground now absorbed by the sea; but the site of no ancient building is known, except that of the Cæsareum, which was near the sea. The Sema or Soma, in which Alexander's body was deposited, may perhaps be represented by the mosque of *Nebi Daniál*, the most sacred locality in Alexandria. The last person known to have seen the body was the emperor Septimius Severus (Dio, 70 1).

The general result is that, owing to subsidence, the remains of Ptolemaic Alexandria are now below water level, and that nothing is to be hoped for from the site (*Egypt. Expl. Fund Report*, 1894-5). See, also, DISPERSION, § 7.

Literature.—Strabo, pp. 791-799; Herondas, *Mim.* 1 28 *f.*; Kiepert, *Zur Topogr. des alten Alex.* (Berl. 1872); Weniger, *Das Alex. Museum* (Berl. 1875); Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyc.*, 'Alexandreia' (Puchstein), and 'Alexandrinische Litteratur' (Knaack). W. J. W.

ALGUM (אַלְגּוּמִּים), 2 Ch. 2 8 9 10 *f.*† See ALMUG.

ALIAH (עַלְיָה, Kt.), Gen. 36 40 = 1 Ch. 1 51 ALVAH.

ALIAN (עַלְיָן), 1 Ch. 1 40 = Gen. 36 23† ALVAN.

ALIEN (נֵכָר, Job 19 15 Ps. 69 8; בֶּן נֵכָר, Is. 61 5; גֵּר, Ex. 18 3, RV 'sojourner,' Dt. 14 21†, RV 'foreigner'). See STRANGER.

ALLAMMELECH (אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ [v. d. Hooght], etc.), Josh. 19 26† RV = AV ALAMMELECH.

ALLAR (αλλαρ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 36† RV = Ezra 2 59 IMMER, 2; cp also CHERUB, 2.

ALLEGORY (αλληγορουμενα [Ti. WH]), Gal. 4 24†. See PARABLES, §§ 1, 3, 5.

ALLELUIA (αλληλουϊα [Ti.], -ια [WH]), Rev. 19 1 3 *f.* 6†. See HALLELUJAH.

ALLEMETH (עַלְמֹת; but Bä. Gi. עָלְמֹת), 1 Ch. 6 60 [45]; RV = AV ALEMETH.

ALLOM. RV **Allon** (αλλων [B]), 1 Esd. 5 34 = Neh. 7 59 AMON, 3.

ALLON (אָלוֹן), Josh. 19 33 AV. As a proper name this rightly disappears from RV. See BEZAANANNIM (Greek readings at end).

ALLON (אָלוֹן; cp Elon and see AIJALON, 2; αμων [B], αλλων [A], χλ. [L]), a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 37†).

ALLON-BACHUTH, RV **Allon-Bacuth** (אַלּוֹן בָּכוּת, *i.e.*, 'the oak of weeping,' see also BOCHIM; βαλανος πενθους [BAL]): the spot 'below Bethel where Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried (Gen. 35 8† E). According to another tradition (cp DEBORAH, 1), however, it seems to have been a palm tree (Judg. 4 5); or rather, perhaps, *allōn* could be used of a palm tree, just as the cognate words *el* (in Elparan) and *elath* are undoubtedly used. In 1 S. 10 3 it seems to be called 'the terebinth ?] (אלון, δρυος [BAL]) of Tabor,' where 'Tabor' (θαβωρ [BA], τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς [L]) may be a bad reading for 'Deborah' (Thenius). T. K. C.

ALLOY (בְּדִיל), Is. 1 25 RV mg., EV 'tin.' See METALS.

ALMODAD (אַלְמוֹדָד, or rather as in [G]AL and Vg. אֶלְמוֹדָד, Elmodad, *i.e.*, 'God loves': a Sabæan name [*ZDMG* 37 13 18]; ελμωδαδ [AL], one of the descendants of JOKTAN (*q.v.*); Gen. 10 26 (ελμωδαμ [E], ιελμωδαδ [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 20†. See Glaser, *Skizze* 280, 425, and cp *Madadi* on a primitive Bab. contract-tablet (Hommel, *AHT* 11 [illegible]).

ALMON (עַלְמוֹן), Josh. 21 18† = 1 Ch. 6 60 [45] ALEMETH (*q.v.*).

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM (עַלְמֹן־דִּבְלָתָיְמָה; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; [Γ]εαλμων δεβλαθαιμ [BAL]), a station of the Israelites between Dibon-gad and the mountains of Abarim, Nu. 33 46 and (Γ. δαιβ-

ΛΑΘΑΙΝ [A]) v. 47†; apparently the same as BETH-DIBLATHAIM (*q.v.*)

ALMOND, ALMOND TREE, ALMOND BLOSSOM (שָׁקֵד,[1] ΚΑΡΥΟΝ [ADL] Gen. 43 11, Num. 17 8 [23] ΚΑΡΟΙΑ [B]; ΑΜΥΓΔΑΛΟΝ BNAC, Eccles. 12 5; as an adjective ΚΑΡΥΙΝΗΝ [BN] and practically NA], Jer. 1 11†; מְשֻׁקָּד = 'made like almond blossoms,' ΕΚΤΕΤΥΠΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΡΥΙΣΚΟΥΣ BAFL], Ex. 25 33 *f.*; ΚΑΡΥΩΤΑ BAL' 37 19 *f.*†). The Hebrew root means to 'wake' or 'watch'; and the tree is said to be so named because it is the first to awake from the sleep of winter.[2] The etymology is alluded to in Jer. 1 11 *f.*

The almond is referred to in the story of Jacob, who (Gen. 43 11, J) instructs his sons to take with them into Egypt a present of the fruits of Palestine including almonds. The verisimilitude of this detail cannot be questioned. It was natural for a Hebrew to presume that Palestinian almonds would be prized in Egypt, nor need we trouble ourselves as to the exact date of the acclimatisation of the almond tree on the banks of the Nile.[3]

The original native country of the almond (*Prunus Amygdalus*, Stokes) was W. Asia, from which it has gradually spread, in the main probably by human intervention, throughout the Mediterranean region. Almonds are still an important article of commerce in the Persian Gulf, nor is there anything improbable in their being exported from Syria into Egypt in early or even in more recent times. No ancient writer, according to Celsius (*Hierob.* 1 298), mentions them as grown in Egypt.

The 'cups made like almond blossoms' on the branches of the golden candlestick, consisting each of 'a knop' or knob 'and a flower' (Ex. 25 33 *f.* 37 19 *f.*) represented, says Dillm. (*ad loc.*), 'not the corolla but the calyx of the almond flower.' Some have proposed to translate מְשֻׁקָּדִים 'awakened' *i.e.*, fully opened (as opposed to closed buds); but this is certainly untenable. In Jer. 1 11 an almond staff seen by the prophet becomes, from the associations of its name, a symbol of Yahwé's watchfulness. The most interesting reference is in the difficult passage Eccles. 12 5. There are three clauses in the verse, and in each unfortunately there is some obscurity. It is the first, rendered by AV, 'The almond tree shall flourish,' [RV 'blossom],' which now concerns us. As regards it, it has been doubted, (1) whether שָׁקֵד by itself can mean the almond *tree*; (2) whether the pinkish-white blossoms are a likely metaphor (according to the ordinary view) for an old man's white hairs; and (3) what is the meaning of the verb (יָנִאַץ). The consonants of the Heb. text support the meaning 'he will reject the almond,' *i.e.*, will be unable to eat it, though a delicacy; but the vowel-points and all the ancient versions have the same rendering as EV. This seems on the whole more probable. Though Jer. 1 11 is not sufficient to prove that שָׁקֵד can mean the tree, the equivalent form in Syriac, *ŝegdā*, appears to have this sense. The metaphor is possible if we remember that the flowers come out as a pale flash on the dark leafless branches; if the metaphor is to be pressed closer, the flowers are, as Koch describes them, 'white or of a pale red.'[4]

(2) See HAZEL. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ALMS. The English word is derived through the A.S. form 'ælmæsse' from the eccl. Lat. *eleemosyna*, which again is borrowed from

1. Terms.

[1] Syriac has the same word in the form *ŝegdā*; the Arabic for almond is *lauz*. Hebrew has (see HAZEL).

[2] Lag. *Uebers.* 45. Cp Plin. 16 25 (quoted by Celsius) 'Ex iis [illegible] memoratur quia exoriente concipiunt, [illegible] mense [illegible] Martio vero [illegible]'.

[3] Cf Maspero, [illegible]

[4] Prof. Cheyne informs us that the wild almond, rare, was found in a [illegible] of Hermon. A. Roberts & Smith, who [illegible] blossoms [illegible] white. Tristram speaks of many [illegible] trees on Mt. Carmel (*A. & B.* 3 5).

the Greek ἐλεημοσύνη. The Greek word, which is exceedingly rare in classical authors, means *pity*, and in the Greek of the NT (Lk. 11 41 12 33 Acts 3 2 *f.* 10 9 36 10 4 31) signifies also a special result of pity—viz., relief given in money or kind to the poor. In biblical Hebrew there is no corresponding word, and it is not even quite certain that the technical and restricted use of the word ἐλεημοσύνη occurs in G. No doubt in such passages as Ecclus. 7 10 and Tob. 4 7 12 8-11, the author or translator has almsgiving chiefly or even exclusively in view. Still ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην does not in itself mean more than עשה חסד, 'to do that which is merciful or kindly.' On the other hand, the NT use of 'to give ἐλεημοσύνας,' etc., is quite decisive for the specialised sense of the word.

The close connection between religion and deeds of mercy frequently appears in ancient religion. The

2. OT estimate.

Bedouin Arabs, maintaining therein a primeval usage, regard the wayfarer as 'the guest of Allāh,' to whom hospitality is due (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 228). The sacrificial meal often included an act of charity to the poor. Thus the poor were allowed to take handfuls from the meal-offering made to the Arab god, al-'Okaisir (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 223), and the same use of sacrifice was familiar to the Greeks (see, *e.g.*, Xen. *Anab.* v. 3 6). Indeed the general law of sacrificial feasts was open-handed hospitality in which the poor shared. The OT, however, carries this beneficent tendency farther than any other ancient religion. It made systematic provision for the poor, and institutions of this kind can be traced throughout the religious history of Israel, from the eighth century onwards. Indeed it is significant that in the OT scarcely a trace of beggars and begging in the strict sense is to be found (see, however, 1 S. 2 36 Ps. 109 10). In the 'Book of the Covenant' (see EXODUS, ii. § 3), Ex. 23 10 *f.*, the Hebrew landowner is directed to leave his land fallow each seventh year 'that the poor of thy people may eat.' The merciful spirit of the Deuteronomist is conspicuous in the stress he lays on the care for the poor. Every third year the owner was to bring forth a tenth from his granaries and bestow it exclusively on the poor, including the Levites (Dt. 14 28 *f.*). According to a custom still preserved in Palestine, every Israelite was free to pick and eat grapes from his neighbour's vineyard, or to pluck ears from the cornfield, as he passed along (Dt. 23 24 *f.* [25 *f.*]). Out of consideration for the poor, the owner must not, in a grasping spirit, glean to the uttermost his cornfield, vineyard, or oliveyard (Dt. 24 19-22). The earliest part of the Priestly Code, viz., the 'Law of Holiness' (see LEVITICUS), reflects the same precept (Lev. 19 9 *f.* 23 22); besides this, in Deuteronomy and generally in the later writers of the OT, private and voluntary almsgiving is especially commended. On the whole it may be said that the prophets plead the rights of the poor as their advocates, while in Deuteronomy and in post-exilic literature, the needy Israelite is commended to the charity of his brethren. See, among passages too numerous to quote, Is. 58 7 (a very late passage) Prov. 14 21 19 17 Ps. 112 9 Job 29 12 *f.* One reference to almsgiving—viz. Dan. 4 27 [24]—deserves special notice. Probably the force of the Aramaic words is 'redeem' or 'make good thine iniquities . . . by showing mercy to the poor,' and if this interpretation of פרק be correct, we have here a clear implication of the later Jewish doctrine that alms had a redemptive or atoning power.

In the OT Apocrypha and in Rabbinical literature almsgiving assumes a new and excessive prominence.

3. Apocrypha and Rabbin. literature.

So much was this the case that צְדָקָה, which in the older writings means 'righteousness' in general, came to be used for almsgiving in particular, and this use of the word has been naturalised in the Arab. *ṣadakatun* 'alms for God' (*Kor. Sur.* 9 104, etc.;

Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 446), and the Syr. *sedqtha* (Pesh. Lk. 11 41, etc.).

The following citations furnish examples of the propitiatory virtue ascribed to alms in later Judaism: 'Shut up mercy (ελεημοσυνη, perh. 'alms') in thy treasuries, and it shall deliver thee from all affliction' (Ecclus. 29 12); 'Mercy' (or 'alms') 'delivereth from death' (Tob. 4 10); 'Through alms a man partakes of eternal life' (*Kosh hashshanah* 3); 'He who says, I give this piece of money as alms, that I or my sons may inherit eternal life, is a perfectly righteous man' (Pesachin, 5; Reff. from Weber, *Altsynag. Theol.* 276 *f.*); 'Almsdeeds are more meritorious than all sacrifices' (San. 49 *b*); 'As sin-offering makes atonement for Israel, so alms for the Gentiles' (*Baba Bath.* 10 *b*; Reff. from Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* צדקה).

Alms were systematically collected in the synagogue of the Diaspora for poor Jews in Palestine (this custom is mentioned by Jerome as existing in his time), and also every week for the poor of the synagogue itself. Officers were appointed to make the collection, and boxes for the reception of alms also were placed in the synagogues (Vitring. *Syn. Vet.* iii. 1 13). In Mk. 12 41 *f.*, however, the reference is not to alms-chests but to one of thirteen trumpet-shaped boxes, placed in the court of the women to receive contributions towards the expenses of the temple worship (Schür. *GJV*² 209).

4. NT. Jesus, then, did not need to awaken zeal for almsgiving among his countrymen: it was there already; and there was apparently more occasion for it, since in the NT we meet with persons who were, in consequence of bodily infirmity, beggars by profession (Mk. 10 46 Lk. 18 35 Jn. 9 *f.*, and note the technical term προσαιτης). He purified it from the ostentation which often corrupted it (Mt. 6 2-4); he accentuated the feeling of compassion, without which it is worthless (Lk. 10 33); above all, he taught that the disposition which gives alms by mechanical rule and bargains with God for compensation here or hereafter should yield to that impulse of the new heart which sees the supreme reward in likeness to a heavenly Father (Mt. 5 45). We cannot wonder then that, in the infant church at Jerusalem, without compulsion or rigid communistic system (see Acts 5 4), there was an ideal charity which made 'all things common' (Acts 4 32), and prompted rich men like Barnabas to sell their property for the sake of the needy (Acts 4 36 *f.*). No doubt the expectation that Christ's second coming was at hand stimulated this uncalculating generosity; but low esteem of worldly goods and love of the brethren were the mainsprings of this new development. It is also significant that the first election of Christian officers was made to secure a due distribution of alms. The Gentile churches, moreover, were bound to the mother church at Jerusalem by the offerings which they made for the poor in that city (Rom. 15 26 *f.* 1 Cor. 16 1-3 2 Cor. 9 1 *f.* Acts 24 17). Of course almsgiving found other channels. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews assumes that it is a necessary feature of the Christian life, and speaks of it as a sacrifice of thanksgiving which continues after the Jewish altar has been done away with. From very early days each church had its lists of poor (1 Tim. 5 9) and its common fund (Ignat. *Ad Polyc.* 4); and whereas in heathen clubs 'charity was an accident, in Christian associations it was of the essence' (Hatch, *Organ. of Early Christ. Church* 36). Cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS, specially § 5. W. E. A.

ALMUG or **ALGUM**[1] **TREES** (אלמגים, πελεκητα [BA], απ. [L]. 1 K. 10 11 *f.*†; אלגומים, πεγκινα [BAL]. 2 Ch. 2 8 [7] 9 10 *f.* [π. απελεκητα, L, *v.* 10; απελ., L, *v.* 11]†) yielded a precious wood, which was brought to Solomon, along with gold and gems, from OPHIR (*q.v.*; cp SOLOMON) by the ships of Hiram, and was used to make 'pillars' (מסעד, ὑποστηριγματα [BAL], RV mg. 'a railing,' 1 K. 10 12 = 2 Ch. 9 11 מסלות, ἀναβασεις [BAL], EV

[1] The two forms, though differently rendered by ⊕ and other versions, are obviously variants of the same word. The etymology is unknown.

'terraces') for the temple and the palace, as well as 'harps and psalteries.' In 2 Ch. 2 8 [7], these trees appear along with cedars and firs among the products of Lebanon, with which Solomon asks Hiram to furnish him; but there is no mention of them in the parallel passage in Kings.[1]

The very various opinions that have been held as to the identity of the tree are enumerated by Celsius (*Hierob.* 1 171 *f.*).

Three may be mentioned: (1) The Jewish traditional rendering is 'coral'; but this is obviously unsuitable, unless we may understand by 'coral-wood' simply a red wood. (2) Kimhi takes it to be 'brazil-wood,' the *bakkam* of the Arabs, a red dye-wood found in India. (3) Most moderns, following Celsius (see his reasons, *op. cit.* 1 179 *ff.*), believe it to be 'sandalwood,' probably of the redder sort (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Linn.), which is still used in India for purposes similar to those recorded in Chronicles. The ancient versions yield no light; but see below.[2]

The evidence appears to point to some valuable red wood brought (like lign aloes and cassia) into the eastern Mediterranean by the ancient commerce of the Red Sea. If we may assume it to be a red wood adapted for carving, it may well be either (1) brazil-wood (a name of uncertain origin; the French *braise*, a glowing coal, has been suggested; it was *transferred* to the S. American country) = *Caesalpinia Sappan*, Linn., a tree of India and the Malay Isles, apparently the *bakkam* of the Arabs; or it may be (2) red sandalwood, *Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Linn., an inodorous dye-wood, still surviving as a colouring matter in pharmacy,[3] a native of Southern India, where it is much valued for temple pillars. Possibly both species may be included under the expression.

[⊕ in 2 Ch. 2 8 9 10 *f.* gives ξυλα κεδρινα, which agrees with the Chronicler's statement that the algum-wood came from Lebanon. Cheyne, therefore, proposes to identify 'almug' (the form attested by the earlier record, that in Kings) with *elammaku*, the name of one of the trees used by Sennacherib in building his palaces. The tree seems from its name to have been of Elamite origin; but so useful a tree may have been planted in Hermon and Lebanon. For מאפיר in 1 K. 10 11, it is possible to read מעניר. Less probably we may suppose with Hommel that this hard and rare wood was 'a product of the trade of Ophir.' See *Exp. T.* 9 470 *ff.* 525 ('98), and cp ALAMMELECH.] N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ALNATHAN (ελναθαν [A]), 1 Esd. 8 44, RV ELNATHAN, 2.

ALOES and (once) **Lign Aloes**[4] (אהלים; Num. 24 6 CKHNAI [BAL], EV 'lign aloes'; Pr. 7 17 TON OIKON

1. Substance. MOY [BNA]; or אהלות Ps. 45 8 [9]. CTAKTH [Aq. αλωθ]. Cant. 4 14 αλωθ [BA], αλοη [N] (Aq. αλοη, Sym. θυμιαμα). Jn. 19 39† αλοη [BNA],[5] the modern *eagle-wood*, a precious wood exported from SE. Asia, which yields a fragrant odour when burnt. It is entirely distinct from (1) the common bitter 'aloe' used in medicine, to which alone the name was given by classical writers;[6] (2) the plant

[1] The Chronicler has probably mistaken an imported article of merchandise for a native product of Phenicia.

[2] Jerome renders *thyina* —*i.e.*, 'citron wood' (*Callitris quadrivalvis*, Vent.) an Algerian tree inordinately valued by the Romans for tables, not likely to have been known in biblical times or to biblical people.

[3] It was the 'sanders' used in mediæval cookery for colouring sauces.

[4] *i.e.*, lignum *aloës*, a hybrid phrase; *vide* Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, *s.v.*

[5] [The critical student will not fail to observe that three of the four OT passages in which אהלים or אהלות occurs belong to books or parts of books which eminent critics have regarded as post-exilic, and may be reminded here that the occurrence of rare plant names is one of the phenomena which have to be considered in fixing the period of such documents. He will also observe that the reading at the fourth passage has on good grounds been amended. See the end of this article.—ED.]

[6] This latter is described, among ancient writers, by Pliny (*HN* 27 4) and Dioscorides (3 22), and its bitterness alluded to by Juvenal (6 181; 'plus *aloes* quam *mellis* habet').

commonly known as the American aloe (*Agave americana*), celebrated for the long period which elapses before its flowering. The biblical wood most probably corresponds to that described by Dioscorides (1 21) under the name ἀγάλλοχον[1] (cp Ges. *Thes.* אהלים)—'a wood imported from India and Arabia, resembling thyme wood (Rev. 18 12), compact, aromatic, in taste astringent and rather bitter, with a skin-like and somewhat variegated bark.' He speaks of its medicinal use—sweetening the breath and improving the internal condition of the body—and adds that it is burned instead of frankincense (cp Ar. *kuṭir* and see INCENSE).

2. Name. The Hebrew name אהלים or אהלות and the Greek ἀγάλλοχον[2] are almost certainly, and the Greek ἀλόη and English *aloe* not improbably, derived from the same Sanskrit word *agaru* = eagle-wood (see especially Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, art. 'Eagle-wood').

This appears in Pali as *agaru* or *agalu*, in Mahratti as *agaru* or *agarū*; probably another form is the Malayālam *agil*, whence Portug. *aguila*, Fr. *bois d'aigle*, and Eng. *eagle-wood*. 'The Malays call it *Kayu* (wood) *gahru*, evidently the same name, though which way the etymology flowed it is difficult to say' (Yule, *l.c.*). [Hommel, *Exp. T.* 9 525, compares *aigalluhu* (var. *akarhu*?) in Am. Tab.]

It is, however, possible that Gr. ἀλόη, Syr. *'alwa* (or *'elwa*), Pers. *alwa*[3] have an entirely separate origin: the Syriac word oftener means the bitter medicinal aloes (so in the majority of references quoted in PS *Thes.*, *s.v.*), and the Persian word is so explained by the lexicographers.[4] In that case we have an instance of what is not uncommon in language, viz., that two things have arrived at the same name from different starting-points.

3. Source. The 'aloes' and 'lign aloes' of the Bible are thus identified with the product of some tree of the genus *Aquilaria*, the chief home of which is in SE. Asia. According to Arab writers there were many different varieties of the *aghālujī* or *'ūd* found in different parts of India and Ceylon, differing from one another in value according to the greater or less compactness of the wood, though all had the property of yielding a fragrant vapour if burned when dry.[5] They speak of its use in perfuming clothes and persons, thus illustrating Ps. 45 8 (9) and Cant. 4 14; and there are parallels to the usage mentioned in Pr. 7 17.

It would seem that the kind of eagle-wood most likely to be introduced into Europe in classical times was that yielded by a tree generally distributed through the Malayan region, which in early Eastern commerce would therefore naturally be associated with cassia. This is *Aquilaria malaccensis*, which is figured by Rumphius under the name of *Garo*, and has from ancient times been esteemed by the Chinese. To this day 'it is the most important product of the forests of S. Tenasserim and the Mergui Archipelago.' Another eagle-wood is obtained in NE. India from *Aquilaria Agallocha*; but it is less likely that this should have formed an article of commerce in biblical times. Other kinds were obtained from the East in the Middle Ages; what the early Arab travellers have to say about them may be seen in Dymock, *Pharmacographia Indica* 3 218 220. They were similar but no doubt inferior products derived from different trees, and are probably to be regarded as comparatively modern substitutes.

Eagle-wood consists of diseased wood, infiltrated with odoriferous oil and resin. It occurs in irregular pieces varying in colour from grey to dark brown. It is found in the centre of the tree, and the search for it is laborious. The account of Dioscorides (see above, § 1) is accurate. The exterior, which cannot of course be the bark, is veined with a darker colour.

As regards the importation of this substance into W. Asia no difficulty arises when we remember the undoubted fact of a trade carried on by China with India and Arabia in early times, of which Ceylon was probably a chief depot. See on this subject Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 2nd ed., p. 520 *f.* A difficulty, however, appears when we consider Balaam's words (Num. 24 5 *f.*):—

> 'How good are thy tents, O Jacob,
> Thy dwelling-places, O Israel!
> As valleys stretched forth,
> As gardens beside a river,
> As *lign aloes* which Yahwè has planted,
> As cedars beside waters.'

The wood may, indeed, have been imported by the Phœnicians, and thus be mentioned side by side with myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, etc., the spices of Arabia and India; but how could a Palestinian writer use, as a suggestive simile for the expansion of Israel, the growth of a tree which *ex hypothesi* was never seen in Palestine, but only far away in SE. Asia? The difficulty is pointed out by Dillmann, who remarks, 'Perhaps the original reading was אשלים (palms, Ex. 15 27; Gen. 14 6).' The word suggested, however, seems generally to mean 'terebinths'; Prof. Cheyne points out the parallel in Is. 61 3.[2] *Pistacia Terebinthus*, though often only a bush, may be a tree of from twenty to forty feet.

N. M. —W. T. T.-D

ALOTH (עָלוֹת). According to 1 K. 4 16 Solomon had a prefect, Baanah, 'in Asher and in Aloth' (ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΑΑΛΑ [B], . . . ΓΑΛΑΑΔ [L] omitting 'Asher'; ΕΝ ΑΣΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΜΑΑΛΩΤ [A]). It is better, as in RV and Kau. *HS*, to read 'in Asher and Bealoth.' See BAALATH-BEER. Klostermann, recognising that a more northerly place is desirable, suggests the emendation 'Zebulun' (notice 'Naphtali,' *v.* 15, and 'Issachar,' *v.* 17).

ALPHA AND OMEGA (ΤΟ ΑΛΦΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ Ω [Ti. WH] Rev. 1 8 21 6 and [ΤΟ Α in B] 22 13). For similar use of first and last letters of the alphabet in Rabbinic writings see Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ* 1 1 86 *f.*

ALPHABET. See WRITING.

ALPHÆUS (ΑΛΦΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]; Heb. [Aram.] חַלְפַּי [חַלְפַי], either a contraction from חַלְפַיָּה or a *gentilicium* from the place-name Helph; on account of the ח W & H write Ἀλφαῖος).

1. Father of Levi the publican, named only in Mark (Mk. 2 14 = Lk. 5 27 = Mt. 9 9 [where Matthew is usually identified with Levi]).

2. Father of the second James in the lists of apostles (Mt. 10 3, Mk. 3 18, Lk. 6 15, Acts 1 13; see APOSTLE, § 1), not to be identified with Clopas and so made a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. See CLOPAS, § 3.

There is no reason for identifying (1) and (2). The Itala, it is true, and apparently also the more important of the MSS known to Origen, as well as D, read Ἰάκωβον instead of Λευεν in Mk. 2 14; but if this had been the original reading, it would be impossible to account for the subsequent substitution for James of a quite unknown Levi. The reading Ἰάκωβον arose simply because, at a very early date, a copyist knew of no son of Alphæus but James, and therefore took Λευεν for an error which he was bound to correct. If the Alphæus of Mk. 2 14 were to be identified with the Alphæus of the lists of apostles, on the assumption that Levi and the second James were brothers, then we should expect to find these two

[1] In later Greek also called ξυλαλόη.

[2] This latter passed into Arabic as *aghālūjī* or *aghālukhī*; but Arab writers usually call it *al-'ūd* 'the wood' *par excellence*, or *al-'ūd al-Hindī*, 'the Indian wood.'

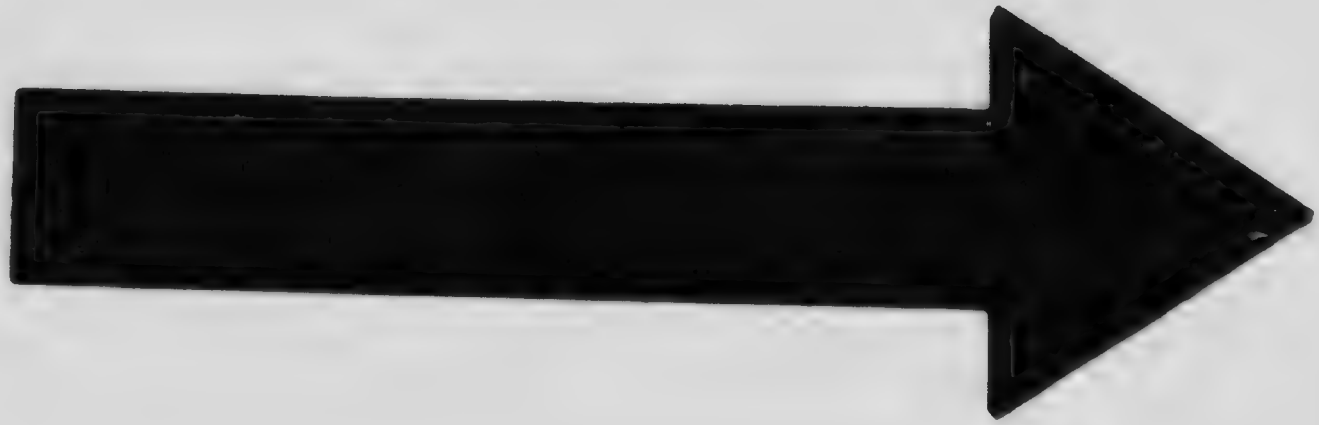
[3] These three are evidently forms of the same word; but here again it is difficult to say which way the etymology flowed.

[4] On the other hand, in the single instance mentioned by Dozy (*Suppl.*) of the occurrence of the same word (*alwa*) in Arabic—viz., in a poem quoted by Al-Makkarī (*Hist. and Lit. of Arabs in Spain*, ed. Dozy, etc. 2 776, *l.* 15)—it seems to have the same meaning as the biblical word. Describing the pride of certain people, the poet says, with allusion to the old Arab custom of lighting fires in prominent places near their dwellings to attract wanderers to hospitable entertainment, 'and they throw on the fire of hospitality, from pride, their *alwiy* and their *kibā'*' (the latter also is said to be a species of *agallochum*).

[5] See the Arabic references discussed at length in Celsius, *Hierobot.* 1 135-171.

[1] Instead of אהלים (BAR reads אפלים, 'tents'; but this is obviously unsuitable. Cp its rendering in Pr. 7 17 (τὸν δὲ οἶκόν μου).

[2] But see *SBOT*, Heb. on Is. *l.c.*, and cp CEDAR.



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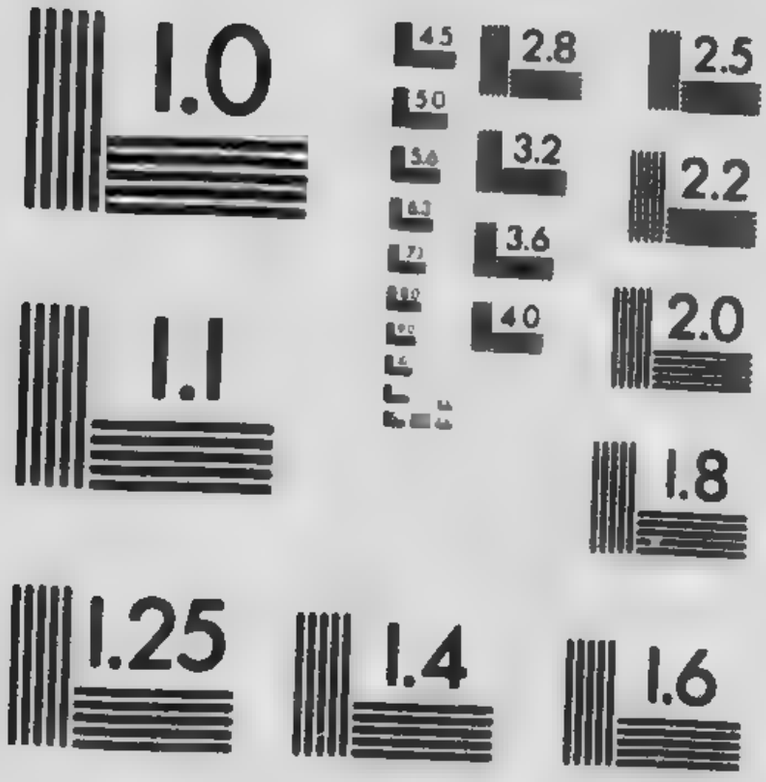

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brothers forming a pair in the lists just as Peter and Andrew do, or John and the first James. This objection to the identification, however, is valid only on the assumption that Levi under the name of Matthew was admitted into the number of the twelve.

The Syrian writer Amrus in the 14th cent. makes Alphæus accompany Nathanael (identified with Bartholomew) on his journeyings through Nisibis, Mesopotamia, and the rest of Western Asia (Lipsius, *Apocr. Apg.-gesch.* ii. 261 *f.*). F. W. S.

ALTANEUS (ΑΛΤΑΝΝΑΙΟΣ [A]). RV MALTANNEUS, 1 Esd. 9 33† = Ezra 10 33 MATTENAI, 2.

ALTAR.[1] The Heb. מִזְבֵּחַ means literally 'a place of slaughter or sacrifice' (cp Ar. *Madhbah*,[2] and Syr. *Madhbha*). The Gk. and Lat. terms, βωμός (cp βοινός), *ara* (cp ἀείρω), *altare* (cp *altus*), on the other hand, describe the form of the altar as a raised structure without reference to its purpose. Occasionally (23 times) 𝔊 uses the Gk. word βωμός; as a rule, however, מזבח is rendered by θυσιαστήριον. The translation thus effected is close and exact; but θυσιαστήριον is unknown in classical literature, being apparently confined to biblical, Jewish,[3] and ecclesiastical writers. In the NT βωμός occurs only once (Acts 17 23), and there the writer is speaking of an altar used for heathen worship. Elsewhere θυσιαστήριον is always employed.

1. Names.

We have, then, in the Hebrew word an accurate definition of the altar: it is a place of sacrifice. Why an altar should be required in order that the victim may be slain in a manner acceptable to the deity, and advantageous to the worshipper, is not so obvious as we might at first be inclined to think. We might deem it a sufficient explanation to say that the altar served ends of obvious convenience. The flesh of the victim being placed on a raised platform specially appropriated to this object, the sacrifice was separated from contact with common things and from contamination, while a means was provided for performing the rite with due solemnity and in full sight of those who desired to associate themselves with the sacred offering. There is evidence, however, that in primitive times the altar possessed a much deeper significance than this. (The development of this primitive idea is traced elsewhere. See IDOLATRY, § 2; SACRIFICE; MASSEBAH.)

2. Primitive idea.

To the Arabs any stone might become for the nonce an altar, and evidently their Hebrew kinsfolk followed originally the same ancient way. Thus, after the victory of Michmash, when Saul was told that his hungry warriors were devouring the flesh meat which they had taken as booty, without reserving the blood as an offering to Yahwè, he commanded his people to roll a great stone towards him, and on this natural altar the blood, the mysterious seat of the soul, was poured out, so that all was in order (1 S. 14 32-35). It is to be observed that here there is no question of burning. In Gideon's sacrifice, of which we have an account in Judg. 6 11 *ff.*, the offering of cooked flesh and unleavened cakes is indeed consumed by fire miraculously kindled; but the altar on which the gifts are placed is simply a rock, and the broth of the cooked flesh is poured out upon it or at its base.

3. Usage.

According to Ex. 20 24-26, on the other hand—a passage which, whatever be its date (see EXODUS, § 3), may represent an ancient usage—the altar is to be of earth or material used in early times by other nations (e.g., Carthaginians, Romans, and Greeks (for references see Di., *ad loc.*)—or, if of stone, then of unhewn stone, the reason given being that an iron instrument would destroy the sanctity of the altar. Originally, it can scarcely be doubted, the idea was that changing the form of the sacred stone would drive the deity from his abode (cp IDOLATRY, § 4); but such ideas had passed away when the compiler wrote, and iron tools continued to be forbidden in deference to ancient custom no longer understood. Further, the altar here prescribed was to have no steps. In this way the person of the sacrificer was to be saved from exposure, an object secured by the priestly legislator in a very different way—viz., by making 'linen breeches,' or drawers, part of the priestly attire. Altars so constructed might be erected all over Israel: see HIGH PLACE, § 2 *f.* On the recognition of the altar as a sanctuary for homicides see WRS *Rel. Sem.* 183 *f.*, and cp ASYLUM.

Very different was the altar erected in the forecourt of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. The first Book of Kings (9 25) makes direct mention of the fact that Solomon built an altar on which he offered sacrifice three times a year. So, too, in 8 64, reference is made to the altar which 'stood before Yahwè'—*i.e.*, in front of the temple proper—and it is described as the 'brazen altar' (מזבח הנחשת). Thus the material itself offers a striking contrast to the altars of earth and stone which had been in use previously. Like the rest of the temple and its furniture, it was the work of a Phœnician artist, Huram-Abi (2 Ch. 2 13, perhaps rightly; see, however, HIRAM, 2). Unfortunately, the account of the altar, which we should expect before 1 K. 7 23, is wanting.

4. Solomon's temple.

The text of the passage has been mutilated because a later editor, misinterpreting 1 K. 8 4 (itself a very late insertion), supposed that the furniture of the tabernacle, including, of course, the brazen altar, had been moved by Solomon into his temple, so that no further altar of this kind was needed. The excision of this passage describing Solomon's brazen altar must have been effected in comparatively modern times, for the Chronicler shows that he had it before him in the text of the Books of Kings which he used (see St. in *ZATW* 3 157 [83]).

The Chronicler (2 Ch. 4 1) gives its dimensions. It was 20 cubits long and broad by 10 cubits high. Now, these are precisely the measurements of the altar in Ezekiel's temple (*Ez.* 43 13 *ff.*). The prophet really constructs his ideal temple of the future from his recollections of the old temple in which he may very well have served as a priest. We shall, therefore, not go far wrong if, with most modern archæologists, we take Ezekiel's description as applicable to Solomon's altar. On that supposition, although the altar was 20 cubits broad and long at the base, the altar-hearth[1] was only 12 cubits by 12. The altar consisted of three platforms or ledges, the higher being in each case two ells narrower than the lower ledge. At the base was a gutter (EV 'the bottom,' RV mg. 'the hollow,' Ez. 43 13) one ell broad (גיר, καπωνα, κοιλωμα, κοιλωσα in 𝔊), intended apparently for the reception of the sacrificial blood; and there was a similar gutter at the top round the altar hearth. At the four corners on the top were four projections called 'horns.' Possibly they represent, as Stade has suggested, the beginning of an attempt to carve the altar stone into the form of an ox, which symbolised the power of Yahwè[2] (Nu. 23 22 24 8). Be that as it may, down to the latest times the horns of the altar were regarded as specially sacred, so that in the consecration of priests (Ex. 29 12) and in the ritual of the sin offering (Lev. 4 7 *ff.*) the blood was sprinkled upon them. It has been inferred from Ps. 118 27 that at one time the horns were used for fastening the victim; but the meaning of the word is uncertain, and no conclusion of any value can be deduced from them.

5. Horns of altar, etc.

The ascent to the altar was made by a flight of steps

[1] On references to Greek altars see UNKNOWN GOD and ABOMINATION, ii.

[2] The Arabic *Madhbah* does not mean 'altar.' It has acquired that meaning through translations of the Bible. It is also used in the sense of 'trench' (on which see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 341, n. 1; cp [illegible] *Mizbah*, *op. cit.* 440 *f.* 448 225).

[3] Philo, Mos. [illegible] 3 [illegible] 1 [illegible] but that it occurs, not only as is somewhat [illegible] in Philo, but also in Eupolemus, *Fr. Hist.*, Jos., 701 (other Jewish authors).

[1] The word for hearth or place for burning, which should properly be written Sgrg (see ARIEL), occurs only in Is. 29 1 *ff.*, but also in the stone of Mesha (l. 12 [illegible]).

[2] Robertson Smith, however, prefers the 'horns of the altar' as a modern substitute for the original horns of sacrificial victims, such as the heads of oxen which are commonly seen on Greek altars (*KS* 43[1]).

on the E. side, and it is plain that an arrangement of this kind was absolutely necessary, when we consider the great height of the structure.

On the whole matter we must remember that Solomon had no strict rule to follow: he simply desired, with the help of Phœnician art, to consult for the splendour of the royal worship. We need not, therefore, wonder that one of his successors, Ahaz (2 K. 16 10 ff.), with the co-operation of Uriah the priest, constructed a new altar after the pattern of one that he had seen at Damascus, and made it the chief place of sacrifice.

6. Ahaz's altar.

Solomon's altar was placed, as has been already implied, in front [illegible] on the E. side—of the temple proper. Can we identify the exact site? Not perhaps with anything like certainty; but it is worth while to mention the theory advanced by [illegible], and more recently by Nowack. The Kubbet es-Sakhra, or dome of the rock, which stands on the temple area, covers a great rock pierced by a channel which passes into a sink beneath, and is connected with a water-pipe. The rock has been an object of the highest veneration to Christians, and (especially) to Moslems. It has been supposed that the rock stood on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite (on the name see ARAUNAH), that it was there David saw the angel (2 S. 24 16 ff.) and erected his altar, and that Solomon (2 Ch. 3 1 ff.) afterwards included the ground within the temple site. Solomon would naturally build his altar on the spot already chosen by his father and hallowed by the apparition; nor is it incredible, when we consider how tenaciously Orientals, under changed modes of belief, cling to the old sacred places, that David and Solomon built their altars on the rock now covered by the Kubbet es-Sakhra. The story of the apparition to David would, on this hypothesis, find a parallel in the apparition to Gideon (Judg. 6 11 ff.), and in that to Manoah (Judg. 13 19). The perforation, the water, and the sink would be explained as means for carrying off blood and offal from the altar. It is true, as Dean Stanley has pointed out, that the rugged form of the rock would make it unsuitable for a threshing-floor; but that is no reason why the rock should not have stood 'by the threshing-floor' and been the place where the angel appeared. Cp ARAUNAH.

7. Site.

Within the temple proper, and in front of the Debir or innermost shrine, stood another altar, mentioned in 1 K. 6 20 f. The text, which is corrupt, should be emended thus, with the help of 𝔊ᴬ (λεῴρου): 'he made an altar of cedar in front of the Debir.' From Ez. 41 22 we learn that it was 3 cubits high by 2 cubits broad, and that the altar had 'corners' which took the place of the horns of the brazen altar. Ezekiel speaks of it also as a 'table.' Upon it, from ancient times (1 S. 21 [6] 7), the shewbread was placed before Yahwè, to be afterwards consumed by the priests.

8. Altar of shewbread.

We assume here that the TABERNACLE (q.v.), as described by the priestly writer, is an ideal structure.

Said to have been made at Shiloh, it was in reality an ideal, only modified, in view of the temple, so that it would suit the circumstances of the time when the Exodus was located in the wilderness.

9. P's brazen altar.

(α) The altar, called simply 'the altar' (Ex. 27 1 30 1-8 40 7 32, etc.), 'the altar of burnt offering' (Ex. 30 28 31 9, etc.), or 'the brazen altar' (Ex. 38 30 39 39), stood in the outer court, and was square, 5 cubits broad and long, by 3 high. Instead of being wholly of brass, it was a hollow framework of acacia planks overlaid with brass. It was thus small and portable. It had four 'horns'; midway between top and bottom ran a projecting ledge (so RV, AV 'compass'; כַּרְכֹּב; 27 5), intended, perhaps, as a place for the priests to stand upon when they ministered, though the meaning of the word and the purpose intended are disputed.

Below this ledge there was a brazen grating (so RV, AV 'grate,' 27 4) or NETWORK (q.v.), מִכְבַּר מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת נְחֹשֶׁת, which may have been a device to support the ledge and hinder the passage of the blood poured out at the base of the altar. There were four brazen rings at the corners of this network, and into them the staves for carrying the altar were inserted. These staves, like the altar itself, were of acacia wood, overlaid with brass. So, too, the altar utensils—סִיר (or pots) for clearing away ashes, יָעִים (or shovels), מִזְרָקוֹת basons (or saucers) for catching the blood and sprinkling, מִזְלָגוֹת fleshhooks for forks, מַחְתּוֹת (or the pans for removing coals, etc.)—were all of brass. Perpetual fire was to burn on this altar (Lev. 6 12 f.).

(β) Ezekiel, as we have seen, mentions an altar within the 'holy place,' which he also calls 'the table

10. P's 'table.'

which stands before Yahwè.' The priestly writer calls it 'the table' (Ex. 25 23 37 10), 'the table of the face or presence' (Nu 4 7, שֻׁלְחַן פָּנִים, cp RITUAL, § 2), because it stood before Y. (see Ezek. 41 22), 'the pure table' (Lev. 24 6). In 2 Ch. 29 18 it is spoken of as 'the table of shewbread,' שֻׁלְחַן הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת—lit., the table on which rows (of loaves) were laid—to describe the purpose for which it was intended. It was of acacia wood overlaid with gold, and was 2 cubits long, 1 cubit broad, 1½ high. It was surrounded by a golden rim or moulding (זֵר, Ex. 25 11; see CROWN), and at the bottom there was a border or ledge (מִסְגֶּרֶת, Ex. 25 25, RV 'border'), with a golden rim of its own. Where the feet of the table joined the ledge, golden rings were placed for the insertion of staves. The table was furnished with deep plates (קְעָרוֹת, Ex. 25 29, AV 'dishes'), 'spoons' or saucers (כַּפּוֹת) for the incense (Lev. 24 7), 'flagons' (קְשָׂוֹת, Ex. 25 29 [see FLAGON]) for the wine, 'bowls' (so RV, מְנַקִּיּוֹת 25 29) for pouring the wine in libations.

(γ) The altar of incense (מִזְבַּח מִקְטַר קְטֹרֶת, Ex. 30 1, or מִקְטַר קְטֹרֶת), also called 'the golden altar' (Ex. 39 38),

11. P's incense altar.

belongs only to the secondary sections of the Priestly Code. Ezekiel knows of no altar within the temple proper save the altar of the shewbread, and originally 'the golden altar' was only another name for this table. The Priestly Code, in its original form, speaks of the brazen altar as '*the* altar'; and, whilst in Ex. 30 10 the high priest on the day of atonement is to place blood on the horns of the altar of incense, in Lev. 16, where the solemn ritual of that great day is minutely prescribed, nothing is said of an altar of incense. The mention of the altar in the books of Chronicles and Maccabees (as also in the doubtful passage 1 K. 7 48) is due simply to the influence of these novelle in the Priestly Code.

This altar was to be made of acacia wood; it was to be 2 cubits high, 1 cubit broad and long; the flat surface on the top (גַּג; Ex. 30 3; AV 'higher place,' RV 'base'), and the sides and horns, were overlaid with gold. It had a golden moulding round it (זֵר), and beneath this at the four corners were golden rings for the staves, which also were overlaid with gold.

In the reign of Darius a new altar of burnt offering was built (probably on the old site, cp Hg. 2 15), but in accordance with the law in Ex. 20 25, of undressed stone (1 Mac. 4 44 f.).

12. Post exilic.

It was destroyed, and a third built for Antiochus Epiphanes (*Ant.* xii. 5 4; rejected by Antiochus Epiphanes). A new altar, also of unhewn stone, was built by Judas Maccabæus. Within the temple proper were the table for the shewbread and the golden altar of incense (1 Mac. 1 21 f.), but the latter, as far as it was distinct from the table, seems to have been introduced late, for Hecatæus (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22) mentions only the

candlestick and one altar (or table) as the furniture of the holy place.

In Herod's temple the altar of burnt offering in the court of the priests was still of unhewn stones. The

13. Herod's temple. Mishna (*Middoth* 3 1) states that it was 32 cubits square at the base, and gradually narrowed to 24 cubits at the top; but the dimensions are differently given by Josephus (*BJ* v. 5 6), and, before him, by Hecataeus (Müller, *Fragm.* 2 10). The priests approached it by an ascent of unhewn stone. There was a pipe to receive the blood, which was afterwards carried by a subterranean passage into the Jordan, and there was a cavity beneath the altar for the drink offerings. On the N. side were brazen rings for securing the victims. A red thread marked the place for sprinkling the blood. The altar of incense stood within the holy place, between the golden candlestick and the table of shewbread.

As we have seen (§ 1), the word θυσιαστήριον is frequently used in the NT for the Jewish altars; and the

14. NT. Apocalypse speaks of the 'golden altar' (8 3, and 'altar' in the same sense *passim*), because the writer pictures the worship of heaven under forms drawn from the old temple worship. In a passage which is unique, the author of Hebrews (13 10) speaks of a Christian altar. The altar is, of course, not material but spiritual; it is the cross on which Christ offered himself, and the author is following the same line of thought when he exhorts believers 'to do good and communicate, since with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'

For the origin of altars see IDOLATRY, § 2; SACRIFICE; HIGH PLACE, § 3, and WRS *Rel. Sem.*; for the Hebrew altars in later times Benzinger's and Nowack's *Hb. Arch.* (both works '94). See also Stade, 'Text d. Berichtes üb. Salomos Bauten' (*ZATW* 3 129 *ff.*), Smend's *Ezekiel* (80), Cornill's critical text of Ezekiel (86), and the comm. of Bertholet in *KHC*. For an account of the older literature on the archæology of Ezekiel's temple see Böttcher, *Proben A Tlicher Schrifterklärung*, 1833.

W. R. A.

AL-TASCHITH, RV **Al-Tashheth** (אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת; 𝔊[AN] Aq., Symm., μη διαφθειρης; Symm. Ps. 75 1, περι αφθαρσιας). It is usual to supply על or אל before the phrase (Ps. 57-59 75†, headings [*v.* 1]), and to explain 'To the tune of "Destroy not"' (cp Is. 65 8; so WRS *OTJC*[2] 209). If, however, the view of the musical notes in the headings taken in PSALMS is correct, there can be no doubt that the phrase is corrupt, and that we should read with Grätz עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, 'on the Sheminith' (see SHEMINITH).

ALUSH (אָלוּשׁ; Sam. אליש; αιλουσ [AFL], -λειμ[1] [B]; *Alus*), a desert station of the Israelites between Dophkah and Rephidim (Nu. 33 13*f.*† [P]). Not identified with certainty; but see Di. on Ex. 17 1. The Ar. (ed. Lag.) reads *al-wathanain*, 'the two idols,' probably because the translator understood by Alush the heathen temple at Elusa (see BERED, i. 1, and cp. WRS *Kin.* 293*f.*). See WANDERINGS, §§ 12, 14.

ALVAH (עַלְוָה, ϝωλα [ADEL] = עולה? *Alva*), Gen. 36 40 = 1 Ch. 1 51†, *Kr.* (EV ALIAH after *Kt.* עַלְיָה; BA as above; αλουα [L]), one of the 'dukes' (?) of EDOM (*q.v.*, § 4). Cp ALVAN.

ALVAN (עַלְוָן; ϝωλων [A], -ωμ [DE], -αμ [L] transposing ל and ן), Gen. 36 23 = 1 Ch. 1 40† ALIAN (עַלְיָן, but in many MSS עַלְוָן; so αλουαν [L], but σωλαμ [B], ιωλαμ [A]), a name in the genealogy of Seir. Cp ALVAH.

AMAD (עַמְעָד; αμιηλ [B], αμαδ [A], αλφαδδ [L]), an unidentified point in the border of Asher (Josh. 19 26†). 𝔊[B] presupposes Ammiel. There are several other place-names compounded with עַם. See Gray, *HPN* 48*f.*, who rightly declines the explanation of

[1] 𝔊[B] points to a reading אֵלִים, Elim. Perhaps the writer, wishing to fill up the interval between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim (cp Ex. 17 1), repeated Elim, the name of an earlier station. See ELIM.

Am'ad as 'people of eternity.' 𝔊[L]'s αλφαδδ may point to אלפעל (ELPAAL) for which 𝔊[B] in 1 Ch. 8 11 gives αλφαδδ. This may be correct.

T. K. C.

AMADATHA, RV **Amadathus** (αμαδαθου [B]), Esth. 16 10, etc. See HAMMEDATHA.

AMAL (עָמָל; αμαα [BA], αλαμ [L]), in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 35†.

AMALEK (עֲמָלֵק, αμαλημ [BAL], but -ηχ 1 S. 15 25 A]; gentilic, **Amalekite,** הָעֲמָלֵקִי, αμαλημ [BAL], but also -κειτης [BAL]), a tribe with

1. Seat. which the ancient Israelites, at several periods of their history, were engaged in warfare. According to two passages, each of which confirms the other, there appears to have been a time when Amalekites dwelt even in Central Palestine: in the Song of Deborah we read of 'Ephraim whose root is in Amalek' (Judg. 5 14; 𝔊[AL], however, ἐν κοιλάδι), and Pirathon in Ephraim (the modern *Fer'ata*, about 6 m. WSW. of Nabalūs) was situated 'on the mountains of the Amalekite,' or 'of the Amalekites' (Judg. 12 15, λανακ [AL]). Of these northern Amalekites nothing further is known. According to several passages of the OT, the home of Amalek was in the desert of the Sinaitic peninsula, the modern *Tih*, S. and SW. of Judæa. It is scarcely safe to conclude from Nu. 13 29 14 25 43 45 that they once had settlements also in southern Judæa; still less can we build any such theory upon Gen. 14 7, although the geographical allusions in this chapter have more authority than the legendary narrative itself. When the Israelites

2. Exodus. came out of Egypt into the desert of Sinai, they had an encounter with the Amalekites at Rephidim (Ex. 17 8-16), which is not very far from Mount Sinai (Nu. 33 15). It was natural enough that the nomads, who lived on the scanty products of this region, should do their utmost to expel the intruders, nor can we wonder at the mortal hatred with which the Israelites thenceforth regarded Amalek. That the narrative, in spite of its legendary features, has a historical foundation cannot be doubted. The story of an encounter in the desert of Paran—*i.e.*, the *Tih* itself (Nu. 14 25 43 45)—is probably nothing more than a less accurate version of the same struggle, which, it is true, can hardly have been limited to a single skirmish. Whether the account of the Deuteronomist (Dt. 25 17-19) was derived from any other source besides Ex. 17 8 *ff.* is not quite clear, although he mentions one additional circumstance, namely 'the cutting off of those who were wounded (?)'—the term נחשלים was perhaps suggested by יחלש in Ex. 17 13. The verbal repetition of the curse is worthy of note. In 1 S. 15 2, there is an obvious allusion to the passage in Exodus.

The mention of the Amalekites in Judg. 3 13 is perhaps due only to an ancient dittography (עמון עמלק, a reading which, at all events, must have been known to the author of the Maccabean Psalm 83—see *v.* 7 [8]); but it may be questioned whether Budde is justified in considering the reference to the Amalekites in connection with the Midianites (Judg. 6 33 7 12) as a mere gloss; it is in fact by no means improbable that besides the Midianites various other nomadic tribes made inroads upon the Israelite peasantry at the period in question.

The account of the wars of Saul against the Amalekites (1 S. 15) is unfortunately not altogether trustworthy.

3. Saul and David. Even in its original form it must have contained many exaggerations; and it has been subjected to considerable revision. The high figures which appear in the narrative have no historical value. The same may be said of the vast extent attributed to the Amalekite territory in a passage imitated from Gen. 25 18 (1 S. 15 6). We may with some certainty, however, conclude that the very first king of Israel inflicted severe losses upon the wild nomads (cp SAUL, § 3). In this connection we read of King Agag (the only

Amalekite proper name known to us, it may be noticed in passing), to whom the words of Balaam in Nu 24 7 refer. The description of the death of Agag, obscure as it is, has a very antique colouring, and reminds us of Judg. 8 18-21. Popular tradition has strangely interwoven the fate of the Amalekites with that of Saul. According to one story, which does not agree with the narrative in 1 S. 31, Saul was slain by an Amalekite, who forthwith carried the news to David, but instead of being rewarded was put to death. Even in the book of Esther, composed many centuries later, reference is made to the enmity between Saul and Agag as the Rabbins long ago observed: the righteous Mordecai is descended from the one, and the wicked Haman from the other.

At the moment when Saul fell on Mount Gilboa, the Amalekites, as it happened, were signally defeated by David. An ancient and well-informed narrator tells us how David, an exile at the court of the king of Gath, while professing to be very differently occupied (see ACHISH, DAVID, § 5), was in reality carrying on a war of extermination against the aboriginal tribes, in particular the Amalekites (1 S. 27 8). On one occasion the Amalekites profited by his absence to seize his residence, Ziklag, and carried off all its inhabitants. He pursued them, however, made a sudden attack with a band of only 600 men, rescued the whole of the spoil, and slew them all, with the exception of 400 who escaped on their camels (1 S. 30). Even the details of this narrative may, for the most part, be regarded as historical; it is obvious that the struggles here described were not wars on a large scale but mere raids such as are usual in the desert.

In after times Amalek does not come into prominence. The words of Balaam, which describe it as 'the first-

4. Later times. born of nations' (*i.e.*, primeval nation?), and at the same time foretell its overthrow, are spoken rather from the point of view of the age in which Balaam is placed than from the point of view of the real author, who seems to have lived about the eighth century B.C. (cp BALAAM). According to the remarkable notice contained in 1 Ch. 4 42 *ff.*, 500 men of the tribe of Simeon, under leaders whose names are specified, exterminated the last remnant of the Amalekites in the mountain country of Seir and settled down in their place. Hence it would appear that the last Amalekites dwelt in the mountains of Edom. With this it agrees that Gen. 36, the substance of which must be at all events pre-exilic, represents Amalek as the son of Esau's first-born, Eliphaz, by a concubine—*i.e.*, as an Edomite tribe of inferior rank: see Gen. 36 12 (of which 1 Ch. 1 36 is an incorrect version), and compare *v.* 16. The concubine in question is Timna, according to *v.* 22 (= 1 Ch 1 39), a sister of Lotan of Seir, an[1] according to the second list in *v.* 40 *ff.* (where Amalek is omitted), an Edomite tribe or settlement. Thus the remnants of Amalek are, to some extent, reckoned as members of the Edomite race.

The mention of Amalek among the contemporaneous enemies of Israel, by a psalmist of the Maccabean

5. Late writers. period (Ps. 83 7 8), is merely an example of the poetical licence whereby an ancient name is applied to a modern people, just as, *e.g.*, Greek writers of the sixth century A.D. call Goths 'Scythians.' As far as we can judge, the Amalekites were never a very important tribe; at their first appearance in history they are threatened with total destruction, and it would seem that neither Egyptian nor Assyrian records allude to their existence. Ancient Arabic authors, indeed, describe them as a mighty nation which dwelt in Arabia, Egypt, and other countries, and lasted down into post-Christian times. The present writer, however, thinks that in his short essay 'On the Amalekites' (Gottingen, 1864), he has succeeded in proving that these and other similar statements are either fancies suggested by passages in the OT, or else deliberate fictions, and therefore have no historical value. At the present day this opinion seems to be generally accepted.

One branch of the Amalekites, it is true, appears to have lasted somewhat longer than the rest. When Saul

6. Kenites. attacked the Amalekites he ordered the *Kenites* to separate themselves from the doomed people, on the ground that they had shown kindness to Israel at the time of the exodus (1 S. 15 6). The Kenites must therefore have belonged to Amalek, or must, at least, have stood in close connection with them (cp Judg. 1 16 as in *SBOT*). Thus we find that the oracle of Balaam (Nu. 24 21 *ff.*) mentions this people, under the name of Kain (*v.* 22, EV mg.), immediately after Amalek. Their friendly relations with Israel are, moreover, shown by the fact that, according to Judg. 1 16, the father-in-law of Moses was a Kenite (elsewhere a Midianite), and also by the fact that his descendants entered Palestine in company with the tribe of Judah. Hence the Kenites are reckoned as a part of Judah (1 S. 30 29, cp 1 Ch. 2 55); but according to the more accurate view they were a distinct people, though they dwelt in the south of Judæa, and were recognised as kinsmen by David (1 S. 27 10). From 1 Ch. 2 55, it would appear that the Rechabites, with whom the nomadic life had become a religious institution, were included among the Kenites (Jer. 35; 2 K. 10 15 23). In another district, the great plain of S. Galilee, we meet with Heber the Kenite (Judg. 4 *f.*). For W. Max Müller is mistaken when he derives the name from a city called Kin (*Asien u. Eur.* 174); the Song of Deborah reckons Jael, the wife of Heber, among 'women in the tent' (Judg. 5 24), which shows that the people in question are nomads. Accordingly we have no right to regard these Kenites as wholly distinct from those in the South. The oracle of Balaam mentions Kenites in the rocky hills of the South, foretelling that they will be carried away captive by the Assyrians. Gen. 15 19 includes the Kenites among the ten nations whose land God will give to Israel.

This people must therefore have been a nomadic tribe, which, at least in part, belonged to Amalek, in part was absorbed into Israel, and in part, it may be, maintained a separate existence for some time longer. It is not impossible that the Bedouin tribe, Kain, which dwelt in the desert of Sinai and the neighbouring districts about six centuries after Christ, may be connected with the Kenites (Kain) of the OT, as the present writer, following Ewald, has stated (*op. cit.*). At the present time, some further arguments might be brought forward in favour of this hypothesis, which, however, is still very far from being absolutely proved.

On the other hand, there are many objections to the theory that Cain, the fratricide, is a representative of the

7. Cain. Bedouin tribe of the Kenites, as well as to other hypotheses of Stade (*ZATW* 14 250-318 ['94]), great as is the acuteness with which they are supported. A few points alone can be here referred to. Cain, the brother of Abel the shepherd, is expressly described as a *husbandman*. After his evil deed he becomes 'a wanderer and a fugitive'—*i.e.*, an outlawed, homeless criminal. This is something quite different from a nomad, who regularly goes to and fro within the same pastures in the 'desert.' That the Kenites, from among whom Moses fetched a wife, and who have a good name almost everywhere in the OT, were a tribe of smiths[1] (and therefore of pariahs), has no evidence in its favour, nor can we find any indication that the later Arabian tribe of Kain (Bal-Kain) was of such a character. In the Ar. *kain*, which, it is true, also means 'smith, craftsman,' several words appear to be combined. Besides, blood-vengeance, which is first mentioned in the story of Cain, is by no means a

[1] Similarly Sayce, *Races of OT* 118. 'They formed an important guild in an age when the art of metallurgy was confined to a few.' See however Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 28 *f.*-282.

peculiarity of nomad tribes; it prevailed also among the ancient Israelites, who of course were agriculturists (see also CAIN, § 4 *f.*). TH. N.

AMAM (אָמָם; CHN [B]; AMAM [AL]), an unidentified site in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15 26†).

AMAN. 1. (AMAN [A], ADAM [B], NADAB [N]) Ward of Tobit's nephew Achiacharus (Sennacherib's vezir, Tob. 1 21) who basely ill used his benefactor, but came to grief himself while his victim escaped (Tob. 14 10); called Nadan in romance of Ahikar (see ACHIACHARUS), and no doubt, therefore, the same as NASBAS (*νασβας* [BA], *ναβαδ* [N]; נבת; *nabath* [Vg.], *nabal* [It.]), the *ἐξάδελφος* (lit. 'brother's son') of Achiacharus (Tob. 11 18†), probably to be rendered, in accordance with the romance, '*sister's* son' cp accompanying table). See ACHIACHARUS.

Tobiel

Tobit — Anael

Achiacharus (Tob. 1 21 *f.*) — sister

Nasbas (Tob. 11 18)
i.e., Nadan (romance)
prob. = Aman (Tob. 14 10).

2. (*αμαν* [BNAL]) 'Rest of Esther' 10 7, etc. See HAMAN.

AMANA (אֲמָנָה 'firm, constant'; ⊕ BNA translates 'from the top of Amana' *ἀπὸ ἀρῆς πίστεως*; ܐܡܢܐ; *Amana*) 1. The name of a mountain, in Cant. 4 8, where 'the top of Amana' is introduced parallel to 'the top of Senir and Hermon.'

'With me from Lebano, O bride, with me from Lebanon come;
From the summit of Amana, from the summit of Senir and Hermon.'

In the preceding distich reference is made to Lebanon. Evidently the poet means some part of the range of Antilibanus, probably the Jebel ez-Zebedāni, below which is the beautiful village of Zebedāni and the source of the Nahr Baradā (the Heb. ABANA, *q.v.*). In inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sennacherib the mountain ranges Libnana and Ammanana are coupled (Del. *Par.* 103 *f.*)

2. Considering how well the form Amana is attested, it becomes a question whether in 2 K. 5 12 we should not adopt the Kr. in preference to the Kt., and read 'Amana' (so AV mg.) or AMANAH (so RV mg.) as the old Hebrew name of the Nahr Baradā (see ABANA).

Many MSS with the two Soncino and the Brescia editions have this reading in the text in Kings; Targ. and Pesh., with the Complut. ed. of ⊕ and the Syro-Hex. text, also presuppose it. T. K. C.

AMANAH (אֲמָנָה Kr.), 2 K. 5 12† RV = AV AMANA, 2.

AMARIAH (אֲמַרְיָה [and אמריהו, see nos. 5, 6, 7] 'Yahwè hath spoken' [see NAMES, § 33] or 'promised.' Less probably 'man of Yahwè' on analogy of Palm. n. pr. אמרשמש 'man of the sun,' see Baethg. *Beitr.* 89 n.;[1] AMAP[E]IA [BAL]), a name occurring frequently, but with the exception of (1) only in post-exilic literature.

1. b. Hezekiah, an ancestor of Zephaniah (Zeph. 1 1, *αμορ[ε]ιου* [BA], *αμμορεου* [N*], *-ριου* [N c.b vid.], *αμαριου* [N c.c vid. Q]). The readings with 'o' as the second vowel suggest the pronunciation 'Amori' = Amorite. Another ancestor is called 'Cushi'—*i.e.*, the Cushite.

2. In list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 4 (*σαμαρ[ε]ια* [BA], *αμ.* [N], *-ιου* [L]) = 1 Ch. 9 4, IMRI, abbreviated form (אמרי, *αμρ[ε]ι* [BA], *-βρι* [L]).

3. One of the b'ne BANI in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 42 (*μαρια* [BN], *αμαριας* [AL]).

4. A priest in Zerubbabel's band (EZRA, ii. § 6 *b*), Neh. 12 2 ([*εσδραμ*]*αριαμ*[*αλουλ*] [B], *μαρεια* [N], *αμ.* [N^a], *αζαριας* [L]), cp v. 13 (*αραια* [N*]), and in list of signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 3 [4] (*αμαριας* [L]). A comparison of

[1] For another suggested compound of אב[ן] see MERIBBAAL.

the lists in Neh. with 1 Ch. 24 makes it plausible to identify 'Amariah' with the priestly house of 'Immer' (v. 14) whose institution is ascribed to David's time (see IMMER, 2).

In the following (nos. 5-8), the unhistorical nature of the context strongly suggests that the name is introduced merely to give an air of antiquity to this priestly family.

5. Chief priest, temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 19 11 אמריה; Jos. *αμασιας*).

6. A Levite, temp. Hezekiah, 2 Ch. 31 15 (אמריה; *μαριας* [BA], *αμ.* [L]).

7. One of the b'ne Hebron, a Kohathite Levite (*αμαδια* [B]); 1 Ch. 23 19; in 24 23 אמריהו (*αμαριας* [A]).

8. Amariah occurs twice in the genealogy of the high priests, (*i*) as son of Meraioth; 1 Ch. 6 7 [5 33] (*αμαριας* [A]: Jos. *Ἀροῆβαίος*) 6 52 [37] (*αλιαρεια* [B, *i.e.*, MA misread AIA]), and (*ii*) as a son of Azariah, 6 11 [5 37] (*αμαριας* [A L]), cp Ezra 7 3 (*σαμαρεια* [BA] *αμαριου* [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 2 (*αμαρθειου* [B] *αμαριου* [AL], EV AMARIAS, as in 4 Esd. 1 2, *Amariae* [ed. Bensley]), probably the same as 5 above (cp Be.). See further HIGH PRIEST and note the suspicious recurrence of the sequence Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok (cp We. *Pr.* 146 *f.*). See MERAIOTH.

AMARIAS (AMAPIOY [A]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = Ezra 7 3 AMARIAH (*q.v.*, 4).

AMASA (עֲמָשָׂא; rather, perhaps, עַמִּישַׁי Ammishai, cp AMECCAEI [B in 2 S. 19, BA in *c.* 20, A in *c.* 17] -ECAI [A], -ECCA [L always; A occasionally], and other variants, see below; cp ABISHAI, AMASAI. The form Amasa rests on a false etymology [from עמס = עמשא]; cp AMASHSAI; so Marq. *Fund.* 24)

1. Son of Abigail, the sister of Zeruiah and David (1 Ch. 2 16 *f.* 2 S. 17 25 *αμεσσει* [B], *-σσαει* [A]). His father was Jether a Jezreelite—not an 'Israelite' or an 'Ishmaelite' (see ABIGAIL, 2). He was among those that fell away from David to ABSALOM (*q.v.*), who entrusted him with the command of his forces (2 S. 17 25). In spite of this, David thought it prudent to conciliate Amasa by a promise of the same position in his own army, JOAB (*q.v.*) having earned the king's displeasure (2 S. 19 13 [14] *αμισσαι* [A]). On the renewal of revolt under Sheba (2 S. 20 1), in which according to one view he was implicated, Amasa was entrusted with mustering the men of Judah (v. 4). Joab soon took his revenge upon his rival. Amasa having failed to appear at the appointed time, David commissioned Abishai (2 S. 20 6) to go with his men in pursuit of the rebels, and Joab naturally joined the party. The cousins met at Gibeon, and while Joab was pretending to give Amasa a friendly salute, he gave him a deadly blow[2] (2 S. 20 8-10). The narrator is not interested enough in the unfortunate man to tell us whether he ever received an honourable burial (v. 12 *αβεσσαει* [B once], *αμεσαι* [A once]). See SHEBA, ii. 1 (end).

His death is referred to in 1 K. 2 5 *αμεσσαια* [B], *-σσα* [L], *αμμεσα* [A] and v. 32 (*αμεσσα* [BL]; A omits). (The *β* of *αμεσσαβ* in 1 Ch. 2 17 [B] may come from the following Hebrew word.)

2. (*ἀμασ[ε]ίας* [BAL]), an Ephramite, temp. Ahaz (2 Ch. 28 12†). T. K. C.

AMASAI (עֲמָשַׂי, perhaps rather to be read עַמִּישַׁי, Ammishai [so We. *JJG*[2] 24, n. 2], cp עמשא בן אמשי in 1 Ch. 6 25 35 ABISHAI; AMACAI [BAL], -CE [N]).

1. A name in the genealogy of Kohath (1 Ch. 6 25 [10], *αμεσσει* [B], *-μασι* [A], *-σα* [L]; 1 Ch. 6 35 [20], *αμαθειου* [B], *-μας* [A]).

2. Chief of David's 'thirty,' 1 Ch. 12 18 [19]; see DAVID, § 11 *a* iii., to whom the Chronicler ascribes an obviously not very ancient poetic speech.

He has been variously identified with Amasa (*e.g.*, by Ew.) and with Abishai, who is called Abshai in 1 Ch. 11 20. Ki. even corrects to 'Abishai' (*SBOT*, *ad loc.*). Neither Amasa nor Abishai, however, occupied the rank of chief of the thirty, according to the lists in 2 S. 23 and 1 Ch. 11. The matter is of no great moment, since the connection in which Amasai is mentioned in 1 Ch. 12 does not permit us to use the passage for historical purposes. The Chronicler's conception of Saul's fugitive son-in-law is dominated by the later view of David as

[1] Most critics change Abishai here and in v. 7 to 'Joab' (the reading of Pesh.), but perhaps mistakenly. See Bu. *SBOT*, *ad loc.*

[2] See Dr., or Bu., for restoration of the text.

the 'anointed' of Yahwe and the founder of the one legitimate dynasty (We. *Prol.*[2] 1[n]).

3. A priest, temp. David (1 Ch. 15 24).

4. Ancestor of Mahath, a Kohathite Levite, temp. Hezekiah; probably a family name; cp no. 1 (2 Ch. 29 12: μασι [BA], αμεσσι [L]).

5. See below, AMASHAI.

AMASHAI, or rather, as in RV, **Amashsai** (עֲמַשְׂשַׁי, where ם implies a reading עמשי based on a false derivation from עמס, perhaps really to be read Ammishai, see AMASAI), a priestly name in the post-exilic list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 15 *a*), Neh. 11 13 (αμασ[ε]ια [BN], -σαι [L], -μεσαι [A]) = 1 Ch. 9 12 where the name is MAASAI, AV MAASIAI (מַעֲשַׂי [Ba. Gi.], some authorities מַעַי [Gi.]; μαασαια [B], -σει [L], μασαι [A]; [illegible], in Neh. [illegible]).

AMASIAH (עֲמַסְיָה, § 29, 'Yahwè bears,' cp AMOS; μασαιας [B], -αιας [A], αμασιας [L]), one of Jehoshaphat's captains (2 Ch. 17 16†).

AMATHEIS (εμαθεις [B]), 1 Esd. 9 29 AV = Ezra 10 28 ATHLAI.

AMATHIS (αμαθειτις [A]), 1 Macc. 12 25† AV, RV HAMATH (*q.v.*).

AMAZIAH (אֲמַצְיָה, and in nos. 2-4, אֲמַצְיָה, § 29, 'Yahwè is mighty' cp AMOZ; αμεσσ[ε]ιας [BAL], -εσι- [AL], -μασ[ε]- [BAQ], -μασσι- [L]).

1. b. Joash; father of U'zziah and king of Judah *circa* 796-790 B.C. (see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 35, 37) 2 K. 14 1-20 2 Ch. 25. Two points in his favour are mentioned in Kings—viz., that he punished his father's murderers and that he reconquered the Edomites who had revolted (see EDOM, § 8; JOKTHEEL, 2). Whether he was to any extent successful against that restless and warlike people has indeed been doubted, but on grounds which will not bear examination.

Am. 1 11 *ff.* is, in fact, more than probably a later insertion (see AMOS, § 9), so that the inference, drawn from this passage by Stade (ii. 7) and Kittel, that Amos knew of no great calamity befalling Edom in recent times, falls to the ground.

Amaziah's unfortunate challenge to Joash king of Israel (who treated him, according to the narrative, 'as a good-natured giant might treat a dwarf,' 2 K. 14 8 *ff.*) ended seriously enough, in the strengthening of the old supremacy of northern over southern Israel (see ISRAEL, § 31). It is quite possible that the Edomites took advantage of the weakness of Judah to recover in some degree their independence; but of this we have no information.

The Chronicler assures us (2 Ch. 25 14) that, on his return from the sanguinary battle in the 'valley of salt' (cp 2 K. 14 7), Amaziah adopted the worship of the Edomitish deities, forgetting that such an act would be possible only if the Edomites were either the masters or the allies of the people of Judah.

Like his father, Amaziah died a violent death; possibly, as Wellhausen, Stade, and Kittel suppose, the conspiracy against him was not unconnected with the disgrace which he had brought on his country. The Chronicler's treatment of Amaziah's reign is of special significance for the Chronicler's period (see Bennett, *Chron.* 413-417, and cp Kue. *Einl.* § 51, n. 4).

Sources. The account given in Kings is of composite origin. 2 K. 14 8-14 comes from a somewhat unfriendly source, which may be of N. Israelitish origin. The rest of ch. 14 belongs to the Deuteronomistic compiler, who lays stress on Amaziah's better side, and who at the close of his story probably makes use of the royal annals.

2. Priest of Bethel, temp. Amos (Am. 7 10 12). See AMOS, § 1.

3. A Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 34 αμασ[ε]κα [BA], -σσιου [L]).

4. A Merarite, temp. David (1 Ch. 6 45 [30] αμεσσεια (?) [B], -ασια [L], μαεσσια [A]).

T. K. C.

AMBASSADOR, the EV rendering of the following three Hebrew words:

1. *Mēlîṣ* (מְלִיץ) in 2 Ch. 32 31 (πρεσβύτης), more properly 'interpreter' (as EV in Gen. 42 23 [ἑρμηνευτής], in Is. 43 27 [RV mg. ambassador, ἄρχοντες ℵBNQ], but Aq. Sym. ἑρμηνεῖς], and in Job 33 23 [ℵBNA have θανατηφόροι]).

2. *Mal'ākh* (מַלְאָךְ) in 2 Ch. 35 21 Is. 30 4 33 7 Ez. 17 15 (מלא, to send; cp BDB *Lex.*, *ad loc.*; ἄγγελος), a word used indefinitely of any messenger; so, *e.g.*, of a priest (cp Mal. 2 7), a prophet (Is. 42 19; οἱ κυριεύοντες), or (as frequently) an angel. *Mal'ākh*, accordingly, often approximates to the idea of 'ambassador': cp the emissaries sent to Edom, Sihon king of the Amorites, and Ammon (Nu. 20 14 21 21 πρεσβεις, Judg. 11 12; EV 'messengers').

3. *Ṣîr* (ציר) in Is. 18 2 (ημερα [BNAQ] and Th., but Aq. πρεσβύτης, Sym. ἀποστολος, 'hostages,' cp 1 Macc. 10 87 95; etc.), Is. 57 9 RV (AV 'messengers'; πρεσβυς), Jer. 49 14 Pr. 13 17 25 13 (EV in the last, messenger, ἄγγελος) and Ob. 1 1 (περιοχη, a confusion with צִיָּה q.v.). The denom. vb. הצשיר, 'to feign one's self an ambassador,' 1 and in MT of Jos. 9 (cp EV) should be read הצטיד, 'take provision' (so RV mg. after most versions; cp Ben Sira, [illegible]).[1]

In the Apocrypha 'ambassador' represents πρεσβυς, πρεσβευτης in 1 Macc. 2 70 11 9 14 21 (πρεσβύτεροι [ℵV]) 40 (πρεσβυτεροις [V]) 15 17 2 Macc. 11 34 (in 1 Macc. 13 14 21 AV has 'messengers'), and ἄγγελος in Judith 3 1 AV (RV here and EV elsewhere 'messenger'). In NT the word occurs in 2 Cor. 5 20 Eph. 6 20 (πρεσβευω), Philem. 9 RV mg. (πρεσβυτης).

A distinction between messengers and diplomatic agents naturally presupposes an acquaintance with state-craft hardly possible in Israel before the monarchy, and even in David's time emissaries from one court to another were liable to be abused, although the punishment inflicted upon the offenders may suggest that ambassadorial rights were beginning to be recognised (see 2 S. 10 1 *ff.*). The first use of *ṣîr*, apparently the only approach to a specific word for 'ambassador,' naturally belongs to the time when Israel had been forced into diplomatic relations with Egypt and Assyria (of whose frequent intercommunication at a much earlier period the Amarna tablets tell us so much). From the nature of the case *ṣîr* is presumably a loan-word.[2] The employment of the term *mēlîṣ*, 'interpreter,' is the more interesting since Aramaic was the language of diplomacy for Assyrians and Hebrews; cp Is. 36 11, and see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2. See POST-KADESHAKH.

S. A. C.

AMBER (חַשְׁמַל; in pause [Ez. 8 2, where, however, Co. regards it as a gloss] חשמר).

Cp Egyp. *ḥsmn*, 'electrum' or 'bronze'; see EGYPT, § 36, last note, also Lag. *Übers.* 121; Ed. Meyer, *ZDMG* 46 115 [92], and also Lepsius, *Z.* 31 454; against the usual explanation see Kohut, *Ethrech.* 1 92. Fr. Del. in Bab.-Del. *Lexicon* xii. identifies the Egyptian word quoted, and also Heb. חשמל, with Ass. *ēlmarū*, which he defines in *Ass. HW* as a costly brilliant metal (?). So Hommel, *Die Semit. Völker* 1 450.

1. Hashmal = amber.

The Heb. *ḥashmal* occurs thrice (or twice; see above) in Ezek.[3], and is rendered by the EV 'amber.' ℭBVQ has ἤλεκτρον, Vg.[4] *electrum*, a rendering which most scholars (*e.g.*, Smend) have adopted, supposing, from the context, that some metallic substance is meant, and understanding ἤλεκτρον to mean here a certain alloy of gold and silver (Egyptologists have given the same meaning to the apparently related Egyptian word). This interpretation, however, rests upon a mistake as to the ancient use of the term ἤλεκτρον; see also EGYPT, § 36, last note).

It is true the name is sometimes used of a metallic substance. Thus, to cite the earliest case, Sophocles (*Antig.* 1036-38) makes Creon speak of electrum from Sardis (τὸν πρὸς Σαρδέων ἤλεκτρον) and Indian gold (καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν), doubtless meaning by the former what the Greeks commonly called pale gold (λευκὸς χρυσος), a natural alloy of gold and silver (one part silver to three or four parts of gold) found native in great abundance in Lydia. That electrum, however, was not a term commonly applied to such an alloy seems indicated by the pains which Stade takes to explain the term as used in the liturgy of the resident (κοσμημα) left after the first smelting of gold (Ex. 28 14). He

[1] ציר, 'ambassador,' appears in ℭ in four other places in Is., viz. 13 8 (for צִיר, 'at pang') 21 2 (צִירֵי for צִירֵי, 'birds') 50 1 (between כַּתֹּרֶת and מִכֶּר) and 63 9 (for צָרָה compare Du., *ad loc.*, Che. *Intr. Isa.* 35).

[2] The connection with Ar. *sāra*, 'to go' (Gesen.-Bu.), does not commend itself. It may perhaps be compared with Ass. *ṣ(i)ru*, 'stick' or 'sceptre' (see Del. *Ass. HWB*, [illegible]), the official derives his name from the emblem of office, originally the courier's stick (?).

[3] 1 4 27, 'and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber,' 'I saw as the colour of amber'; 8 2 'as the appearance of brightness as the colour of amber.'

[4] For a rendering ἴρις in Ezek. 1 4 see Field, *Hexapla*.

himself usually employs the expression 'pale gold' when he alludes to the native alloy. Sophocles, too (*l.c.*), shows that he is employing the word in an unusual and extended way, by appending the qualifying phrase 'from Sardis.'

Usually the word has quite another meaning.

In Homer, *e.g.*, where the word occurs thrice and is significantly applied to an article trafficked in by Phœnicians, the trader who captured Eumæus is described (*Od.* 15 460) as having a golden necklace (μετὰ δ' ἠλεκτροισιν ἔρτο) strung with pieces of electrum (similarly in *Od.* 18 296, ἠλεκτροισιν ἐερμένον). The use of the term in the plural in these passages forbids us by any possibility taking it as meaning the gold and silver alloy.

If, then, by electrum the versions do not mean metallic electrum they must mean amber. There are, however, two kinds of amber, and it remains to consider which is meant. The one, usually a dark red (rarely of a light colour), is found in the south of Europe (Catania, Reggio) and in the Lebanon; the other, usually of a yellow or golden colour, but occasionally darker in hue, has from ancient times been met with in great abundance on the shores of the Baltic (whence our chief modern supply is derived), and also occurs on the coasts of the North Sea. As the Phœnician had red amber thus at his very door, he may early have learned to employ it for purposes of art and ornament, just as he learned his art of dyeing with purple from having the murex in abundance by his shores. Moreover, red amber is, as stated above also to be found in Sicily, and may have been procured thence. As increased demand called for an increased supply, traders, sailing round the coast of the Ægean in quest of new fishing grounds for the purple-fish, would naturally search keenly for fresh supplies of the precious substance, for the ancients prized amber far beyond its modern value.

Its power of attracting light substances, and the fact that when warmed it emitted a faint perfume, invested it for them with an element of mystery. How far they actually ascribed to it certain medicinal properties, as is still the case in the East with ambergris—an animal substance that has lent its name (adopted by us from the Arabs) to amber—it is impossible to say. As these two substances, which have really nothing in common save the power to emit a kind of perfume, have been called by the same name, the fact that ambergris is prized as an aphrodisiac may perhaps indicate that there was some belief that amber (electrum) possessed some similar potency. This is actually stated by Pliny (*NH* xxxvii. 3 11), who tells us that in his own time the peasant women in the regions north of the Po wore amber necklaces, chiefly as an ornament, but also for medical reasons, and goes on to enumerate a number of ailments for which it was regarded as a specific, either taken as a potion or applied externally. That its property of attraction (whence our modern word electricity) was early known to the Greeks is proved by the notice of Thales.

But how would red amber naturally give a name to a metallic electrum? To the eye of the Greek the essential difference between pure gold and the alloy (to which we have in English confined the name electrum) being the pale colour of the latter (λευκὸς χρυσός), any name which he would apply to it to differentiate it from pure gold would naturally be one which would indicate this paleness. The reddish amber of the South would not furnish such a name, having no resemblance in hue to metallic electrum. But the yellow Baltic amber, varying as it does in shade from almost white to a bright golden, would give a fairly accurate description of the alloy, whose hue varies with the proportion of its component parts. Similarly when, in the second passage quoted above from the Odyssey, a necklace of gold set with pieces of amber is likened to the sun (ἠέλιον ὦς), the golden (Baltic) amber answers to the description far better than the red. We may assume, then, that from remote ages supplies of Baltic (yellow) amber as well as of red amber were available.

2. Perhaps yellow amber.

Nor is this a mere hypothesis. It has been removed from the realm of probability into that of established fact, by the finding of amber in the tombs discovered at Mycenæ by D. Schliemann in 1876, and of beads of the same material in his more recent excavations at Tiryns. As the red amber and the Baltic amber differ essentially in chemical composition, Dr. Helm, an eminent chemist of Dantzig, has been able to prove

by actual analysis that this amber is the Baltic variety (Schliemann's *Tiryns*, 1886, App. p. 372).

It was, doubtless, from the German tribes along one of the highways which were in constant use in historic times that the ancient supplies of Baltic amber were obtained. We know that down to the time of Herodotus (about 430 B.C.) the Greeks had not as yet opened up any line of communication with the amber coasts from the side of the Euxine.

Herodotus visited Olbia, and though he has given a pretty full account of those regions, mentioning a trade-route leading towards the East, and though we know from his own words (3 115) that the amber trade was a subject which had excited his attention, he expresses the commonly received opinion that it was obtained at the mouth of the Eridanus [Po].

Neither does Baltic amber seem to have reached Greece in his time by any Russian-Balkan route (5 9). Down to the time of Theophrastus (315 B.C.) it was entirely through northern Italy that the Greeks got their supply of it.[1] The lake-dwellings of Switzerland and the valley of the Po have yielded abundance of beads of Baltic amber, and similar beads are well known in the tombs of central Italy. We need have little hesitation, therefore, in believing the statement of Pliny[2] (*NH* xxxvii. 3 44) that it was brought by the Germans into Pannonia and thence reached the Veneti, who dwelt at the head of the Adriatic.[3] As the main lines of commerce change but little through the ages, it was probably by this route that the amber beads reached Mycenæ and Tiryns in the bronze age, and articles of the same kind may even have reached Palestine. The bead found at Lachish, however, has been proved, since this article was in print, to be not Baltic amber, but, like that found at Tell-Zakariya (*PEFQ*, April 1899, p. 107), a resin, and no trace of amber has yet been found in Mesopotamia (Per.-Chip., *Art. Chald.* 2 362). Nevertheless it is possible that even the yellow variety may have reached Palestine in the sixth century B.C., and the view of the ancient versions that the Hebrew *ḥashmal* indicates this substance may be correct.

W. R.

AMEN (אָמֵן;[4] in ☙ usually γένοιτο;[5] in work of Chronicler ἀμήν, and so in NT very often),[6] an adj.[7] signifying stability, used only as an interjection expressive of assent of one kind or another.[8] Three stages may be distinguished: (1) *Initial* Amen, referring back to words of another speaker; probably the earliest usage, occurring even in common speech[9] (1 K. 1 36 Jer. 28 6 11 5, the only certainly pre-exilic Amens).[10] (2) *Detached* Amen, the complementary sentence being suppressed (Dt. 27 15-26 Neh. 5 13; double in

1. In OT.

[1] They appear to have confused with it a stone called λυγούριον or *ligurius*; as so often occurs they mistook the region whence the article was transmitted to them for the actual place of production (Theophr. *De Lap.* 16).

[2] Pliny's statement is confirmed by a remark of Herodotus (1 196) from which it appears that the only knowledge then obtainable respecting central Europe came by way of the Veneti, a fact which shows that the Greeks knew of a line of communication in this direction.

[3] Pytheas of Massilia had, in the fourth century B.C., found the Guttones gathering it and giving it in trade to the Tutones.

[4] It probably occurs in twelve places in the Hebrew, for in Is. 65 16, although Aq. (πεπιστωμένως), Sym., Pesh., and Vg. have *amen*, it should probably (so Che. Di. Du. Rys. in *HS*, and perhaps Targ. Jon. ☙[BNAQT] [αληθι.ον]) be vocalised otherwise, perhaps אֱמוּן (as in Is. 25 1, where indeed the Gk. Vss. [but Sym. not, as usual, ἀμήν, but πίστει] and Vg. read *amen*). ☙[BNAQ] read it also, in a corrupt text, in Jer. 15 11 and in Jer. 3 19. EV has *amen* always; RV even in Jer. 11 5. It occurs in six places in ☙ Apocr. (for Judg. 13 20 cp Eth. Pesh.). Vg. adds Tob. 9 12 13 23 and 2 Esd. [Neh.] 13 31; in Ecclus. 50 22 it is probably late.

[5] Eight (eleven) times, ἀληθῶς once.

[6] There is much variety of text. TR has it in some 119 places, of which RV rejects 19 (see below, § 2).

[7] See, however, Barth, *NB* §§ 5*c* and 7*k*.

[8] For three kinds see *Shebu'oth* 36*a* (mid.).

[9] It seems most likely that in Jer. 3 19 ☙ read אֵיךְ as אֵין יְדִיעָה כִּי.

[10] ☙ has it also in Jer. 3 19 15 11 (Is. 25 1 is not pre-exilic).

Nu. 5 22 and in Neh. 8 6 = 1 Esd. 9 47). Amen must have been in liturgical use in the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch. 16 36 = Ps. 106 48). Later, but very similar, are Judith 13 20, Tob. 9 12 (Vg.), and Tob. 8 8. With the fact that none of these relates to temple service may be compared, *e.g.*, *Ber. Berach.* 14*c*. The Chronicler, however, appends Amen (*l.c.*) to extracts from Pss. 105 and 96.[1] (3) An apparent *final* Amen, there being no change of speaker; frequent from NT Epp. onwards, but in OT only (*a*) in subscription to first three (four) divisions of Psalter and 3 and 4 Macc.; and (*b*) at end of prayer, Neh. 13 31 and Tob. 13 18 (both only in Vg.). In Tob. 14 15 (BℵA) we have almost a fourth stage: (4) a simple *subscriptional* Amen, like that, *e.g.*, of the TR of Lk., without, strictly speaking, any preceding doxology.[2]

Just as 𝔊 translates, as we have seen, by γένοιτο in the Law, the Prophets, and even the Psalter, but has

2. In NT. ἀμήν in the Chronicler and Apocrypha,[3] so in NT Lk. often avoids (omits or translates) Amen, and so even Mt. and to a *less* extent Mk. Stage (1) is represented by only Rev. 7 11[4] 19 4 22 20; (2) by Rev. 5 14 and the usage testified to by 1 Cor. 14 16; (3) by usage of Epistles (fifteen doxologies, mostly well-attested;[5] nineteen blessings, mostly ill-attested).[6] There is no real instance of (4)

The Amens of the Gospels (fifty-two in Synopt., twenty-five in Jn.) are a peculiar class, declared by Delitzsch[7] unparalleled in Hebrew literature: initial Amens[8] like group (1), but lacking the backward reference. The sayings that they introduce are only sometimes at all related to what now precedes them. The double ἀμήν (twenty-five times) of the Fourth Gospel, which occurs even in Jn. 13 38 (= Mk. 14 30, etc.), Delitzsch tried (*l.c.*) to explain as = Aram. *amen amēna* (*amen amer'na* = ἀμὴν λέγω), which sounded like ἀμὴν ἀμήν; but Dalman argues strongly against this.[9] For a suggestion of a different kind see GOSPELS, § 50 n.[10]

The key to Rev. 3 14 (ὁ ἀμήν), 'the faithful and true witness,' is doubtless the traditional Massoretic pointing of Is. 65 16 (at least as old as Sym.) with possibly a reminiscence of the practice of Jesus and of 2 Cor. 1 20. Here, again, ἀμήν is neut., and the meaning is not quite so clear; but probably ἀμήν has about the same meaning as in 1 Cor. 14 16.

The liturgical use of Amen, vouched for in apostolic times by this last passage, is attested, as regards the Eucharist, by Justin Martyr for the second century (*Apol.* i. 65,

3. Elsewhere. ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν), and, *e.g.*, by Jerome two centuries later (preface to Bk. ii. of *Com. in Ep. ad Gal.*, 'ad similitudinem . . . tonitrui *amen* reboat'), while the introduction of Amen in the baptismal service is probably later. Post-biblical Judaism greatly developed the theory of the use of Amen.[11] He who pronounced it was greater than he who blessed. It opened the gates of heaven.[12] It must not be uttered in a slovenly or careless way, nor yet prolonged too much.[13] The synagogue still uses it,[14] and Mohammedans are in the habit of adding it after reciting the first *Sura* of the Koran.

For references to older literature see, *e.g.*, Vigouroux, *Bib. Dict.*, *s.v.*; for references to passages in Talm. see, *e.g.*, Kohut's

4. Literature. *Aruch*, *s.v.*; for usage of temple doxology Grätz, *MGWJ*, 1872, pp. 481-96, and *Psalmen* 62 *f.* 91 *ff.*; for Rabbinic treatment, *e.g.*, Jehuda Khalas, *Sefer ha-Mūsār*, *Pereq.* 4 (ed. Mantua, 42); Yosēf Caro, *Beth Yosēf* (*Orach-Hajim*) ed.

[1] Grätz accordingly argues that our Psalms are a synagogue arrangement.

[2] This is hardly true of ℵ.

[3] Except Judith 13 20.

[4] W & H give, in square brackets, also a final 'Amen.'

[5] All except 2 Pet. 3 18.

[6] Also Rev. 1 7 (after ναί; neither doxology [?] nor benediction). Rev. 1 18 1 Jn. 5 21 2 Jn. 13 are excluded in RV. Cp *JQR* 9 8, n. 2.

[7] 'Talm. Stud. ix. ἀμὴν ἀμήν' in *ZLTh.*, 1[illegible], pp. 422-4.

[8] All in sayings of Jesus. The five finals (Mt. 6 13 28 20 Lk. 24 53 Jn. 21 25 Mk. 16 20) are wanting in the best MSS.

[9] See Dalm. *Gram.* 193 (cp 71 77 4[illegible], 220 14[illegible]).

[10] See now also Dalman as cited below, § 4.

[11] See *Shebu'oth* as above and many other places. For an example of 'Amen' in conversation see *Aboda Zara* 65 *a*.

[12] *Shabbath* 119*b* mid. of p.

[13] *Ber.* 47 *a*.

[14] *Authorised Daily Prayer-Book*, N. M. Adler, 1[illegible].

Venice, 1550, 1 fol. 54b-8a. On the whole subject see H. W. Hogg, 'Amen, notes on its Significance and Use in Biblical and Post-biblical times,' *JQR* 9 1-24 (96), and in connection therewith Nestle, 'The Last Word in the Bible,' *Expository Times*, January 1897, p. 19[illegible] *f.* To the above must now be added Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* 185-7 (98).

H. W. H.

AMETHYST (אחלמה, ΑΜΕΘΥΣΤΟΣ [BAF], -ΣΟΣ [L], *amethystus*,). The amethyst is a variety of quartz (SiO_2) or rock-crystal (see CRYSTAL) of a clear purple or bluish violet colour (from iron peroxide or manganese), often marked by zigzag or undulating lines (the colour being disposed in clouds). The Greek name (Rev. 21 20; cp Ex. 28 19 = 39 12 [36 19 in 𝔊]), which was adopted into Latin, implies an ancient belief that the wearer of an amethyst could drink wine freely without fear of intoxication. The source of the belief is found in Theophrastus (*Lap.* 31), who is the earliest Greek writer to mention the stone, which he calls τὸ ἀμέθυσον. It is a simple case of sympathetic magic, for Theophrastus says (*Lap.* 31) τὸ δὲ ἀμέθυσον οἰνωπὸν τῇ χρόᾳ: it is wine-coloured, hence its amuletic potency against the effects of wine. Greek engravers, accordingly, not infrequently cut Bacchanalian subjects on this stone. Hence the point of several epigrams in the *Anthologia Graeca* (*e.g.*, ix. 752, on the ring of Cleopatra, adorned with Methè, Drunkenness; and ix. 748, on a gem engraved with a figure of Bacchus) It seems also to have been believed that the amethyst caused those who wore it to dream, or to have propitious dreams (cp the extract from Burhān in Lag. *Mitth.* 1 236). Hence the engraved *aḥlāmā* of the 'Breastplate' of P (Ex. 28 19 = 39 12; explained by Kimchi as the dream-stone; אחלמה from חלם 'to dream') has been commonly identified with the amethyst (thus apparently 𝔊), so much engraved by the Greeks. Cp PRECIOUS STONES.

Del., on the other hand (*Heb. Lang.* 36 n.), derives the name from *Aḥlamū*, an Armenian people and district often mentioned in Babylonian and Assyrian texts, supporting the suggestion by referring to Sennacherib's repeated mention of Armenia and its neighbourhood 'as a rich mine of certain precious stones.' Bondi considers it an Egyptian loan-word (*ekhnōme*), while Di. connects it with חלמית, the mallow, and adopts the explanation 'green malachite.'

W. R.

AMI (אָמִי), Ezra 2 57† = Neh. 7 59 AMON (*q.v.*, 3).

AMINADAB (ΑΜΙΝΑΔΑΒ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 4 and (ΑΔΑΜΕΙΝ [WH], mg. ΑΔΑΜ) Lk. 3 33† AV = RV AMMINADAB (*q.v.*, 1).

AMITTAI (אֲמִתַּי, § 52, from אֱמֶת, 'truth,' perhaps a theophorous compound; ΑΜΑΘ[Ε]Ι [BAL]), father of the prophet Jonah (2 K. 14 25 Jonah 1 1†).

AMMAH, The Hill of (גִּבְעַת אַמָּה; Ο ΒΟΥΝΟΣ ΑΜΜΑΝ [B], -ΜΑ [A], ΕΜΜΑΘ [L], ΟΜΜΑΤΟΝ or ΑΜΜ. [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 1 3]), an unknown hill 'that lieth before Giah' (?), where Joab and Abishai stayed their pursuit after Abner (2 S. 2 24†). From a comparison of *vv.* 24 and 25 it is probable that we should restore the name also in *v.* 25 for 'one hill,' AV 'an hill' (גבעה אחת).

So Bu. (*SBOT*), Sam. *ad loc.*, following We.'s suggesti that the two hills are the same. Otherwise Klo., who in *v.* 25 conjectures אדמים (מעלה), the ascent of Adummim.

In *v.* 24 Sym. (ναπη, gully) Theod. (ὑδραγωγός) and Vg. (*aquaductus*) give the word a meaning which it bears only in post-biblical Heb.; moreover, since the word אבה has no article prefixed, it cannot be an appellative here.

AMMI (Hos. 2 1, and, in Lo-ammi, 2 23[25]). See LO-RUHAMAH.

AMMI, Names with. The element *'ammi* (עַמִּי) or, at the end of words, *'am* (עָם) has been interpreted in

1. Initial ammi = paternal uncle. three different ways viz., as meaning (1) [my] people, or (2) [my] kinsman or uncle, or else as being (3) the proper name of a god.

So long as this group of names[1] was regarded by itself in the light of Hebrew philology alone,

[1] The exact limits of the group are uncertain; for in the [illegible] of several names that have been included in it, it is open to doubt

the interpretation of *'ammi* or *'am* by 'people' seemed the most obvious, and was most generally adopted for all names alike. The result was not quite satisfactory, for 'the people of God' or 'my people is God' (*'ammiel*) was, to say the least, an improbable meaning for the name of an individual. In the light of comparative philology and newly recovered parallel names in other languages, it became clear that 'people' was not the real meaning of the element in at least some of the names.

Names containing *'ammi* are common in the S. Arabian inscriptions; but in Arabic *'amm* signifies not 'people,' but 'paternal uncle'; the latter, therefore, is the most reasonable interpretation of the element in Arabic words.[1] A closely similar interpretation is also thoroughly justifiable in Hebrew names; for the sense 'uncle,' or perhaps rather the wider meaning 'kinsman,' is secured for *'am* in Hebrew by a comparison of the parallel phrases נשבע אל עמיו and נא אל עמיו; cp the use of Ass. *amu* for 'relatives' in *Am. Tab.* 35 12; *KB* 5 106. Such an interpretation of *'ammi* in Semitic names generally is further supported by the fact that names of this type are found side by side in the same languages with names identical in form containing another element (see ABI, NAMES WITH) denoting a kinsman; thus, *e.g.* in Hebrew we have *Ammi*-el, *Abi*-el, *Itti*-el (*Ethi*-el); *Ammi*-nadab, *Abi*-nadab, *Aki*-nadab; and, in S. Arabian (following *CIS* 4, *e.g.*, nos. 73 10 20 1 69 5 1), *'Amkarib*, *Abiyakarib*, *Ithakarib*, *Dethkarib*.[2]

The interpretation of *'ammi* by 'uncle' (or 'kinsman') in the S. Arabian names and in several at least of the Hebrew instances (Ammiel, Amminadab, Eliam, Ammishaddai (?), Ammihud, Ammizabad, Ben-ammi) is now generally adopted, and this much at least may be regarded as well established, that names in Ammi originated from the same circle of ideas as names in Abi, Ahi.

On certain ambiguities common to all these classes see ABI, ii. (viz. on their several grammatical interpretations, § 1 *ff.*; on the human or divine, § 4, and on the general or special character of the reference, § 5).

2. Not divine proper name.

With regard to the present group in particular a further question has arisen, viz., whether *Ammi* be not the proper name of a deity, and whether, in consequence, we ought not to assume the worship of this deity where such names are found. The facts which have raised this question are these:—

(1) Compounds with *'ammi* are parallel not only to compounds with *abi*, *ahi*, but also to compounds with divine proper names; thus in Hebrew we have *Ammi*el, *Joel*; Eliam, Eliyah; *Ammi*nadab, *Yôḥ*anadab (cp Moabite *Chōmōsh*nadab), Rĕhab*'am* (Rehoboam), and Rĕhab*yah*. (2) The chief god of the Katabān (or *walad 'amm*—a S. Arabian people) was called 'Amm, and Emu was a name given to the god Nergal by the Shuhites on the W. of the Euphrates; cp also the name AMMON (*q.v.*, § 1).

These facts, however, are insufficient to warrant us in separating names in *'ammi*, at least so far as their origin is concerned, from names in Abi, Ahi. Still, it is clear that *'amm(i)*, originally an appellative, applicable and applied by different clans or peoples to different gods, became in certain cases the proper name of a deity; and, where this usage can be independently proved to have been current, it is reasonable to interpret *'am* in such cases as the proper name of a deity (cp the parallel case of Baal); but we are scarcely justified in inferring from the mere existence of names in *'ammi* among a certain people that the proper name of their deity was *'Amm*; in particular it is very hazardous to conclude that the Hebrews worshipped a distinct deity *'Amm*.

3. Final 'am.

The compound personal and local names in *'am* (final) present some considerable difficulties, which require further consideration. Is the sense 'kinsman' for *'am* always the most natural one? Or may we in some cases prefer the sense 'people,' 'kinsfolk,' on the grounds put forward in *HPN* 59 (cp 216)? The question is sometimes complicated by the uncertainty of the form in MT. It must also be remembered that Rehoboam (Rĕhab'am) was the son of an Ammonitish mother, and that the eponym of the Ammonites is called Ben-ammi (see AMMON, § 1), also that some have conjectured that Jeroboam was of foreign origin. Cp IBLEAM, ITHREAM, JASHOBEAM, JEKAMEAM, JEROBOAM, JOKNEAM, etc. (see col. 138, n. 11).

4. History of names.

As to the history of the names. Actual usage proves that, like compounds with *abi* and *ahi*, Semitic compounds with *'ammi* (= kinsman) are of a very ancient origin.

We find at least two names (Ammi-satana, Ammi-zaduga) of the type among the kings of Babylon belonging to the Hammurābi dynasty (*circa* 2000 B.C.), and not improbably a third in the name Hammurabi itself.[1] The non-Babylonian character of these names has gained general acceptance in spite of Jensen's criticism (*ZA* 10 142 *ff.* ['95]); according to Winckler (*GI* 130) they are of Canaanitish, according to Sayce (*KP*[2] 8 10 *ff.*) and Hommel (*AHT* 90 *ff.*), of Arabian origin.

Names of the type are certainly common in the early S. Arabian inscriptions; and Hommel goes so far as to assert that the biblical names beginning with *'ammi* are, like those of the kings of the Hammurabi dynasty, of Arabian origin, and were introduced among the Hebrews at the time when they had close intercourse with the Arabs in Sinai (*ZDMG* 49 525, n. 1 ['95]). However this may be, it is clear not only that these names are of ancient origin, but also that at a still comparatively early period they fell into disuse among the Hebrews, and also, according to Hommel (*AHT* 86), among the S. Arabians. The only question with regard to the Hebrew instances is whether one or two of them (especially AMMI-SHADDAI, *q.v.*) are late—*i.e.*, post-exilic—artificial formations. Hommel has recently defended the genuine antiquity of 'Ammi-shaddai on the ground of its virtual equivalence to Ammi-satana (see above); but, even granting his premises, his conclusion does not necessarily follow, and, as a matter of fact, the equivalence is questionable; for (1) the transliteration of Ammi-satana is uncertain: some—*e.g.*, Sayce (*PSBA*, Nov. '97, p. 292)—transliterate Ammiditana; and (2), if it be correct, the word is quite as possibly a 3rd sing. pf. (so Winckler, *l.c.*) as = 'our mountain.' Cp SHADDAI, § 2.

The most recent discussions of these names (together with references to the literature, which is considerable) will be found in Gray, *HPN* 41-60 198 *f.* 245 253 *ff.* 323, *Expositor*, Sept. 1897, 173-190, and Hommel, *AHT* 48 83 *ff.* 106 *ff.* G. B. G.

AMMIDIOI, AV **Ammidoi** (ΑΜΜΙΔΙΟΙ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 20. See CHADIASAI.

AMMIEL (עַמִּיאֵל, § 46, 'El is my [?] kinsman,' cp ELIAM and AMAD, and see AMMI, § 1 *f.*, ΑΜ[Ε]ΙΗΛ [BAL]).

1. Danite 'spy' (Nu. 13 12 [P]).
2. Father of Machir, 2 S. 9 4 (αμιηρ [B], ·μμιηλ [L]), 5, 17 27 (αμιηρ [A]).
3. Doorkeeper (1 Ch. 26 5).
4. Father of Bathsheba, 1 Ch. 3 5 (ηλια [L]), called in 2 S. 11 3 ELIAM, 2. See AHITHOPHEL.

AMMIHUD (עַמִּיהוּד, 'my [?] kinsman is glory,' § 46, see AMMI, § 1, cp also AHIHUD; ΕΜΙΟΥΔ [BA], ΑΜ. [L]).

1. Father of Talmai, king of Geshur; 2 S. 13 37 Kr., Kt. עַמִּיהוּר, AMMIHUR (*q.v.*).
2. Father of Elishama (1), temp. Moses; Nu. 1 10 2 18 7 48 53 10 22 [P] (εμιουδ [FL], σεμ. [AF in 1 10, and F in 7 48 10 22]); 1 Ch. 7 26 (Αμιουειδ [B], ·ουδ [A]).
3. Father of Shemuel (2), temp. Joshua; Nu. 34 20 [P] (σεμιουδ [B], εμ. [FL? AFL]).
4. Father of Pedahel, temp. Joshua; Nu. 34 28 [P] (ζενια-μ[ε]ιουδ [B], αμιοι 5 [AFL]).
5. Father of Uthai, one of the B'ne Perez; 1 Ch. 9 4 (σαμμιου [B], αμιουδ [AL]). The name is not found in the Neh. 11 4. See ATHAIAH.

AMMIHUR (עַמִּיהוּר), father of Talmai, king of Geshur (2 S. 13 37 Kt.; Kr. [acc. to Gi. also Kt. in some

[1] Glaser produces evidence from the Minæan inscriptions to show that 'amm,' as a term for God, was long in use, though at a distance from Palestine: see Hommel, *ZDMG* 49 528 ('95). Cp, however, Gray's remark, *HPN* 53.

[2] But cp DOD, NAMES WITH, where a different view is taken.

[1] Cp *HPN* 56, and see HAM (i.). But cp references in Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.* 320, *s.v. xammu*.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 1]). Kr. may be a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Nah. and Sh. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

relations between the Israelites on the one hand and the Moabites and the Ammonites on the other (Dt. 2 9 f. 37). All we can say is that the story in Gen. 19 36-38 (J) proves an early Israelitish sense of kinship (combined however with moral [illegible]) to the Moabites and Ammonites, so that it is not incredible that the Israelites should have refrained from [illegible] King Sihon [illegible]. True, in Jos. 13 25 (P) we [illegible] the land of the Ammonites was assigned to the tribe of Gad; but [illegible] strict intended here may be the Amorite kingdom of Sihon [illegible] pre-supposes the view of history given in Judg. 11 12-28 (see above, § 2).

Dt. 23 4 [illegible] affirms that the Ammonites and Moabites had hired Balaam to curse Israel, and did not supply Israel with bread [illegible] in the wilderness; in consequence of which they are to be excluded from the Israelitish community to the tenth generation.

The spirit and purport of this passage, however, is at variance with that of Dt. 2 4-7, and the narrative of Balaam in Nu. 22-24 (mainly JE) speaks only of the Moabites. For several reasons it is very probable that Dt. 23 1-8 (2-9) (see EXCLUSION, § 7) is a record, not of the pre-exilic, but of the post-exilic period when the problem as to who should and who should not be admitted into the community was a burning question (Kn.-Ho. 268). At any rate the view which this passage prescribes of the Ammonites cannot be accepted.

It is of more historical interest that in Nu. 22 we have a combination of two distinct traditions (E and J) respecting the origin of Balaam, one of which represents him as an Ammonite (see BALAAM, § 1).

The settlement of Israelitish tribes in Gilead and Bashan (see MANASSEH) could not but excite the animosity of the neighbouring peoples. No doubt there was a chronic border-warfare sometimes developing into more serious hostilities, sometimes mitigated by truce, alliances, or the subjection of one or other of the combatants. In Judg. 10 6-12 7 we have an account of the deliverance of the Israelites of Gilead from Ammonitish oppressors by a recalled outlaw named Jephthah. The traditional stories have been much edited (see JUDGES, § 17) and tell us naturally more about Jephthah (who was one of the actors in a most moving tragedy) than about the Ammonites.

4. Saul and David. We are upon safer ground in the story of Saul. The victory of this heroic chieftain over the Ammonitish king Nahash, who, encouraged by the weakness of cis-Jordanic Israel had besieged Jabesh-gilead, and displayed his deep contempt for his foes is doubtless historical (1 S. 11). It is also thoroughly credible that David, when out of favour with Saul, received friendly treatment from Nahash (so we must interpret 2 S. 10 2). Equally intelligible is it that a change ensued in the relations between David and the Ammonitish court when the former had taken up the work, interrupted by the death of Saul, of liberating and uniting the Israelitish tribes. Only we must not, it would seem, place the war with the Ammonites too late. The gross insult offered by Hanun, the son of Nahash, to the ambassadors of David implies that the power of the latter had not yet been so consolidated as to wipe out the recollection of the days of Israel's humiliation. The insult was bitterly avenged. Ammon and its allies were defeated, and the power of the former was, for the time, broken (see 2 S. 12 31).

It is noteworthy that Shobi, son of Nahash, of Rabbah-ammon, was friendly to David during Absalom's revolt (2 S. 17 27), that Ziba, an Ammonite, was among David's "thirty" (2 S. 23 37), and that Solomon had an Ammonite wife (Naamah, 1 K. 14 31 [illegible]). See the account (see Klostermann) [illegible] the "stand" [illegible] Nahash, and why he became the master of Rehob (1 K. 11 24; the details in 1 K. 11 [illegible] are untrustworthy). See NAHASH, 3.

It is probable that the Ammonites recovered their independence after Solomon's death. Later, like the kings of N. Israel, they became tributaries of the Assyrians, this is expressly mentioned by Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (see *KGF* and *COT*). So far as our oldest evidence goes, they caused no serious trouble again to the Israelites till the time of Jeroboam II., when, as Amos tells us (Am. 1 13) they made incursions into Gilead, and displayed great

inhumanity, which probably from their own point of view was but justifiable revenge. The Chronicle, indeed, relates victories over the Ammonites in the days of Jehoshaphat and Jotham (2 Ch. 20 27 [illegible]), but these, according to Robertson Smith (*OTJC*[illegible]), are Midrash. From Jer. 49 1, we may infer that after the deportation of the trans-Jordanic Israelites in 734 the Ammonites occupied the land of Gad; and, even if Jer. 49 be post-exilic, the fact is too probable to be forgotten. It is this outrage upon Yahweh's people which [illegible] to be alluded to in Zeph. 2 8-11, Jer. 9 25 f., 25 21. Once again the vindictiveness of the Ammonites was manifested when, in the reign of Jehoiakim, they made incursions into Judah as the auxiliaries of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K. 24 2). This is probably referred to in Ezek. 21 28 f. (33 f.). Later, however, the general fear of the Babylonian rule seems to have altered the policy of the Ammonites, for Jer. 27 3 brings before us the king of Ammon entering into a league against Babylon with Zedekiah and other princes. It is to this act of rebellion that Ezekiel refers (21 18-32 (23 ff.)) when he anticipates the punishment of the Ammonites, while in 25 1-7 he threatens the same people with destruction for their malicious demeanour at the captivity of the Jews. Did the Ammonites withdraw in time from the anti-Babylonian league? It is a very probable conjecture, and, strange as it may seem, Jewish fugitives are said to have sought refuge with Baalis, king of Ammon, who instigated them basely to assassinate the noble GEDALIAH, 1 (Jer. 40 14).

In later times we find an Ammonite[1] among the chief opponents of Nehemiah, and at the same time connected by marriage with distinguished

6. Persian and Greek. Jews (Neh. 6 18 13 4; cp. TOBIJAH, 4). Other Ammonitish women had married into Jewish families (Ezra 9 1 f.)—*i.e.*, according to Kosters, into families which had remained on Jewish soil and not been touched by the reforming spirit of Ezra (see EZRA, ii. § 12). This would be all the easier if we are right in inferring from Jos. 18 24 (27, 12-22 belong to P) that in *post-exilic* times there was in Benjamin a place called 'Village of the Ammonites' (CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI). It is to this period of mixed marriages that we should not improbably refer the composition of Dt. 23 1-8 (see above), in which passage are mentioned the same three peoples as in Ezra 9 1.[2]

Nearly three hundred years later the Ammonites (Timotheus) are among the enemies defeated by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. 5 6-18); they are also mentioned in a psalm assigned by some to the same critical period (Ps. 83 7).[3] Up to this time, then, Ezekiel's threat (Ezek. 25) against the Ammonites as well as against the Moabites and (virtually) the Edomites that they should be dispossessed by the 'sons of the East' (*i.e.*, the Arabian nomads) had not been fulfilled so far as the Ammonites are concerned. Their fate, however, cannot have been very long delayed. In the fifth century B.C. we already find 'Arabians' among the enemies of Nehemiah (Neh. 2 19 4 7 (1)), and we can hardly doubt that by degrees the Ammonites, like the Moabites before them, had to amalgamate with the land-hungry intruders.

It is true, Justin Martyr, who died 166 A.D., states (cp *Tryph.* 119) that the Ammonites were still numerous in his time; but Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11 5) once says precisely the same thing of the Moabites, though elsewhere he speaks of the Moabites and Gileadites as Arabians (*Ant.* xiii. 9 1), which agrees with the statement of Origen (*in Johom* 1 1) that the term Ammonites had become merged in that of Arabs. This makes it probable that the omission of 'Ammonites' in 1 Esd. 8 69 (= Ezra 9 1) was not accidental but deliberate.

The close connection of Ammon with Moab, and, in

1 See, however, PHILIPPONS, 4.

2 Prof. Ryle (*Ezra and Neh.* 115) thinks that "the mention of the Ammonite, Moabite, and Egyptian together, seems to be an echo of Deut. 23 [illegible] 4 *Heb.*]." Gaths (*ZKWL*) assigns the enumeration of the peoples to the Chronicler.

3 See Author.

[illegible] spoken dialect of Hebrew (see Hebrew, § 6); it makes it almost certain that the Ammonite [illegible] Hebrew [illegible] Nabath, 1 S. 11 1 (נחש); [illegible] Nahash, 1 K. 14 21 (נעמה); [illegible] Ammonite [illegible] Ch. 3 1; [illegible] and for [illegible] Baalis (see [illegible]) [illegible] for the population of the [illegible]

8. Religion. Ammonites is based partly on Judg. 10 6, partly on the analogy of Moabitish religion. The only extant Ammonitish proper name, however, which can be held to be compounded with a divine name other than that of the supreme God is Baalis (see BAALIS). At any rate Milcom was much the great national god of Ammon as Chemosh was of Moab (see MOLOCH); the strange [illegible] Jephthah is made to speak of Chemosh as the god of Ammon suggests that 'Ammon' has been substituted by an editor for 'Moab' in the passage (Judg. 11 24) in which it occurs. In 2 S. 12 30 where Milcom (מלכם) should be read instead of מלכם 'their king,' reference seems to be made to a huge statue of Milcom in the capital city. The statement that Solomon became a worshipper of Milcom in his old age rests on no good authority (see SOLOMON). When we pass to later times, it is tempting to infer with We. (*Hist.*[3] 136, n. 1) from the name of Nehemiah's Ammonitish enemy that the worship of Yahwe had begun to attract the Ammonites. The dissolution of the old national bonds may have favoured the growth of a monotheistic tendency. (W. H. B.)

AMMONITES (עמונים), 2 Ch. 20 1. RV[mg.] MEUNIM (מעונים); cp [illegible]

AMMONITESS (עמנית), 1 K. 14 21 31; 2 Ch. 12 13; 24 26. See AMMON.

AMNON (אמנון), in 2 S. 13 20 אמינון, *i.e.*, 'safe'?, by some regarded as a diminutive used in a contemptuous sense [cp Dr. *TBS*, *ad loc.*; Wi., *Ar. Gram.*[2] I. § 269; Ges. *Heb. Gram.* [E.T. '98] 250, n. 1]; We. [*IHG*[2] 24, n. 2] explains as אמינן, 'my mother is the serpent,' see NUN; AMNWN [BAL], AMMWN [A, 2 S. 13 1-6 10-17]).

1. David's eldest son (see DAVID, § 11 iii. *d*), slain by Absalom in revenge for his outrage on Tamar (2 S. 3 2 13 1 *ff.*; 1 Ch. 3 1).

2. In genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 20).

AMOK (עמוק), 'deep, inscrutable'; a post-exilic priestly family; Neh. 12 7 20 (om. BN*A; AMOYK [L and, in v. 7, N[c.a] mg. sup.], in v. 20, N[c.a] mg. inf. AMOY]). See EZRA, 2, § 6 *b*, § 11.

AMOMUM (AMWMON [Tr. WH following N*AC]), an unidentified aromatic substance, mentioned only in RV mg. Rev. 18 13 (RV 'Spice'; cp AV om. with BN[c]; Wycliff, however gives 'amone'). The classical 'amomum' (= 'blameless'?) was a shrub of Eastern origin ('Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum,' Verg. *Ecl.* 4 25), from which were made oil for funeral rites and unguents for the hair. As, however, it is used also of any odour pure and sweet (Salm. *ad S. Aur.* 264), its identification is uncertain. It may possibly be the vine *Cissus vitiginea* (Linn.), a native of Armenia. The modern term is applied to a genus of aromatic plants (N.O. Zingibraceæ), including the cardamom and seeds of Paradise.

AMON (אָמוֹן), Jer. 46 25 RV. See 2.

AMON (אָמוֹן, אָמֹן, § 67; 'firm'? 'workmaster'? but below). 1. (αμων [BA], -ων [L]; [illegible]) [illegible] we'] attested as the name of the son of king M[illegible] [illegible] 2 K. 21 [illegible]

[illegible] 1 Ch. 3 14 (αμων [B*A*]).

2. A king of [illegible] CHRONOLOGY, § [illegible] his courtiers (see Kittel, *Hist.* 2 [illegible]). [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] of the fluctuations of political party (Egyptian and [illegible] (αμμορ [M]) less correctly, the name of a governor of [illegible] under Ahab, 1 K. [illegible] (2 [illegible]; [illegible] Ch. 18 25 (Ημερ [B]). [illegible] Emer or Immer is the [illegible] Immer of M[illegible] in Jer. 20 1 and elsewhere (see [illegible]) [illegible] form both Amon and Semer (שמר) [illegible] (αμων [BA]). The bene Amon (see MAD) a group of Solomon's servants (see NETHINIM) in the great p[illegible] list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Neh. 7 59 (αμων [BKA]) [illegible] AMI (אמי); cp [illegible] everywhere; αμι [BA]) [illegible] RV ALLON (αλλων [B], αδλ. [A], *i.e.*, AV and AA for M).

AMORITES (אמרי), collective and [illegible] article, except Nu. 21 29 Ezek. 16 3. AMOPPAIOI [BA] [illegible] αμορρεοι [Is. 17 9 N], αμορρα[illegible] [illegible] 14 Ex. 2 K. 21 11 A, 1 Ch. 1 14 L αμορρει [Judg. 10 [illegible] (Gen. 14 13 A), αμορ[illegible] [Ezra 9 1 BA], αμορραιος [1 K. 7 14 A, [illegible])

In the List of Peoples the Amorites [illegible] sons begotten by Canaan (Gen. 10 16 [illegible] 1 Ch. [illegible]).

The term is [illegible] (1) of a pre-Israelitish people living E. of the Jordan (Nu. 21 13 21 25 Josh. 24 8 (all E), also Josh. 2 10 [illegible] (JE), Dt. 1 4 [illegible] Judg. 10 11 1 K. 4 19 (B[L] om.), Ps. 135 11 136 19 [illegible]); (2) of a people in the W. of J[illegible] Josh. 10 5 [illegible] (all E), also Josh. 7 7 (JE), 5 1 10 12 [illegible] Dt. Jos. 5 1 [illegible] 1 K. 21 26, 2 K. 21 11, 1 S. 7 14, 2 S. 21 [illegible]; (3) [illegible] other peoples, Dt. 7 44, cp Gen. 14 7; (4) of the ancient population of Canaan in general, Gen. 15 16 (J or R), 48 22 (E), Am. 2 9 *f.*, and Is. 17 9 (Lag. WRS Che. following [illegible] with the Hittite).

The Amorites are mentioned also in the lists of Canaanitish peoples subjugated by the Israelites (Gen. 15 21 Ex. 3 8 and elsewhere). The lists commonly include the Canaanites, Girgashites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Perizzites, and once, in Gen. 15 19, the Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites, and Rephaim, for which reference must be made to the separate articles. On the variation in the order of the enumerations, which are obviously 'rhetorical rather than geographical or historical,' cp Dr. *Deut.* 96 *ff.*

The passage in Amos (2 9*b*) is remarkable, because Amorite is used, precisely as by the Elohist (E), as a general term for the primitive population of Canaan, and because the Amorites, as an extinct race, are invested with a half-mythical character (like the Anakim).

Wellhausen (*IH* 341 *f.*) regards the designation 'Amorites' as substantially synonymous with that of Canaanites, though not quite so comprehensive. According to this view, the Canaanites, in the time of the biblical narrators, are still living in the land (*i.e.*, in the cities of the plain which were not occupied by the Israelites). The Amorites, on the other hand, are thought of as the old inhabitants of the hill-country E. and W. of the Jordan, now inhabited by the Israelites. Thus the Amorites belonged exclusively to the past, they had their day and ceased to be (Gen. 15). This explains how it is that, although under certain [illegible] ful circumstances the Canaanites are spoken of as the old inhabitants of the land, whenever mention is made of war and conquest, the Amorites at once take their place (Gen. 48 22). So Moses' adversaries, Sihon and Og, are kings of the 'Amorites'; and, in [illegible] with the twelve kings of the Amorites that Joshua has to deal W. of the Jordan. Winckler however (*GI* 1 52 *ff.*) disputes the synonymity of the terms 'Canaanite' and 'Amorites' on the ground that, as the Amarna letters show, the [illegible] as for N[illegible] S[illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] Canaan) and that

the Amorite population had its seat in the interior. He explains the distinction in the nomenclatures from the different local origin of the two writers (an Ephraimite and a Judahite respectively). On the extra-biblical facts, and on the inferences to be drawn, see CANAAN, §§ 3 9 and cp PHŒNICIA.

AMOS (עָמוֹס, § 56, 'borne (by God)'; cp AMASIAH, Αμωσ, Phœn אשמנעמס; Αμωσ [BAQ]).

1. Prophetic activity. Amos is the earliest of the prophets of whose discourses and predictions we possess written records with an accompanying statement of their authorship. Of the external facts of his life we should know little but for the narrative digression in 7 10-17, which interrupts the series of prophetic visions on the fall of Israel. From a statement there assigned to Amaziah, 'the land is not able to bear all his words,' we may reasonably infer that Amos's ministry in the northern kingdom had lasted for some time, when it was brought to an abrupt close by an act worthy of the heroic Elijah. Amos, it appears, came forward at length in a place where success was more difficult than anywhere else, and uttered a prophecy to this effect—'Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall be carried away from its land.' It was in Bethel, the seat of the royal temple corresponding to that of Jerusalem in the south, and probably at some great festival, that Amos said this; and the priesthood, faithful to its royal head, took the alarm. Not so much because the prophet had threatened the reigning dynasty (for he had not done so in the interest of any upstart noble) as because he had begun to weaken the moral courage of the Israelitish people (Jer. 38 4). With the half-contemptuous speech, 'Carry thy prophecies to those in the neighbouring country who may think them worth paying for,' Amaziah, the head priest of Bethel, by the royal authority, bade Amos fly from the land of Israel. Amos would not retire without a parting testimony. These are his significant words: 'No prophet, no member of a guild of prophets, am I'; that is, I am no ecstatic enthusiast, like the prophets of Bethel, whose prophesying is a trade, and whose oracles are mere heathenish divination (cp Mic. 3 11). 'But a sheep-breeder am I,'[1] he continues, 'and one who tends sycomore figs' (see SHEEP, SYCOMORE): that is, I am above the sordid temptation to take fees. 'Yahwè took me from following the flock; Yahwè said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.' That is, My prophesying has an immediate practical object which concerns the whole nation, and it is due to a moral impulse which has come straight from Israel's God. Then, in answer to the command, Prophesy not against Israel, Amos repeats his message with a startling personal application (cp Is. 22 17 18).

Such was Amos—a strange phenomenon to the head priest of Bethel, as representing an entirely new type of prophecy.

2. Home. Whence then did this prophet come? Was he a native of Israel or a 'sojourner' from Judah? The heading of the book (on the origin of which see below, § 4) at first sight appears to be decisive in favour of the latter view. Budde has made it probable[2] that we should render 'Amos, who had been among the sheep-breeders, (a man) of Tekoa.' In any case, Amos is represented as a Tekoite. Now, there is no trace in ancient or in modern nomenclature of more than one TEKOA (q v.). That Amos belonged to the southern kingdom has, nevertheless, been doubted,[3] on the twofold ground (1) that the interest of Amos is absorbed by (northern) Israel, and (2) that Tekoa lies too high for sycomores to be grown there. As to the first point, Amos, though deeply interested in Israel, is not, like the native Israelitish prophet Hosea, a sympathetic observer of the life and manners of the north. The inner impulse from above sending him to Israel is psychologically accounted for by the vastly greater importance of Israel as compared with Judah in religion, in politics, and, we may add, in literature. As to the second, Amos may very well have possessed a plantation of sycomores in some low-lying district in the Shephelah or in the Jordan valley (see SYCOMORE). We may accept it, then, as a fact, that Amos was a Judahite, and sprang from a place famous in the time of David for the quick wits of its inhabitants (2 S. 14 2).

3. Preparation. The situation, too, of Tekoa, was well fitted to develop the future prophet's capacities. From the extensive view which his own hill commanded, he would gain, at any rate, a sense of natural grandeur, though we must not infer from this that he was capable as a Tekoite of writing Am. 4 13 and the parallel passages.[1] Not far off, he would meet with the caravans of the Dedanites (Is. 21 13) and other Arabian peoples, and would imbibe from them a longing to see other men and manners. Possibly, too, such an idiom as עַם עֲבִי סִיחוֹן (4 10) may be explained from Arabian influence (so We.).[2] Whatever the social position of Amos may have been, he was not tied to the soil, and may, before his journey to SAMARIA, have wandered, either on business or from curiosity, far away from home and have seen and heard much of which his neighbours were ignorant. To suppose this is not to deny that even the stayer at home had opportunities of hearing news,[3] but to try to understand the alertness of Amos's intellect, the width of his knowledge, and the striking culture and refinement of his style. At any rate, it is plain that he studied thoroughly, on the spot, the condition of life and thought in the northern kingdom, and we must regret that we have no further contemporary traditions respecting him, than that contained in 7 10-17. One very singular tradition, indeed, we have, which appears to be a very late distortion of his story. It is the story (1 K. 13) of the man of God from Judah, who went to Bethel in the reign of Jeroboam I. and threatened the altar there with destruction by an earthquake[4] (cp Am. 3 14 7 9 9 1). Though this teaches us much concerning a late view of prophecy, however, it affords no fresh glimpse of Amos.

A post-exilic editor says (Am. 1 1) that Amos prophesied during the contemporary reigns of UZZIAH of Judah, and JEROBOAM II. of Israel.

4. Notes of date. Of Uzziah there is no express mention in the book; but the description of the careless ease of Jerusalem in 6 1a accords with the circumstances of his reign; to Jeroboam II. the prophet refers in 7 9, and his biographer in 7 10f. The heading also states that the prophecy as a whole was delivered (*i.e.*, in its original form) 'two years before the earthquake.' Unfortunately our only other authority for this earthquake[5] in Uzziah's reign is about as late as this note (Zech. 14 5). It is no doubt plausible to defend its historical character by referring to 4 11 ('I wrought an overthrow among you') and by our prophet's vivid idea of earthquakes as one of God's means of punishment (8 8; cp Is. 2 10 21). Am. 8 8, however, is certainly an interpolation, and it is not impossible that the rather too precise

1 Read נוקד with Oort, We. (βοιαζ, αἰπόλος); cp 1 1. Mesha is also called נוקד (2 K. 3 4). The word refers to a breed of stunted sheep, valued for their fine wool (see SHEEP).

2 Kittel, *Semitic Studies* 20 106 ff.

3 Ewald, Oort, Amos was an Israelite who cultivated sycomores in his own country, but after his expulsion dwelt among the shepherds of Tekoa (*Th. T.* 25 121, etc. ['91]). Graetz (and so formerly Oort), following Kimhi, supposes a second Tekoa in the north.

1 G. A. Smith (*HG* 415) has given eloquent expression to this view. In *Twelve Prophets*, however, he admits the late origin of the passage.

2 On the intellectual opportunities of Tekoa see Stickel (*Hiob* 269-270), who makes Job to have been written in this district.

3 Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel* 510.

4 Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.* 140, and cp KINGS, § 8, note.

5 Jos. (*Ant.* ix. 10 4) gives a long fabulous story about it.

statement in 1₁ is merely an exegetical inference from 7₁₆ (cp 7₈ 8₂, which seemed to the editor to imply that Israel's punishment had been twice postponed, and that each postponement meant a year's grace (so G. Hoffmann; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 3). It is remarkable that the author of the heading, if he had access to tradition, did not rather refer to the solar eclipse prophesied in 8₉ (in its present form). This seems to be the eclipse which an Assyrian list of eponyms assigns to the month Sivan 763 B.C.[1] It is less important that, according to the same text, pestilences ravaged Assyria in 765 (the year of a campaign in the land of Hadrach, near Damascus and Hamath) and in 759. Pestilence in the land of Israel is indeed mentioned in Am. 4₁₀, but it is described as 'after the manner of Egypt.' The Egyptian Delta was of course not the only source of pestilences; the Assyrian plague may have originated elsewhere. Still, it remains true that the period indicated by these last dates sufficiently accords with hints dropped in the Book of Amos. For example, the Israelites, according to Amos, have no apprehension of a speedy attack from Assyria. The circumstances of the period just mentioned enable us fully to account for this. Shalmaneser III (783-773) had too much trouble with the land of Urartu (see ARARAT, § 2, ASSYRIA, § 32), and his successor Ashur-dan III (772-755) had too many revolts at home to put down, to be dangerous to the kingdom of Israel. Assyria being thus occupied, it was easy for Jeroboam II. to recover from Damascus (repeatedly humiliated of late by Assyria) the districts which Hazael had taken from Israel. Hence, when Amos wrote, the extent of the Israelitish dominion was 'from the point where the Hamathite territory begins (מלבוא חמת) to the torrent of the Arabah,' a definition which is presumably equivalent to that in 2 K. 14₂₅, which gives 'the sea of the Arabah' (*i.e.*, the Dead Sea). The prophet's hearers delighted to sun themselves in this new prosperity, and boasted of the capture of LODEBAR and KARNAIM in Gilead as a great military feat (see LODEBAR, and We. on Am. 6₁₃). True, melancholy thoughts of the past would sometimes intrude—thoughts of the recent terrible earthquake, of the famines and pestilences, of the friends and neighbours lost in battle, and of the revolting cruelties of the Syrians and their Ammonitish allies in Gilead (1₃₁₋₁₄ 4₆₋₁₁). Nor is it arbitrary to connect the splendour and fulness of Israelitish ritual in the prophet's time with the popular anxiety lest Yahwè should renew the troubles of the past. On the whole, however, the tone of Israelitish society is joyous and optimistic. As in Isaiah's earliest discourses, the upper classes appear as self-indulgent and luxurious, and, as in Isaiah, the women come in for a share of the blame (4₁; cp Is. 3₁₆). Not only the king (1 K. 22₃₉) but also the nobles have houses inlaid with ivory (3₁₅ cp 6₄*a*). Feasting is habitual (6₄₋₆), and the new custom of half-reclining on the divan[2] has been introduced at Samaria (3₁₂*b*). The good old sentiment of brotherliness is dying away; oppression and injustice are rampant (2₆₋₈ 3₉ end, 10 4₁ 5₁₁*f*. 8₄₋₆). This indicates that great economic changes are going on (Isaiah makes the same complaint, Is. 5). Side by side with this we notice a keen interest in the ritual side of religion (4₄*f*. 5₂₁₋₂₃ 8₁₄ 9₁). Jubilant worshippers sing the praises of the incomparable 'God of Jeshurun' (5₁₋₁₁, cp Deut. 33₂₆), and, as they think of his deliverances in the past, they even 'desire the battle day of Yahwè' (5₁₈). Amos, a stranger, alone sees below the surface of things. He does not, indeed, once name Assyria,[3] and seems to have

5. Circumstances.

[1] See Schr. *COT* 2₁₉₃; Sayce, *PSBA* 3₁₄₉; Schr. *KAT*[3] 138 *f.*, and cp CHRONOLOGY, § 3.

[2] In 3₁₂ render 'that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch, and on the cushion of a divan' (for דמשק read משכב, an obvious correction, which We. has somehow not made). See *JQR* 10₅₇₂.

[3] According to ⊕BAQ, however, there is once an express mention of Assyria (3₉, אשור - אשר, for אשדד, Ashdod).

no clear idea of the geography of the region 'beyond Damascus'; but every one knows what he means when he warns his hearers that Yahwè 'will raise up against them a nation' (6₁₄; cp Is. 5₂₆, where it is Assyria), and 'will carry them into captivity beyond Damascus' (5₂₇). On the whole, we may probably date the original prophecies of Amos between 765 and 750 B.C.[1]

There are only two passages which may be regarded as inconsistent with this date, as referring to later events. (*a*) In 1₅[2] it is predicted that 'the people of Aram shall go into captivity unto Kir,' which was fulfilled, according to 2 K. 16₉, on the capture of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III. in 732. The prediction, however, was not meant to be taken so literally. 'Unto Kir' is evidently suggested by the tradition (9₇) that the Arameans came from Kir; the prophet cannot mean to lay stress upon such points as the locality of a captivity;[3] otherwise, why does he describe the scene of Israel's captivity so vaguely? The 'fulfilment' in 2 K. 16₉ is obviously due to interpolation; the later view of prophecy differed from that held by the great prophets themselves. (*b*) The other passage is 6₂, which, as emended by Geiger[4] (to make sense), reads thus, 'Pass ye to Calneh, and look; and go thence to Great Hamath, and go down to Philistian Gath; are ye better than these kingdoms, or is your region greater than theirs?' These places, says the writer, have already succumbed to the common enemy; how can Israel hope to escape? Calneh (not the Calneh of Gen. 10₁₀, but the N. Syrian city Kullani) was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III. in 738, Hamath by Sargon in 720, and Gath by the same king in 711;[5] and the passage breaks the connection between 6₁ and 7, and is not in the rhythm which is so closely adhered to in 6₁₋₇. The verse must, therefore, be a later insertion, by a scribe or editor who had read Is 10₉ (Calno = Calneh), and is properly a marginal gloss on the words, 'Woe to them that are at ease in Zion' (6₁). Observe that Great Hamath (Hamath Rabba) contrasts with the simple Hamath of 7₁₄.

6. Objections to 765-750 B.C.

A strict analysis is indispensable, both for a sound view of the origin of this book, and for a due comprehension of the great prophet himself. We must, therefore, test the common assertion that the book possesses such a true literary unity as Amos, when in retirement, might naturally wish to give to his remembered prophecies. So much, at any rate, is clear, that, as it now stands, the book has three well-marked divisions. (1) Chaps. 1₃-2₁₆ present a series of judgments on the peoples of Syria and Palestine, each framed on the same plan, and coupling the description of an unpardonable moral fault with the declaration of punishment. The most detailed of the accusations is that brought against Israel, which forms a striking culmination of the series. The vaguest and least impressive is Judah's, which comes next before Israel's, and somewhat spoils its effect. (2) Chaps. 3-6 seem at first sight to contain three discourses, each introduced by 'Hear ye this word' and closing with a prediction of national ruin. Upon a closer examination, however, none of the 'discourses'

7. Analysis of Book.

[1] The reason offered for a later date (74 *f.*-744) by Zeydner and Valeton (in Wilde[2] *Amos*, 110) is insufficient. Any observer who was not blinded by a fanatical religious belief could see that the inactivity of Assyria was only temporary, not to mention that the year 765 saw the Assyrians on the northern border of Palestine. Besides, the events which accompanied the accession of Tiglath-pileser III. in 74, were of a kind to give a nature to it to have suggested to Amos a fuller and more pronounced threatening than we find in his prophecies.

[2] On the former part of this verse see BETH-EDEN and AVEN, 3.

[3] On ⊕'s readings see KIR.

[4] *Urschrift* 96 *f.* Toll's justification for 6₂ (*ZAW* 7₁₂ *f.*) from the context which it distorts (*JBL*, 1894, p. 62 *f.*) seems very needless.

[5] Schr.'s view of Calneh (*COT* 2₁₄₃ *f.*; *HWB* 1₃₄) seems untenable (see CALNEH).

proves to have more than a semblance of unity. The section may be analysed into ten loosely connected passages—3 1 *f.* 3 3-8 3 9-15 4 1-3 4 4 *f.* 4 6-13 5 1-17 [1] 5 18-27 6 1-7 6 8-14. (3) Chaps 7-9. This is a series of five visions, interrupted, first by a short biographical elucidation of the third vision (7 10-15), and then by a threatening address (8 4-14), and followed by an evidently composite discourse, closing with most unexpected promises of the regeneration of Judah.

Now, if this summary is correct, it becomes impossible to maintain the true literary unity of the book. More than one editor must have been concerned in its arrangement, and the latest editor has had considerable difficulty in so disposing his material as to produce three portions, each one of a reasonable length. Considering that the book of the Twelve Minor Prophets comes to us from the post-exilic age (see CANON, § 39), and that the primary object of the later editors was not critical accuracy but edification, we are bound to look out very sharply for post-exilic insertions. Such an insertion we find at the very outset. The opening verse (1 2) has been often viewed as the text of the following discourse; but it seems very ill-adapted for that purpose, for the object of the discourse is not to exhibit the connection between Yahwè and a privileged sanctuary, but to show that even Israel (which has so many altars of Yahwè, 2 8) shall be punished like the other nations. Nor is the elegiac tone of 1 2*b* at all in harmony with the cycle of stern declarations which follows. The truth is that 1 2*a* is borrowed from Joel 3 [4] 16*a*, where alone the words suit the context, and 1 2*b* has a close phraseological affinity to Joel and other late writings.[2] It is no argument to the contrary that in 3 8 Yahwè is said to 'roar' and that the phrase 'the top of Carmel' is used by Amos in 9 3: the editor had naturally made some slight study of the language of Amos. The reason of the insertion will be clear if we compare (*a*) 1 9 *f.* with Joel 3 2-6, (*b*) 1 11 *f.* with Joel 3 19, and (*c*) 9 13 with Joel 3[4]18. These passages can all be shown to be late insertions, and 1 2 can be understood only in connection with them.

8. Post-exilic insertions: chap. 1 2.

First, as to (*a*) and (*b*) it will be noticed that 1 9 *f.* differs from 1 6 *f.* only in the substitution of 'Tyre' for 'Gaza,' and in the addition of the words, 'and remembered not the covenant of brethren.' (Even if, with Winckler, we correct צר in *v.* 9 *f.* into מצר—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Muṣri [see MIZRAIM],—part of the following argument is still applicable.) It seems incredible that Amos should have condescended to repeat himself in this way, and doubtful whether the early Israelitish prophets knew anything about such an act as is imputed to Tyre in 1 9. And what can be the meaning of 'the covenant of brethren' in Amos's mouth? Many critics, indeed, have found in the phrase an allusion to the alliance between Solomon and Hiram (RV mg. refers to 1 K. 5 1 9 11-14); but this was a purely personal connection, and lay far back in the past. We might also think of the covenant between the kings of Israel and Tyre presupposed in 1 K. 16 31 *f.*; but would the Elijah-like prophet Amos have been the man to recognise this? Moreover, this was a personal or family covenant, whereas the charge against Edom in 1 11, that he 'pursued his brother with the sword,' presupposes a true national covenant resting on kinship (cp Mal. 1 2).

9. chap. 1 9 *f.* 11 *f.*

[1] Observe that between Am. 5 15 and 16 something analogous to 7*v.* 7 10 must have fallen out (7*v.* 8 9 are an interpolation). 7*v.* 14-17 should correspond to 7*v.* 4-7 10-13.

[2] אבל metaphorically, as Joel 1 10; נאות, as Joel 1 19 *f.* 2 22; יבש, as Joel 1 12. Cp also 1 2*b* as a whole with Jer. 9[10] 9 21 23 27 7, Is. 33 9; Nah. 1 4 (all post-exilic passages except the first). See Che. Introd. to WRS's *Pr. Isr.* xv *f.* [Volz. has lately expressed the same view (*Die vorexil. Jahweprofetie* p. 19 *f.*), which Nowack (*KZ. Proph.*, *ad loc.*) does not refute.]

This view is confirmed by Obad. 12, where 'in the day of thy brother' implies the same charge that is brought against Edom in the words quoted from Am 1 11. Thus, the fault imputed to Tyre is that it co-operated with Edom in the time of Israel's distress, by making raids into Israelitish territory and selling captive Israelites to their unnatural 'brethren.' Was there ever such a time of distress for Israel between the age of David and that of Amos? It is, of course, the history of Judah, not that of N. Israel, that we have to search, for the claim to the overlordship of Edom was maintained by the Davidic family. The answer depends primarily on the results of our criticism of Chronicles. If we can regard the Chronicler as an only slightly prejudiced recorder of old traditions, we may believe that the Philistines and Arabians broke into and plundered Jerusalem (2 Ch. 21 16 *f.*), and conjecture that Tyrian slave-merchants drew their profit from the circumstances. Further, if, some time before that, the Edomites revolted from Judah and defeated King Joram (this, happily, is a fact attested not only in 2 Ch. but also in 2 K. 8 20-22), it is easily conceivable that Edomitish passion vented itself in a great slaughter of fugitive Israelites. Is it worth while, however, to defend the integrity of Am. 1 and the accuracy of the Chronicler by such a lavish use of conjectures? A prophet such as Amos was could not have fastened on such an offence of the Edomites to the exclusion of the cruel treatment of Edomites by Judahites referred to in 2 K. 14 7 (cp 2 Ch. 25 12), and we ought not to imagine a case of special barbarity in the ninth century when there is a well attested one in the sixth. It was, in fact, at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 that the Edomites, who had no such stern moralists as Amos and Isaiah to reprove them, filled up the measure of their revenge, to the indignation of Jewish writers, who forgot the cruelties of their own ancestors. Hence, to explain Am. 1 11-12 aright, we must refer to Ezek. 25 12 35 5 Is. 34 Obad. 10-14 Ps. 137 7, together with Joel 3[4]19; and, to understand 1 9 *f.*, we must compare (besides the passages just mentioned) the description of the offence of Tyre in Joel 3(4)2-6 (subsidiary evidence for the late date of Am. 1 11 *f.* is given below).[1] If it be asked, when these judgments on Tyre and Edom were inserted, the answer is, during (or much more probably after) the Exile, at a time when some fresh insult on the part of the Edomites reminded Jewish writers of earlier and deeper injuries (see ISAIAH, ii. § 14).

10. chap. 9 8-15.

Next as to (*c*). Plainly, Joel 3(4)18*a* is the original of Am. 9 13*b*. The opposite view would be inconsistent with the fact that Am. 9 13*a* is dependent on the late passage Lev. 26 5*a* (see LEVITICUS). Am. 9 13, however, is not a later insertion in the section in which it occurs. From 9 11 (or rather from 9 8) onwards, we are struck by affinities in expression or idea to works of the Babylonian and Persian periods, and by corresponding divergences from the style and thought of Amos.[2] That 7*v.* 7 cannot have been the conclusion of the prophecy is certain; but we have to regard 7*v.* 8-15 as a post-exilic substitute for the original close. The editor cannot endure the idea of the final destruction of the whole house of Israel, and so he makes Amos declare in a strangely softened mood that only the 'sinful kingdom' (*i.e.*, that of Ephraim) will be wiped out, whereas the less guilty Judahites will

[1] Notice (1) the vague description of the offence of Edom. Does it consist in the purchase of Israelitish slaves from the Tyrian slave-merchants? or in the slaughter of Israelitish fugitives? or, more probably, did Edom prove that 'he kept his wrath for ever' in both these ways? (2) The mention of 'Teman' and 'Bozrah,' which names seem first to occur in Jer. 49 7 13. Cp the threat in 1 12 with that in Obad. ...

[2] For the evidence, which is singularly strong, see Cheyne, 'Notes on the Prophets,' *Expositor*, Jan. 1897, pp. 44-47. On Am. 9 8-15 see also Preuschen, *ZATW* 15 24-27 (95); Torrey, 'Notes on Am. 2 7 etc.,' *JBL* 168-172 (99); Driver, *Joel and Amos* 120 *ff.*, who vainly endeavours to diminish the force of the arguments.

suffer the milder doom of dispersion among the nations. Even this will be only for a time. Israel shall return, the old Davidic kingdom shall be restored, and the sweet commonplaces of prophetic idylls shall be fulfilled.

Now, can we not see the reason of the insertion of the opening verse or prologue? It was to assure the post-exilic readers of Amos that the threats of the prophet had long since been fulfilled, and that restored Zion should be safe under the care of its Pon-like divine protector. In other words, Amos was to be read in the light of the concluding portion of Joel. The insertion of the epilogue (9 8-15), in which we ought to note the reference to Edom (cp Joel 3 19), has a similar reason.[1]

Here, then, are already four certain post-exilic insertions. The companion passages now to be enumerated are equally noteworthy. No satisfactory picture of the prophet Amos is possible till we have recognised them.

11. chap. 2 4 *f.*

First, Am. 2 4*b* is too deficient in concreteness to be the work of Amos, and is, on phraseological grounds, late.[2] If so, the *whole* of the judgment upon Judah also must be late. This is every way a gain. In particular, we can now see better how thoroughly Amos was absorbed in his mission to N. Israel. He cannot perhaps forget Judah; but his native country is only a fragment: the national pulse beats most vigorously in Ephraim (cp Is. 9 8 *f.* [7 *f.*]). The post-exilic editor, however, felt the need of a distinct reference to the sin and punishment of Judah, which he meant to be taken in combination with the encouraging statements of 1 2 and 9 11-15. It was a different feeling which prompted the insertion

12. chaps. 4 12*b* 13 5 8 *f.* 9 5 *f.*

of 4 13 (with which 4 12*b* is connected) 5 8 *f.* 9 5 *f.* The conception of God had become deeper and fuller; the germs long ago deposited by the preaching of Amos and Isaiah had, through a widened experience, developed into the rich theology of II. Isaiah and the Book of Job. Not only by the wonders of history but also by those of nature was the sole divinity of Yahwè proved, and an ordinary reader of Amos inserted these doxologies (as we may call them) to relieve the gloom of the prophetic pictures.[3] Another such insertion was made (according to the text used by 𝔊) in Hos. 13 4.

We now pass on to Am. 5 26. The construction and rendering of this passage have been much disputed.

13. chaps. 5 26 6 2.

On the assumption that Am. 5 25-27 was all written by Amos, it is perhaps easiest (see Driver) to render וְנִשָּׂאתֶם, 'So ye shall take up . . . (Sacuth your king and Kaiwan your god, which ye made for yourselves),' וְהִגְלִיתִי, 'and I will carry (you) into exile.'[4] But how unnatural this is! Nowhere else does the prophet mention an inclination of the Israelites to the worship of Assyrian gods, and the carrying of Assyrian gods by Israelites into Assyria is a very strange feature in a threat. Hence the whole verse is more than probably

[1] There are similar interpolations in Hosea (*e.g.*, 1 7 1 10-2 1 [2 1-3] and the words 'David their king' in 3 5). See HOSEA, § 4.

[2] Cp 2 K. 16 15, Deuteronomistic. Critics on the other side quote Is. 5 24; Hos. 2 2 [4]; Ex. 18 16; Deut. 30 10; but they do not meet the argument from weakness of style, and produce no parallel for the second part of the description of Judah's sin. Moreover, the two Pentateuch passages are not in point. Nor have critics realised the consequences of admitting the post-exilic origin of the prophetic books in their present form.

[3] The style is that of II. Isaiah and the later poets (cp Stickel, *Hiob* p. 276), not that of Amos. The strings of participles remind us of Is. 40 22 *f.*; Job 12 17-24; Zech. 12 1; Dan. 2 21 *f.* Notice also בֹּרֵא (cp Cheyne, *Int. Isa.* xxi. 25), דֹּרֵךְ עַל־בָּמֳתֵי־אָרֶץ, הַבֹּנֶה בַשָּׁמַיִם מַעֲלוֹתָם, צְבָאָם, כְּסִיל, בִּינָה, אֶרֶץ. In 9 5 יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת violates the usage of Amos (but cp 𝔊). The ideas are equally late, though they are such as Amos, had he met with them, would have owned. *Inter alia*, comp. the third descriptive phrase in 4 13 with Ps. 139 2. It is probable that 5 8 *f.* originally stood after 4 13. Am. 9 5 *f.*, however, presumably retains its original position.

[4] On the text see, besides the commentaries, N. Schmidt, *JBL.*, 1894, p. 1 *ff.*; Torrey, *ib.* p. 61; WRS and Che., *Proph. Isr.*[2] 300 *ff.*; G. Hoffmann, *Z.A.W.* 3 112 *f.*; Tiele, *Gesch. van het godsdienst* 315. On the construction see Dr. in Smith, *DB*[2] 122 (art. AMOS).

a later insertion, which took the place of a passage that had become illegible. The case of Is. 10 4*a* seems exactly parallel (see *SBOT, ad loc.*). Whether or no Succoth-benoth, the name of a god in 2 K. 17 30, contains the divine name Sacuth,[1] we may suppose that the writer of the inserted passage merely antedates a worship introduced into Samaria by the Babylonian colonists after 722 B.C. The awkwardness of the connection need not surprise us (this against König, *Synt.* § 368*b*); the ו in וְנִשָּׂאתֶם is simply the *Waw explicativum* so often prefixed to glosses. Render, 'That is, ye carried in procession'; cp Is. 45 20. See CHIUN AND SUCCOTH.

Am. 6 2, another insertion, has been treated of already (see § 6 [*b*]). We pass on to 8 11 *f.* Verse 8

14. chaps. 3 14*b* 5 13-15 6 2 9 8 11 *f.*

is not at all suitable as a description of the threatened punishment (see We., Nowack). The comparison with the Nile recurs in an interpolated verse (9 5). Passing on, we note that *v.* 13 speaks of literal thirst (suggested by the mention of the festivals in *v.* 10), but in *v.* 11 the hunger and thirst are metaphorical. Verses 9 *f.* 13 *f.* announce a sudden catastrophe; but in *v.* 11 *f.* a lengthened time of misery is described. The passage is clearly late, and is parallel to Is. 8 20 *f.* (partly late). The silence of prophecy is spoken of as a sore trial in Ps. 74 9. Other probable late insertions are 3 14*b* 5 13-15 (cp Mic. 7 6), and the expression בְּרוּד in 6 5 (see DAVID, § 13); and 6 9 *f.* is at any rate misplaced. To these it is plausible to add the reference to 'those who are at ease in Zion' in 6 1 (but it may be better to correct צִיּוֹן into תִּרְצָה; so Che. *JQR* 10 573); also 3 7, which, as Duhm points out, may be a gloss on *v.* 8; certainly it interrupts a noble passage (*v.* 8 for יִנָּבֵא read יִחְדַּר, with We., or, much better, יִבֹּאוּ). The last insertion is 9 8-15 (see § 10).

After these insertions have been removed, may we safely suppose that the rest of the book represents what

15. Pre-exilic editing.

Amos said in public? No: the analogy of the prophecies of Isaiah makes such a supposition highly improbable. Let us be content with knowing that we have a truthful record of the prophetic certainties of Amos, even though he did not always utter them in public. The manner and the contents of the passages into which the true Book of Amos falls must be our guide in determining the class (whether that of public or of private prophecies) to which they severally belong. It is both inherently difficult and contrary to analogy to suppose that 1 2-2 16 was ever really uttered; at any rate, 1 2-2 6*a* 8 is more adapted to produce an effect on readers than on hearers. Nor can we possibly imagine that the visions in chaps. 7-9 were used by the prophet as texts of spoken addresses; passages from discourses are no doubt here and there introduced, but they come from the arranging hand of the editor of this part.

It is a further question whether the arrangement of the different sections may be due to Amos himself. In answering it we must leave sufficient room for the *growth* of the book. It is not unreasonable to suppose that on his expulsion from Bethel the prophet paid a visit (perhaps a second visit; cp 6 1) to Jerusalem, and there 'noted' his prophecies 'in (on) a book for a later day' (Is. 30 8), when the judgment upon Israel should have been accomplished. There, too, he may have committed his record (enriched with some never-spoken prophetic certainties) to the custody of those 'disciples' of Yahwè and of his prophets (see Is. 8 16), who began the long succession of students and editors of the religious literature. In their hands we may suppose that the book assumed by degrees its present form. At any rate, a written record of Amos must have become quickly known; for Isaiah, it is clear, steeped himself in the originality of Amos before displaying his own truly

[1] So Del. *Par.* 215 *f.*, but see SUCCOTH-BENOTH.

original genius. To Hosea, however, such a record cannot be proved to have been known (see We. on Hos. 8 14 4 15 10 5 8): in other words, the circulation of Amos's prophecies was, originally at least confined to Judah. The latest editor of the book, as we have seen, was post-exilic.

A special interest attaches to the description of the visions, together with the historical interludes in chaps. 7-9, partly because they exhibit the growth of Amos's prophetic certainty respecting the fall of Samaria, and partly because, like Is. 6 7-8 18, and 20 (in their original form), they appear to come from a partly biographic, partly prophetic, work, written or dictated by the prophet himself.

16. Amos's style. Some have been surprised to find 'a plain countryman' like Amos possessed of such a refined and yet vigorous style.[1] They forget that the differences of culture in the East are still sometimes comparatively trifling, and that a man of low rank may express himself with considerable elegance. It is still more in point to remark that the most classic Arabic poems are the work of men who had a calling similar to that of Amos, while, even under the new Moslem empire, sons of the desert were wont to appear at court and win a rich guerdon by the finished style of their improvisations. Such critics have also forgotten the opportunities of self-culture which, both at Tekoa and elsewhere, Amos must have enjoyed; and when even G. Baur and Ewald point to certain 'solecisms in pronunciation and orthography' as evidences of provincialism, it may be replied that the errors in question may reasonably be ascribed to late *copyists*.[2] That Amos delights in images drawn from nature is clearly no fault (cp., *e.g.*, 2 9 3 4 *f.* 8 12 5 19, and the first, second, and fourth visions). Only one of them is distinctively the comparison of a shepherd (3 12); and Amos is just as willing to speak of wonders of which he knows only by hearsay—such as the giant cedar trees (2 9), and (if the text be correct) the inundation of the Nile (8 8)—or of which he has a true Israelitish dread—such as an earthquake or a solar eclipse (8 8 *f.*), or the mysterious sea which yields no harvest (6 12; cp ἀτρύγετος), and which somewhere hides the terrible serpent of primitive mythology (9 3; see SERPENT, § 3 *f.*). It is a pity that, for reasons already given, we cannot speak of Amos as a sympathetic observer of the sky[3]—*that* is an essential characteristic of a much later poet (see JOB). As a literary craftsman he ranks high. In 1 3-2 16 we have a literary prophecy, which, until Amos forgets his art in his grief at the manifold offences of Israel, is marked by great regularity of structure. So in 4 6-11 we have the literary model of an equally symmetrical passage in Isaiah (Is. 9 8-21 [7-20] 5 26-30 10 1-4), and in 5 2 we have a short but strictly rhythmical elegy. Altogether, the Book of

17. Degree of originality. Amos forms a literary as well as a prophetic phenomenon. It is true that both as a writer and as a speaker he must have had models; J and E were, of course, not the only writers of the pre-Amosian period, and Elijah and Elisha (of whose doings a faint echo has reached us) were not the only prophetic reformers (Am. 2 11 *f.* 3 7). There is no occasion, however, to suppose that there were prophets of precisely Amos's type before him—prophets who had exactly his conception of their duties, and were also, in a qualified sense, writers. It would be a mistake to infer, from Amos's use of formulæ, that he was acquainted with earlier written prophecies. Prophetic formulæ could be transmitted by word of mouth

[1] Against Jerome's application of Paul's self-depreciating language in 2 Cor. 11 6 to Amos see Lowth, *Prælect.* 21 (*Lectures*, E.T. 2 97 *f.*).

[2] Take *e.g.*, יִשָּׂחָק (7 9) for יִצְחָק. The same form occurs in Jer. 33 26, Ps. 105 9, both post-exilic passages. In 5 11 בושם is not a 'dialect form' for ביסם; the scribe wrote ש by an error, and then corrected it by writing ם. Read simply בוס with We.

[3] GASm. (*HG* 315).

as well as by the pen. That Amos had left Tekoa at intervals before his prophetic call is not only inherently probable, but also follows from such a passage as 3 7 *f.* (if correct), which Amos could hardly have written unless he had had the most vivid and direct ocular evidence of the effects of a true prophetic impulse even before his own turn came to receive one. His originality is shown, not only in his prophetic message, but also in his being (probably) the first to conceive the idea of using the pen in aid of the voice. The *tôra*-literature of the priests had already taken a considerable development (Hos. 8 12); Amos was, it appears, the first prophet who followed the example of the literary priests. The importance of this step it was beyond his power to estimate. Within a generation he expected Israel as a nation to disappear; but he thought it worth while to gather disciples who, like himself, could praise Yahwè even in the midst of ruin; and, after all, who could tell but Yahwè might have some other secret to reveal to one of these—to a Hosea or to an Isaiah? See § 18.

18. Pessimism. That Amos's message is a gloomy one is in accordance with his conception of the divine character. In an age like his, the divine purpose could not be one of peace, though it required an immense devotion to Yahwè to be able to declare, seemingly unmoved, that He purposed the complete destruction of Israel (or, as we should say, of Israel and Judah). In spite of the universal scepticism which meets him (for how, it is said, can Yahwè be conceived of apart from his people?), Amos persists in his message, and even conceives the possibility that legendary supernatural agencies may be used to make the destruction more complete (9 3). It is not, therefore, open to us to account for the confidence of Amos simply by the advance of the Assyrian power. He does, indeed, regard Assyria as the chief destructive agent (6 14 7 17); but Assyria, when Amos spoke and wrote, was passing through a period of decline; consequently his conviction must have some other ground which naturally sharpens his eyes for the still present danger from Assyria. To this it must be added that, according to Amos, it would be easy for Yahwè, if the agency of Assyria were not available, to bring some other hostile nation from some corner of the earth, just as he 'brought up the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Aramæans from Kir' (9 7). The real ground of Amos's prophetic pessimism is the increasingly unsound religious condition of his people. He may very possibly have admitted that there were fifty or at least ten Israelites who lived by the same pure religion as himself; but he could not conceive of Yahwè's saying, 'I will not destroy the land for ten's sake.' The righteous must, according to him, suffer with the wicked (9 10 was inserted to correct this idea), though he might perhaps have left a door of hope open for those who, like himself and his disciples, had close personal contact with the true God: the nation might perish; but when this had happened, God might have some secret purpose for those who 'knew' him.

Of this vague hope we hear nothing from Amos (cp ISAIAH). What the popular religion was, we know but too well. Whatever the nobler minds may have believed, 'the mass of the people,' as Robertson Smith well says, 'still thought of Him as exclusively concerned with the affairs of Israel,' and the connection between Yahwè and Israel had a non-moral, natural, basis. Ritual tended to make morality almost superfluous, and by its increasing costliness actually promoted that injustice and inhumanity which Yahwè abhorred. There were also immoral superstitions at which Amos glances less (see 2 7) than Hosea. To this

19. Idea of God. pernicious system the religion of Amos is diametrically opposed. Once, at any rate, he uses the striking title, 'Yahwè, the God of the Hosts' (5 27 is admittedly a genuine passage)—*i.e.*, the God of celestial as well as earthly

legions—together with 'the Lord Yahwè' (perhaps nineteen times), in antithesis to the nationalistic expression, 'Yahwè, the God of Israel.'[1] The Yahwè whom he himself worshipped was, in virtue of his perfect moral nature, the Sovereign alike of nature and of nations. Amos had not, indeed, fathomed the depths of this conception as had the Second Isaiah and the author of Job (Am. 4 13 and the parallel passages are later insertions: see above, § 12); but he is already to all intents and purposes an ethical monotheist, and his conviction of the impending destruction of Israel does but intensify his sense of the majesty of the one God. He does not, indeed, reject the old belief in the connection between Yahwè and Israel altogether (cp 7 15 'my people Israel'): he moralises it. For some wise object, Yahwè brought Israel out of Egypt (3 1 9 7), and entered into a personal moral relation to it; but his will, at any rate, is not unknown to the other nations, and their history is equally under his direction. Once, indeed, under the stress of moral passion, Amos even places the 'sons of Israel' on a level with the 'sons of the Cushites'[2]; this occurs near the end of his prophecy (9 7), and is evidently intended as a final withdrawal of a temporary and conditional privilege. It is not, however, on all the nations of the earth, but only on those which are in close proximity to Israel, that judgment is pronounced by Amos, as the spokesman of Yahwè; he aims at no theoretic consistency. These nations are to suffer the same doom as Israel at the hand of Assyria, because they, like Israel, have violated the unwritten law of justice and humanity. [Thus we can divine Amos's free attitude towards the lately written ethico-religious priest's laws (see EXODUS, § 3). He is probably acquainted with such laws (2 8; cp Ex. 22 25 *f.*); but he does not recognise them as of primary authority, for he now here appeals to them.[3]] And if by many favours, including the crowning favour of prophecy (2 11), Yahwè has made himself specially known to the Israelites, it follows that he will judge Israel more strictly than he will judge the other nations (3 1 2). As a faithful friend, Amos assures his people that if they would only 'seek' the true Yahwè they would 'live' (5 4 14)—*i.e.*, would escape captivity and enjoy prosperity in their own land (cp Hos. 6 2 *f.*). He has no hope, however, that they will do so: the false popular religion is too deeply rooted. Indeed, Am. 5 has been so much interfered with by editors that it is doubtful whether *vv.* 4 14 can be appealed to as authorities on such a point; *v.* 14, at all events, appears to belong to an inserted section (see Nowack).

20. Denunciations.

It is not idolatry that Amos complains of. When he says, ironically, 'Go to Bethel and transgress' (4 4), he means, as he expressly tells us, 'Carry out the prescriptions of your wilfully devised ritual law.' Nor can we venture to say that a protest against the 'golden calves' is implied,[4] for no prophet is more explicit than Amos in mentioning the sins of his people. The two passages in which a reproof of Israelitish idolatry does appear to occur are certainly interpolations. In 8 14, for 'the sin of Samaria'[5] we should read 'the god of Bethel' (cp Gen. 31 13), in parallelism to 'thy god (אֱלֹהֶיךָ), O Dan,' and 'thy patron (read דַּרְכְּךָ with Wi. and see DOD), O Beersheba,' and the whole of 5 26 is a later insertion, and is not true to the facts of the age of Amos (see above, § 12). What Amos most vehemently denounces is sacrifice. One may perhaps be tempted to suppose that he says more than he means, and that he does not object to sacrifices altogether, but only to the belief that when duly performed they can change the mind of the Deity. His language, however, seems too strong to be thus explained away, especially when we find him appealing in support of his statement to the fact that in the olden time, when Yahwè was so near to Israel, no sacrifices were offered (5 25). Is there, then, no form of worship in which Yahwè delights? None, except the practice of righteousness—*i.e.*, justice and humanity (see 5 21 24). But, alas, the Israelite will not recognise this. Pilgrims who are wholly indifferent to plain moral duties crowd to the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal, and even to the far-off southern shrine of Beer-sheba[1] (5 5 8 14, cp Hosea 4 15), and parade their devotion to the different local forms of Yahwè in pious oaths, as if the true Yahwè could be pleased with the offerings or the oaths of such worshippers. How painful will be the awakening from this moral sleep, when the greatest of all realities makes its existence known, annihilating at one blow the sanctuaries of Israel and their worshippers (9 1)! Such was the announcement of the shepherd of Tekoa.

21. Estimate of Amos.

Taken in connection with the ideas on which it is based, it seems to justify us in calling him a surprising phenomenon. That the phenomenon can be partly explained there is no doubt. Neither Amos nor his special follower Isaiah is so entirely abnormal a product as an unthinking study of the works of either might suggest (see PROPHECY). But not the most comprehensive study of the history of Israel will altogether account for their appearance. And if they neither of them saw the whole truth, and both needed the correction of history and of later prophets and sages, we may still pay them the reverence which belongs to those who first uttered great moral and religious truths with the power that belongs to God-possessed men.

22. Special helps.

See references in art. and cp also We. *Die kleinen Propheten* (for a corrected text), 1 .2, and his *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* ET, 1891, pp. 81-86; WRS *Proph. Is.*(2) 120-143, 394-401; Dr., art. 'Amos,' *DB*(2) (with full bibliography); also *Joel and Amos* (Cambr. Bible) 18-7; Duhm, *Die Theol. d. Proph.*, 1875, pp. 109-125; Smend, *Alt-test. Rel.-gesch.*, 1893, pp. 159-188; Wi. *GI* 91 *ff.*; Oort (on the home of Amos, and on the genuineness of 4 13 5 8 9 5 6), *Th. T*, 1891, pp. 121-126; G. Hoffmann (on the text of Amos), *ZATW*, 1883, pp. 87-126; Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, pp. 1-15; G.ASm., *Twelve Prophets* 1 61-210; Nowack, *KL Pr.* [97] (thorough and judicious). T. K. C.

2. Amos (Αμως [NBCD]) is the best supported reading in Mt. 1 10, where, however, King Amon (*q.v.*) is plainly intended; so TR and EV. It is a constant variation in ℭAB.

3. An ancestor of Joseph, Mary's husband (Lk. 3 25 [BNA]). On the two lists see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS.

AMOZ (אָמוֹץ, § 57, 'strong'; αμωϲ [BNAOQTL], αμμ. [A in 2 K. 19 2 20 1 Is. 37 2]; *AMOS*), father of ISAIAH, 1 (Is. 1 1 αμοϲ[ειν]=αμοϲ ην [N*vid.], 20 2 [NAQ om.], 2 Ch. 26 22 [BA om.]).

AMPHIPOLIS (αμφιπολιν [Ti. WH], πολιν [N*]), one of the most important positions in northern Greece; it stands on a bend of the river Strymon, between the lower end of lake Cercinitis and the head of the Strymonic gulf, thus commanding the pass leading from the east into Macedonia (Liv. 45 30). Consequently it was a station on the *Via Egnatia*, 'the great military road which ran through Macedonia and connected Rome with the Hellespont' (Cic. *De prov. cons.* 2 § 4). Paul, therefore, 'passed through' Amphipolis

[1] 'Thy God (O Israel)' is put into Amos's mouth by a later editor (4 12*b*; see above, § 12).

[2] Who these Cushites are, is uncertain (see CUSH i. § 2 *h*). Apparently they had recently experienced some calamity.

[3] Here he contrasts with Hosea, who clearly invests the written *tōrōth* which arose in certain priestly circles with primary authority (Hos. 8 12). Perhaps, as Duhm suggests, Hosea was himself a priest.

[4] So Davidson (*Expositor*, 1887 (1), p. 175). To say that Amos does not protest against the 'golden calves,' is of course not to assert that he thinks them worthy symbols of Yahwè. Cp St. *GI'I* 1 579; WRS, *Proph.* 575 *f.*

[5] The text appears to have been altered by the same editor who inserted the reference to 'the two iniquities' in Hos. 10 10.

[1] Hal. thinks that a northern Beer-sheba (perhaps Beeroth) is intended (*REJ* 11 72-77); but if Elijah went on pilgrimage to Horeb, which was not even in Palestine, why should not N. Israelites have gone to a venerated spot in S. Israel? עָבַר is precisely the right word to use of a sanctuary across the border (cp 6 2).

on his way from Philippi to Thessalonica (διοδεύσαντες, Acts 17 1†).

The site was intimately connected with some of the most interesting passages in Greek history; but it would be a mistake to imagine that the apostle or his companions either knew or cared for these things. It is now Neochori. [Leake, *North. Gr.* 3 181 *f.*] W. J. W.

AMPLIAS, or rather as in RV **Ampliatus** (αμπλιατος [Tr. WH]), saluted as 'my beloved in the Lord' (Rom. 16 8†); not otherwise known.

The name was not unfrequently borne by slaves. In the list of the seventy disciples (Pseudo-Dorotheus) Amplias is represented as having been bishop of Odessus or Odyssus (on the Black Sea, near the site of the modern Varna).

AMRAM (עַמְרָם, § 77, 'in good condition'? or, 'the [divine] kinsman is exalted'; αμβραμ [BL; A in Ex. Nu.], αμρ. [AF; B in Nu.]).

1. b. Kohath, head of a Levitical subdivision, and father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Ex. 6 18 20; Nu. 3 19 αμβραμ [AF], -βραν [L]; 26 58 *f.* 1 Ch. 6 2 [5 28]); from him come the **Amramites** (הָעַמְרָמִי, Nu. 3 27, ὁ αμραμειτ [B], αμβρααμ' ειτ [A], -ραμ' ειτ [F], -ραν ειτ [L]; 1 Ch. 26 23, αμραμι [A]). See LEVI.

2. One of the b'ne BANI, 2, in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i. § 5 end) Ezra 10 34 (μαρ[ε]ι [B], αμβραμ [א], αμβραμ και [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 OMAERUS, RV ISMAERUS (μαηρος [B], ισμ. [A], αμραμ [L]). See EZRA, ii. § 14 *b*.

3. 1 Ch. 1 41 (חֶמְרָן), RV HAMRAN. See HEMDAN.

AMRAPHEL (אַמְרָפֶל; αμαρφαλ [ADEL]; Jos. Ἀμαρα φίδης), king of Shinar (Gen. 14 1 o†) = Hammurabi, king of Babylon, who, according to trustworthy cuneiform data, may have flourished about 2250 B.C. This assumes that אמרפל is corrupted from חמרבי or (Lindl, Sayce) המרבי אל; but see CHEDORLAOMER (§ 4 *f.*), and cp Schr. *COT* 2 209 *f.*; Hommel, *BAG* 169, *AHT* 193; Wi. *AOF* 143 *ff.*; Bezold, *PSBA* 11 88 ['88]. Targ. Jon. ingeniously, if uncritically, identifies Amraphel with Nimrod, who 'commanded Abram to be cast into the furnace.' If the identification with Hammurabi be accepted, we may be reminded that Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar delighted to imitate this founder of Babylonian greatness, both in his building plans and in his methods of administration (see BABYLONIA, § 66, and cp Rogers, *Outlines of Early Bab. Hist.* 27-30). It may be that some Jewish favourite at the Babylonian court, who had received a Babylonian education (Sanabassar or Sheshbazzar for instance—note the Babylonian name), heard Hammurabi spoken of, and made historical notes from cuneiform tablets on events which had happened 'in the days of Amraphel,' also that one of these was adopted by later writers as the basis of a Midrash on Abraham and Melchizedek. On the other hand, those who identify NIMROD (*q.v.*) with Nazi-maruttaš (Nazi-marutta Š) may incline to think that the setting of contemporary history may be derived from an early pre-exilic traditional source, though the narrative in its present form is undoubtedly the production of post-exilic writers. The latter view is the more difficult one, but not therefore to be hastily rejected. Cp Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorient. Chronologie* (1898) 84, and see ABRAHAM, § 4, CHEDORLAOMER (§§ 2, 4 end), HAM (i.), MELCHIZEDEK (§ 2), SHAVEH, 1. T. K. C.

AMULETS is the RV rendering of *Ḥ̄ iṣim*, לְחָשִׁים, Is. 3 20, a word used elsewhere of any charm (Is. 3 3, נָבוֹן לָחַשׁ, RV 'skilful enchanter'—not 'eloquent orator' or 'skilful of speech' as in AV and AV mg.), or, more specifically, of a charm against serpents (Jer. 8 17 Eccles. 10 11). In Is. 3 20 some sort of female ornament is meant, most probably earrings (so AV), which seem to be treated as idolatrous in Gen. 35 4. Doubtless, as WRS suggests ('Divination and Magic' in *J. Phil.* 11 122 ['85]), the amulet is worn in the ear to prevent an incantation from taking effect. Among early

peoples amulets and ornaments are closely connected (cp We. *Heid.*[2] 165). When the early significance of the protective power of the object is forgotten it serves as a simple adornment.[1] The Syr. equivalent *ḥāliṣā* is properly 'a holy thing,' and the same idea is seen in the occurrence of the root in the old Yemenite *ḥāliṣ*, 'pearls'; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 453; and see MAGIC, § 3 (3), cp also RING, § 2.

AMZI (אַמְצִי, § 52, perhaps abbrev. from Amaziah).

1. In the genealogy of ETHAN: 1 Ch. 6 46 [31] (αμεσσια [B], μαισσια [A], αμασια [L]). See also LEVI.

2. In genealogy of Adaiah, 3, the priest (see MALCHIJAH, 3); Neh. 11 12 (αμασ[ε]ι [BA], -σιου [L], αμεσσει [א]), omitted, however, in the 1 Ch. 9 12.

ANAB (עֲנָב, ανωβ [AL]), a hill-town of Judah, Josh. 15 50 (ανων [B], αναβ [L]), one of the seats of the Anakim; Josh. 11 21 (αναβωθ [B]). It is doubtless to be connected with Ḥinianabi (עִנִּינָבִי), mentioned in *Am. Tab.* 237, 26 with Magdali (see MIGDAL-GAD) and other cities of the land of *Gar* (SW. Judah). There is still a place of the name ('*Anāb*) on the west side of the Wādy el-Khalil, about 14 miles to the SW. of Hebron, and 4 or 5 m. W. from Shuweikeh (Rob. *BR* 2 159; so *PEMem.* 3 392 *f.*). See also ANUB.

ANAEL (αναηλ [BאA], *i.e.*, חֲנַנְאֵל, HANANEEL), brother of Tobit and father of ACHIACHARUS (Tob. 1 21). See also AMAN.

ANAH (עֲנָה, meaning uncertain, cp Gray, *HPN* 110; ανα [BADEL]), a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36). As the text stands the descent of Anah is represented in three ways. Anah is

1. Daughter of Zibeon (αιναν [L]), in *vv.* 2 14, 'Hivite' in *v.* 2 being obviously an old error of the text for 'Horite.'

2. Son of Seir and brother of Zibeon, *v.* 20 (αιναν [L]), 1 Ch. 1 38 (Αναν [L]).

3. Son of Zibeon, *v.* 24 *bis* (ωναν [AD], αιναν [L], ωνα [E], ωνας [AE]), also 1 Ch. 1 40 *f.* (Σωναν [B], ωναμ [A; *v.* 41 ανα], αναν [L]), 25 *bis* 29.

The first of these may, however, safely be disregarded. 'Daughter of Zibeon' is a variant (based on *v.* 24) of 'daughter of Anah' (dependent on *vv.* 20 25), which has intruded into the text (so Di., Kau.). As to (2) and (3), the differences of statement need not surprise us, for the genealogy only symbolises tribal relations. Anah was originally a sub-clan of the clan called Zibeon, and both alike were 'sons of Seir'—*i.e.*, Horites. A twofold tradition, therefore, could easily arise. The 'mules' which, from *v.* 24 AV, Anah would appear to have 'found in the wilderness' are an invention of the Midrash, some Rabbis explaining יֵמִים (ιαμειν [ADE], εαμιν [L]) by ἡμίονος, others by ἡμισυ (*Ber. rabba*, par. lxxxii.). The 'hot springs' of Vg. and RV are purely conjectural; the word יֵמִים is evidently corrupt. As Ball points out (*SBOT* Gen. crit. notes, 93), it may have come in from *v.* 22 (הֵימָם). In *vv.* 2 14 and 18 (where 𝔊[AEL] omits), Anah is called the father of Oholibamah, the wife of Esau. See BASHEMATH.

T. K. C.

ANAHARATH (אֲנָחֲרַת; ρεηρωθ κ. αναχερεθ [B], ρεναθ κ. αρρανεθ [A], δανερεθ [L]), a site on the border of ISSACHAR (Josh. 19 19)†. The reading seems corrupt (note the conflate readings of 𝔊[BA]). Perhaps we should read אַרְנֶת and identify with '*Arrāneh*, a village on rising ground in the plain of Esdraelon, a little northward of Jenin (= En-gannim). So Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* and Riehm's *HWB*[2] (after Knobel).

Knobel's alternative view (adopted from de Saulcy by Conder) identifies Anaharath with en-Nā'ūra, which is not far from Iksāl (Chesulloth) and Sūlām (Shunem), and is therefore not altogether unsuitable, but somewhat remote from every attested form of the ancient name.

[1] For analogies cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH.

ANAIAH (עֲנָיָה, § 23, 'Yahwè has answered'; ANANIA(C) [BNAL], thus identifying the name with ANANIAH)

1. In list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA, ii. § 13 *f.*; cp i. § 8) at the reading of the law (Neh. 8 4, 1 Esd. 9 4, ANANIAS, 4).

2. Signatory to the covenant; Neh. 10 22 [23] (Ανια [B]; Ανεια [AN*]). See EZRA, i. § 7.

ANAK. See ANAKIM

ANAKIM RV; AV, less correctly, ANAKIMS (עֲנָקִים; and הָעֲנָקִים; in Targg. generally rendered גִּבָּרַיָּא 'giants'; ENAK[E]IM [BAFL], but -N [F* ?] Dt. 2 10); *EN.K.IM*

The Anakim are mentioned in Dt. 2 10 *f.* 21 Josh. 11 21 *f.* 14 12 15 Jer. 47 5 (𝔊 RV; Heb. reads 'of their valley'); elsewhere called 'sons of Anak' (בְּנֵי, ενακ [BAL]) Nu. 13 23 (ενακ [BF]; Dt. 9 2*b* and (MT 'sons of the Anak') Josh. 15 14*a*; Judg. 1 20; 'sons of the Anakim,' Dt. 1 28) υἱοὶ γιγαντων [BAL]) 9 2*a* (υἱοὶ Ἐνακ); 'the children (יְלִידֵי) of Anak' (MT 'the Anak') Nu. 13 28 *a* 28 (ενακ [B], ανακ [A]), Josh. 15 14*b*. The phrases are exactly parallel to 'Rephaim' and 'children of the Rapha' (see REPHAIM); indeed in Dt. 2 11 a writer of the Deuteronomic school, 'interested in history and archæology' (Kue.), makes the Anakim a branch of the Rephaim.

These and other descriptive terms (which are not to be mistaken for race-names) are given at any rate to some portions of the pre-Israelitish population of Palestine, whom, like the Amorites, tradition endowed with colossal height (cp Nu. 13 33).[1] On the inhabitants of Palestine generally see CANAAN.

According to Josh. 11 21 (D_2), the Anakim were to be found in the mountains about Hebron, in the fenced cities Debir and Anab, and, in general, in the mountains of Judah and Israel, whence Joshua and Israel drove them out. Verse 22 also states that a remnant of them survived in the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (cp Jer. 47 5 𝔊; οἱ κατάλοιποι ενακειμ [BNAQ], where MT has 'the remnant of their valley'). The oldest narrator, however, gives the credit of their expulsion to Caleb, who drove out from Kirjath-arba the three sons of Anak: Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai—*i.e.*, the three tribes or clans which bore those names (Josh. 15 14). The editor of Judg. 1, quoting this passage, refers the deed to the tribe of Judah (*v.* 10); see HEBRON. In later times, a too literal interpretation of 'sons,' and genealogical interest, led to the transformation of Anak, and—what is still stranger—of Arba' ('four') in the place-name Kirjath-arba, into personal names. Thus Anak (virtually a personal name where it has the article) becomes father of SHESHAI, AHIMAN (1), and TALMAI (1), an[1] son of Kirjath-arba; cp Josh. 21 11 (MT הָעֲנָק), 15 13 *f.* Judg. 1 10 (εναμ [A]).

The proof of this is supplied by 𝔊BAL, which in Josh. 15 13 21 11 instead of 'father of Anak' has μητρόπολιν [τῶν] ενακ. This no doubt represents the original text, which stated that Kirjath-arba, or Hebron, was an important city (a 'mother,' cp 2 S. 20 19) of the Anakim. A later scribe, prepared to find a genealogical notice and therefore surprised to find the word 'mother' in apposition to Arba, altered 'mother' (אֵם) into 'father' (אָב). Thus he obtained the statement that Hebron was the city of one Arba, who was the father of '(the) Anak.' In Josh. 14 15, however, he took a different course. The true reading must be that of 𝔊BAL, which gives (nearly as in the parallel passages) πόλις αρβε ([L], αρβο [A], αργοβ [B]), μητρόπολις των ενακ[ε]ιμ αὕτη. For this the scribe substituted 'the city of Arba, the greatest man among the Anakim.' The consequence was that Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai (the three Anakites mentioned in Josh. 15 14) became, literally, 'sons of (the) Anak,' and grandsons of Arba—no contemptible acquisition for genealogists. So virtually Schleusner] (Thes., *s.v.* μητρόπολις); but see especially Moore, *Judges* 24 *f.* Cp also Schwally, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 139 *ff.* T. K. C.

ANAMIM (עֲנָמִים), one of the peoples of Mizraim, Gen. 10 13 = 1 Ch. 1 11†; unidentified. See GEOGRAPHY, § 15 (2).

ANAMMELECH (עֲנַמֶּלֶךְ, ANHMELEX [B], AMH. [A]; om. L; ܥܢܡܠܟ; *Anamelech*), a Babylonian deity, whose worship was carried by the Sepharvites into Samaria when, along with the inhabitants of other Babylonian cities, they were transplanted thither by Sargon. As in the case of the kindred deity Adrammelech (see, however, ADRAMMELEK II, 1), the worship of Anammelech was accompanied by the rite of human sacrifice (2 K. 17 31). The name Anammelech is probably to be explained as *Anu-malik* 'Anu is the decider or prince'[1] (Schr., Del.), although there is no evidence that Anu enjoyed any special veneration in Sippara (see SEPHARVAIM), a city that was especially devoted to the worship of Šamaš the Sun-god.

It is very possible, however, that the text is corrupt (Hommel proposes a rather elaborate restoration [*Exp. T.* 9 430 *f.*]). It is also possible (see NISROCH) that Anammelech is merely a faulty variant of Adrammelech (rather Adarmelech). 𝔊L in 2 K. 17 31 has only αδραμελεχ.

Anu was the god of Heaven, and with him were identified a number of gods representing personifications of powers or localities of the upper region, such as *Urał*, *Anšargal*, *Anšar*, *Enšar*, *Du'ur*, *Luḫma*, *Ekur*, *Alala*, *Alala-alam*, and *Enurula*. He stood at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, forming one of the supreme triad of Babylonian divinities, in which he was associated with *Bêl*, the god of Earth and of created things, and *Ea*, the god of the Abyss and all that is beneath the earth. See BABYLONIA, § 26. According to G. Hoffmann (*ZA*, 1896, p. 258), however, the name is ענ[ת]מלך—*i.e.*, Anath-malk. Cp Astar[t]-Kemosh and Melk[at]-Astart. Anath (Anta) was the consort of Anu (see ANATH). L. W. K.

ANAN (עָנָן, § 50; shortened from ANANIAH). 1. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 26 [27] (ηναμ [B], ηνα [N], -αν [A], ηιναν [L]).

2. Anan (αν[ν]αν [BAL]) in 1 Esd. 5 30 = HANAN, 3 (חָנָן) Ezra 2 46.

ANANI (עָנָנִי, § 50, abbr. from ANANIAH, cp Sab. ענן and Palm. ענני; MANEI [B], ANANI [A], -IAC [L]), descendant of ZERUBBABEL (1 Ch. 3 24).

ANANIAH (עֲנַנְיָה, BN*A om., ANANIA [N^c a mg. inf.], ANIA [L]) in Benjamin, mentioned (*v.* 32†) in the list of villages, Neh. 11 20-36 (see EZRA, 2, § 5*b*, § 15 (1)*a*), along with Nob and Ramah (Neh. 11 32), and possibly represented by the modern *Beit-Ḥanina*, 3½ m. NNW. of Jerusalem.

ANANIAH (עֲנַנְיָה, §§ 33, 50; ANANIA [BAL]), ancestor of one of Nehemiah's builders (Neh. 3 23).

ANANIAS (ANANIAC [BAL]), the Gk. form of HANANIAH or ANANIAH.

1. RV ANNIS, mg. ANNIAS, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5 16 (ανναις [B], ανναας [A], om. L). The name has probably arisen from a misreading of Hodiah (הודיה read חניה); cp Neh. 10 17 *f.*, and see HODIAH, 2. Cp also Meyer, *EJ* 143, 155.

2. 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 20 HANANI, 3.

3. 1 Esd. 9 29 = Ezra 10 28 HANANIAH, 7.

4. 1 Esd. 9 43 = Neh. 8 4 ANAIAH, 1.

5. 1 Esd. 9 48 (ανναιας [B]) Neh. 8 7 HANAN, 4.

6. A kinsman of Tobit. The archangel Raphael, while in disguise, claimed to be his son (Tob. 5 12). He is designated Ananias 'the great,' son of Semeus or Semelius (see SHEMAIAH, 23), also called 'the great.'

7. b. Gideon, ancestor of Judith (Judith 8 1, om. B).

8. In Song of Three Children, *v.* 66 (𝔊 Theod. Dan. 3 88); see HANANIAH, 1.

9. Son of Nedebaios (*Ant.* xx. 5 2, Νεβεδαιός in some MSS [AE] νεδεβαιος; cp NEDABIAH), high priest, *circa* 47-59 A.D., under Herod Agrippa II., king of Chalcis. He is mentioned in Acts 23 2 *ff.* 24 1 as the high priest before whom Paul was accused during the procuratorship of Felix. He flourished in the degenerate days of the priesthood, and, though Josephus says (*Ant.* xx. 9 2) that after his retirement he 'increased in glory every day,' allusion is made to him in the Talmud (*Pesaḥim*) in terms of the greatest contempt. Cp ANNAS (end).

[1] Anak, 'long-necked' (St. and most), or 'those with necklaces' (Klo.), with which cp Heb. 'ănāḳ, 'a chain for the neck,' Aram. 'ănak, Ar. 'unuḳ, 'neck.'

[1] In which case cp Anu(m) šarru = Anu the king, the usual title of the god Anu (Muss-Arn. *Ass. Dict.* 65).

10. Husband of SAPPHIRA (*q.v.*), Acts 5 1. See COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 3.

11. A 'disciple' at Damascus, who was the means of introducing Paul, after his conversion, to the Christian community there (Acts 9 10-19).

ANANIEL (ANANIHA [BNA]; Heb. [ed. Neubauer] חֲנַנְאֵל, Hananeel), Tobit's grandfather (Tob. 1 1).

ANATH (עֲנָת; ANAΘ [BAL]), a divine name, mentioned in connection with Shamgar in Judg. 3 31 (ΔΕΙΝΑΧ [B]) and 5 6† (KENAΘ [A]). If SHAMGAR (*q.v.*) were an Israelite, and b. Anath ('son of Anath') his second name, it would be tempting to take 'Anath' in 'ben Anath' as shortened from Ebed Anath 'servant of Anath' (so Baethgen, *Beitr.* 141; but see Noldeke, *ZDMG* 42 479 ['88]). More probably, however, Benanath is a Hebraised form of the name of a foreign oppressor who succeeded Shamgar[1] (certainly a foreign name), and in this case Anath must designate a foreign deity. Who then was this deity? Evidently the well-known goddess worshipped in very early times in Syria and Palestine (as appears, *e.g.*, from the names mentioned below), and adopted, as the growing evidence of early Babylonian influence on Palestine scarcely permits us to doubt, from the Babylonian pantheon. An(a)tu was in fact the daughter of the primitive god Anu, whose name is mentioned as that of a Syrian deity in 2 K. 17 31 (see ANAMMELECH, SEPHARVAIM). Of her character as a war-deity there can be no doubt. In ancient Egypt, where her cultus was introduced from Syria, she was frequently coupled with the terrible war-goddess Astart, and on an Egyptian stele in the British Museum she appears with a helmet on the head, with a shield and a javelin in the right hand, and brandishing a battle-axe in the left. She was, therefore, a fit patron-deity for Shamgar or for Sisera. That the fragmentary Israelitish traditions make no direct reference to her cultus, need not be matter for surprise. The names ANATHOTH, BETH-ANATH, BETH-ANOTH, compensate us for this omission. Wellhausen thinks that we have also one mention of Anath in Hos. 14 8[9], where he renders an emended text 'I am his Anath and his Asherah' (in clause 2)—surely an improbable view. For a less difficult correction see Che. *Exp. Times*, April 1898

For Archæology see Jensen, *Kosm.* 193 272 *f.*; E. Meyer, *ZDMG* 31 717 ['77]; Tiele, *Gesch. van den Godsdienst in die oudheid*, etc. (93), 2 ; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 313. T. K. C.

ANATHEMA. See BAN, § 3.

ANATHOTH (עֲנָתוֹת, ANAΘΩΘ [BAL]), a town of Benjamin (cp below, 2), theoretically included by later writers among the so-called Levitical cities (see LEVITES), Josh. 21 18 P; 1 Ch. 6 60[45] (ΑΓΧΩΧ [B], -ΩC and ANAΘΩΘ [A], ENAΘΩΘ [L], Neh. 7 27 NAΘΩΘ [A; om. B]).

The form of the ethnic varies in edd. and versions[2] (cp also ANTOTHIJAH). ABIEZER, 2, is called הָעֲנָתֹתִי, 2 S. 23 27, AV the ANETHOTHITE (ανωθειτης [B], αναθωθ. [A], -ωθι [L]), הָעֲנָתוֹתִי, 1 Ch. 27 12 (AV, ANETOTHITE, ὁ ἐξ αναθωθ [BAL]), and finally הָעֲנָתֹתִי, 1 Ch. 11 28 (AV ANTOTHITE, αναθω[ε]ι [BA], -ωθιτης [L]). The last-mentioned form is used to designate JEHU, 5, in 1 Ch. 12 3 (ὁ αναθω[ε]ι [BAL], -βωθει [κ]; 4. αναθωθει [κ] not in Heb. or 𝔊BA). RV in each case ANATHOTHITE.

The name appears to be the plural of ANATH, and may refer to some images of that goddess which once stood there. Under the form Anath the place seems to be once referred to in the Talmud (*Yoma* 10*a*), where its building is assigned to Ahiman the Anakite. Tradition said that Abiathar, the priest in David's time, had 'fields' at Anathoth (1 K. 2 26); and Jeremiah was born of a priestly family which had property there (Jer. 1 1 29 27 32 7-9, αναναθωθ [A*vr. 7] 37 12). It is once referred to by Isaiah (Isa. 10 30), and is mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 23 = Neh. 7 27 = 1 Esd. 5 18 (ανατου [B])

The connection of Anathoth with Jeremiah gives a special interest to its identification. A tradition, not older than the 15th century, fixes it at Kariet el-'Enab (Robinson's Kirjath-jearim); but, as Robinson has shown, it can only be the village now called *'Anāta*, which is situated NE. of Jerusalem, just at the distance required by the *Onomasticon*, and by the reference in Isa. 10 30. 'Anāta is well-placed, but only from a strategical point of view. Eastward and south-eastward its inhabitants look down on the Dead Sea and the Lower Jordan—striking elements in a landscape, no doubt, but depressing. Jerusalem is quickly accessible by the Wādy Sulēm and Scopus, but is not within sight. Here the saddest of the prophets presumably spent his earlier years.

2. b. BECHER (*q.v.*) in genealogy of BENJAMIN [§ 9, ii. *a*], 1 Ch. 7 8 (αναθωθ [BAL])

3. Signatory to the covenant (Neh. 10 19[20]). See EZRA, i. § 7. T. K. C.

ANCHOR (ΑΓΚΥΡΑ), Acts 27 29. See SHIP.

ANDREW (ΑΝΔΡΕΑC [Ti. WH] 'manly'), one of Christ's twelve disciples. Like Philip, he bore a Greek name; but so did many Jews of his time, and in Dio Cassius (68 32) we meet with another instance of a Jew called Andrew.

Besides the account of his call (see PETER), and his inclusion in the lists of the apostles (see APOSTLE, § 1), nothing is said of Andrew in the Synoptics, except that, in Mk. 13 3, he appears as one of the inner circle within the twelve, for he is one of the four who question Christ 'privately' about the impending ruin of the temple.

In the Fourth Gospel the picture is more fully drawn, and in one respect completes and explains the account of Andrew's call given in the Synoptics. We read that he belonged originally to Bethsaida (Jn. 1 44), that he was a disciple of the Baptist and heard his witness to Christ, that he and a companion (no doubt John) asked the wandering teacher where he dwelt, and went with him to his temporary home. Then, having 'found the Messiah,' Andrew made his brother, Simon Peter, a sharer in his joy. We next meet with Andrew, on the E. of the lake of Galilee, at the miraculous feeding of the multitude, on which occasion it is he that tells our Lord (6 8 *f.*) of the lad in the crowd who has 'five barley loaves and two fishes.' Once more, when the end is near, he shows in a memorable scene his special intimacy with the Master. When Greeks approach Philip with the 'desire to see Jesus,' it is to Andrew first that Philip communicates the request which they together lay before Christ (Jn. 12 22).

The rest of the NT, apart from the list of the disciples in Acts 1 13, is absolutely silent about Andrew. Such other tradition as we have is worthless.

Eusebius (*HE* iii.) speaks of him as preaching in Scythia, and we have in Andrew's 'Acts' the story of his martyrdom, at Patræ in Achaia, on a cross shaped like the letter X. Acts of Andrew the Apostle were in circulation among the Gnostics of the second century, but survived only in various Catholic recensions of much later date. Harnack enumerates (1) *Acta Andreæ et Matthiæ* (and their mission to the Anthropophagi) in Greek (edited by Tisch. *Act. Apost. Apocryph.*), Syriac (edited by Wright, *Apoc. Acts of the Apostles*), Ethiopic, and Coptic (fragmentary). The Latin version survives only in its influence on the Anglo-Saxon *Andreas and Elene* by Cynewulf, and in the *Miracula B. Andreæ* by Gregory of Tours; see Lips. *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* 1 543 *ff.*, cp p. 27. (2) *Acta Petri et Andreæ*, in Greek (fragments edited by Tisch.) as well as in an Ethiopic recension and a Slavonic translation (cp Lips. 1 553 *f.*). (3) *Martyrium Andreæ* in various Greek recensions (one edited by Tisch.), and in Latin (Harnack, *Altchrist. Lit.* 1 127 *f.*, cp Lips. 1 564 *ff.*). A 'gospel of Andrew' is mentioned in the *Decretum Gelasii*.

ANDRONICUS (ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟC [VA; ΑΝΔΡΟΥΙΟΝ] 2 Macc. 4 38 A*). 1. The Deputy of Antiochus Eupatores

[1] Reading in Judg. 5 6, 'In the days of Shamgar and Ben Anath.' The notice in 3 31, which is much later than the song (see Moore) is, of course, valueless.

[2] Bā. and Ginsb., however, read everywhere עֲנָתוֹתִי (cp the former's note on 1 Ch. 11 28). Exceptionally in Sam. *l.c.* Ginsb. עֲנָתִי.

in Antioch, who (according to 2 Macc. 4 31 *ff.*), at the instigation of Menelaus, put to death the deposed high priest Onias—a deed for which he was himself slain with ignominy on the return of the king. See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end

2. Deputy of Antiochus at Gerizim (2 Macc. 5 23). See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end

3. Andronicus and Junias are named in Rom. 16 7 as kinsmen and fellow-prisoners of Paul, as of note among the apostles and as having been 'in Christ' before him. The expression 'kinsmen,' if taken literally, seems to imply that they were Jews by birth; 'fellow-prisoners,' on the hypothesis that Rom. 16 3-20 belongs really to an Ephesian Epistle, has been conjectured by Weizsacker to allude to an imprisonment which they shared with Paul in Ephesus, most likely in connection with the great 'affliction' (2 Cor. 1 8-11), which ultimately led to his leaving that city (Acts 19 23-20 1); on the application of the term 'apostle' to them see APOSTLE, § 3. The name Andronicus was not uncommon among Greek slaves; and it has been conjectured that this Andronicus may have been the Jewish freedman of a Greek master.

In the lists of 'the seventy disciples' which we owe to the Pseudo-Dorotheus and the Pseudo-Hippolytus Andronicus is spoken of as bishop of 'Pannonia,' or of 'Spain.' In the fragments of the (Gnostic) περίοδοι Ἰωάννου, he and his wife Drusiana figure prominently as hosts of the apostle John at Ephesus, and he is represented as having been made by that apostle πρόεδρος, or president, of the church of Smyrna. In the Greek church Andronicus is commemorated, along with Crescens, Silas, and Epænetus, on 30th July. See Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* (Index, p. 184).

ANEM (עָנִם), 1 Ch. 6 73[58] = Josh. 19 21 EN-GANNIM (*q.v.*).

ANER (עָנֵר), 1. (Sam. ענרם; ανναν [ADEL]; Jos. ΕΝΝΗΡΟΣ, a Hebronite) Gen. 14 13 24†. Perhaps a local name; cp *Nêr*, a hill near Hebron (*ZDMG* 12 479 [58]). The correctness of the name Aner, however, is doubtful. The ανναν of 𝔊 points to עין, Enan (*i.e.*, place of a spring), a name which may refer to one of the six springs near Hebron—*e.g.*, the deep spring of Sarah called *'Ain Jedideh* (Baed.[2] 137), at the E. foot of the hill on which ancient Hebron lay.

2. (αμαρ [B], ενηρ [A], αν. [L]) a city in Western Manasseh (1 Ch. 6 70[55])—perhaps a corruption of TAANACH (תענך); cp Josh. 21 25. T. K. C.

ANETHOTHITE, ANETOTHITE. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANGEL. The English word 'angel' is a transcription of ἄγγελος, 𝔊's translation of Heb. *mal'ākh* (מלאך).

1. Names. The English word denotes primarily superhuman beings; but both the Hebrew and the Greek terms are quite general, and, signifying simply *messenger*, are used indifferently of human or superhuman beings.[1] Other terms, less ambiguous in this particular respect, also occur.

These are: 'gods' (אלהים, cp Ps. 8 5[6], and see AV, RV mg. *ib.* 82 1 6 97 7 138 1), 'sons of [the] gods[s]' (בני [-אלהים], cp Gen. 6 2 4 Job 1 6 2 1 38 7, or בני אלים, Ps. 29 1 89 7[6]. RV text), '[sons of] the mighty,' 'mighty ones' (אבירים, Ps. 78 25, cp *ib.* 103 20, גבורי כח), 'holy ones' (קדשים, Jb. 5 1 Ps. 89 5[6] Zech. 14 5 Dan. 4 14[17] 8 13), 'watchers' (עירין, Dan. 4 14[17]), 'host of heaven (צבא השמים, 1 K. 22 19 Dt. 17 3), 'host of the height' (צבא מרום, Is. 24 21), or 'host of Yahwè' (צבא יהוה, Josh. 5 14, cp use of צבא in Ps. 103 21 148 2 Neh. 9 6, and 'God's camp,' מחנה אלהים, Gen. 32 2[3]). In the case of Ps. 68 17 [18] (אלפי שנאן) we owe the AV rendering 'thousands of angels' to old Heb. tradition (Targ. Saad. and Abulw.), which treated the difficult שנאן as a synonym of מלאך (cp Del., *ad loc.*). RV 'thousands upon thousands' is equally hazardous; cp Dan. 7 10.

In the NT also we find other terms in use: 'spirits' (πνεύματα, Heb. 1 14), 'principalities' (ἀρχαί, Rom. 8 38), 'powers' (δυνάμεις

[1] Karppe (*Journ. As.* ser. ix., 9 128) reads מלא, a derivative of הלך, as if 'the walker' = 'the messenger,' or Yahwè marching (Is. 68 1, *SBOT*) as opposed to Yahwè mounted on the cherub (Ps. 18 10[11]).

ib., ἐξουσίαι, Eph. 6 12), 'thrones' (θρόνοι, Col. 1 16), and 'dominions' (κυριότητες, *ib.*); cp further Cremer, *Lex.*, *NT* [3] 20 *ff.* 237, and the Heb. and NT Lexicons, *s.vv.*

The earliest OT writings contain no definite or systematic angelology, but indicate a prevalent belief

2. Pre-exilic. in other superhuman beings besides Yahwe. These were (1) the 'other gods' or 'gods of the nations,' who were credited with real existence and activity; cp. *e.g.*, Nu 21 29 Judg. 11 24 and v. Baudissin, *Stud.* 1 55-79. (2) Closely connected with these were the 'sons of God' *i.e.*, members of the divine guild. There is but one pre-exilic reference to these (Gen. 6 2 4), whence it appears that they were not subject to Yahwè, but might break through the natural order of his world with impunity. (3) Attendants on Yahwè—in Is. 6 some of these attendants are termed Seraphim (see SERAPHIM), but others distinct from these seem to be implied; cp *v.* 8. In a similar scene (1 K. 22 19-22), those who attend Yahwè and form his council are termed collectively 'the host of heaven.' Such divine councils are also implied in Gen. 3 22 11 7 (both J); cp the plurals in these passages with that in Is. 6 8, and the question in 1 K. 22 20. In another passage (Jos. 5 14 *ff.*)—the pre-exilic origin of which, however, has been questioned (Kue. *Hex.* 248 ET)—the host of Yahwe appears as disciplined and under a captain. According to some, the 'hosts' in the phrase 'Yahwè (God of) hosts'—a phrase current in early times—were angels (Che. *Proph. Is.*[2] 1 11 *ff.*; see further NAMES, § 123). The original text of Deut. 33 2 *f.* contained no reference to angels (see Dillm. *Comm.*; cp also Driver). Another element in early Hebrew folklore worthy of notice in the present connection is the belief in the horsemen of the air (2 K. 2 12 6 17). For a parallel in modern Bedouin folklore cp Doughty, *Ar. De.* 1 440. 'The melaika are seen in the air like horsemen, riding to and fro.' Angelic horsemen play a considerable part in later literature—*e.g.*, in Zech., Apoc.

The most noteworthy features, then, of the pre-exilic angelology are the following: (1) except in Gen. 28 32, these beings are never termed 'angels.' 'Angel' occurs frequently in the singular, but only in the phrase 'angel of Yahwè' (more rarely, 'of God'), which denotes, not a messenger of, and distinct from, Yahwè, but a manifestation of Yahwè himself in human form (see THEOPHANIES, § 4). Kosters treats even Gen. 28 10-12 17 32 1[2] 18 1 *f.* 19 1 *f.* as statements of the manifestation of the one God in many forms (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 426 *f.*, 2nd ed. 445 *f.*), and concludes that, before the Exile, מלאך was used exclusively of appearances of Yahwe. Against this, Schultz's reference (*OT Theol.* 2 219) to 1 S. 29 9 2 S. 14 17 19 27[28] is not quite conclusive. (2) These attendants on Yahwè are not also messengers to men. Even if the angels of Gen. 28 32 be distinct from God, they bring no message. For such a function there was no need so long as Yahwè himself appeared to men. (3) Beside these subordinate divine beings that attend Yahwè, but have no relations with men, there are other beings ('other gods,' 'sons of the gods') which are not subject to Yahwè, and do enter into relations with men.

Comparatively few as are the early references to angels or kindred beliefs (cp DEMONS, § 1), they are

3. Later. yet such as to justify us in attributing a comparatively rich folk-lore on these matters to the early Hebrews; but it is not until the exilic and post-exilic periods that angels come into prominence theologically. They do so then in consequence of the maturing belief, on the one hand, in the transcendence of Yahwè, on the other, in his supremacy. The development of angelology at this time must also have been favoured by the contact of the Jews with the Persians; and some details of the later doctrine may be due to the same influence—*e.g.*, the naming of angels, although the great majority of the names themselves (as in

Enoch 6 69) are quite clearly Hebraic, though of a late type (cp *HPN*, p. 210).

With the growing sense of Yahwè's transcendence, belief in his self-manifestation in human form ceased; and thus the phrase 'angel of Yahwè,' set free from its old meaning, now came to denote one of the beings intermediate between Yahwè and men. At first it was apparently the title of a particular angel (Zech. 1 11 *f.*), but subsequently it became a quite general term (note the pl. Ps. 103 20, cp 34 7[8] and NT *passim*). It is now by angels, and no longer directly, that Yahwè communicates with men even prophets. The experience of Ezekiel marks the transition Yahwè speaks to him, sometimes directly (41 2), sometimes through another (40 1). With Zechariah the change is complete. He never sees Yahwè; he receives all divine instructions through angels (contrast Am. 7 *f.*). Daniel receives the explanation of his visions in the same way; and in NT, warnings or other communications of the divine will are given by angels (Mt. 1 20 2 13, Lk. 1 19, Acts 10 3 30). The angels thus become the intermediaries of Yahwè's revelation; but they are also the instruments of his aid (Ps. 91 11 Dan. 3 28, and frequently; cp later, 2 Macc. 11 6 3 Macc 6 18, Susan. 42 *ff.* [in LXX, but not in Theod.], Bel and Drag. 34-39; cp Acts 8 26 39 *f.* Tobit, *passim*, Acts 12 7 *ff.*, and especially Heb. 1 14), or punishment (Ps. 78 49 35 5 *f.* Enoch 53 3 61 1 62 11 63 1 Apoc. Bar. 21 23 Rev. 6 *f.*, also in 𝔊 Job 20 15 33 23 40 11 [*v.* 6 in Heb. and EV] and see further below, § 5). Especially prominent in the apocalyptic literature is the cognate belief in the intercession of angels with God, in behalf of the righteous, or against the unrighteous: see, *e.g.*, Enoch 9 10 15 2 40 6 (where the function is specially referred to Gabriel, 40 6 9; yet cp also Tob. 12 12 15 where Raphael intercedes) 99 3 16 104 1 Rev. 8 3 *f.* Cp also in OT, Zech. 1 12 Job 5 1 33 23 Eccles. 5 6[5], and perhaps in NT, Mt. 18 10, unless this be a case of angelic guardianship.

In other respects also, the later angelology shows the influence of the growing sense of Yahwè's transcendence;

4. Supremacy of Yahwè.

the angels, exalted far above men by the functions just mentioned, are themselves abased before God (Job 4 18). The awful exaltation of even angels above men, is prominent in Daniel (Dan. 8 16 18 10 16 *f.*). The countless number of the angels is emphasised (Job 33 23, Dan. 7 10, and later, Enoch 40 1 71 8 Mt. 26 53 Heb. 12 22 Apoc. Bar. 48 10 51 11 59 11), and they are divided into ranks. Even in Zech. the angel of Yahwè is a 'kind of grand vizier receiving the report of (less exalted) angels' (Smend). This conception of ranks becomes, later, more detailed[1] (see Dan. 10 13 12 1 Tob. 12 15, and Enoch—*e.g.*, chap. 40), and creates in Gk. the term ἀρχάγγελος (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 67; 1 Thes. 4 16 Jude 9); it may be traced farther, in NT, in the

[1] [The influence of non-Jewish upon Jewish beliefs can here scarcely be denied. These are the facts of the case: In Daniel (10 13) we hear of a class of 'chief princes,' two of whom (GABRIEL and MICHAEL, 11) are named (chaps. 10-12; cp also RAPHAEL and URIEL). In Tob. (12 15) the number of the 'holy angels who present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One,' is given as seven (if the text is correct). In Enoch the number of the chief angels varies between, three, four, six, and seven (see chaps. 20 40 2 78 1 89 1 90 21 31, and other passages). Manifestly this highest class of angels was suggested by the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas or Amshaspands ('immortal holy ones'), who (like the counsellors of the king of Persia, Ezra 7 14) are seven; and this seems to be confirmed by the reference to the archangels in the Book of Tobit, which also mentions the Zend name of the chief demon (see ASMODEUS). In referring to this Iranian belief, however, we must not forget the possibility that it is to some extent historically connected with Babylonian spirit-lore. The cultus of the seven planets is no doubt primeval in Babylonia, and may have spread thence to the Iranian peoples. To explain the belief in the archangels solely from Babylonian sources would be plausible only if the Zoroastrian Gâthas, which are pervaded by the belief in the Amshaspands, were not earlier than the time of Philo. For this bold theory see Darmesteter, *Le Zendavesta* 3 56 ('93), etc.; but contrast the same writer's earlier theory in *SBE* (*Zendavesta*, i. Introd.).—T.K.C.]

references to the 'seven spirits of God' (Rev. 4 5 cp 8 2), and to Michael (Jude 9 Rev. 12 7) and Gabriel (Lk. 1 19); probably also in the use of several terms together, in certain passages (*e.g.*, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, Col. 1 16), and perhaps in the term 'elect angels' (1 Tim. 5 21).

The doctrine of Yahwè's supremacy involved either an absolute denial of the existence of other superhuman beings or their subordination to him. To the latter method of accommodation post-exilic angelology owes some striking features. Thus, the patron angels of nations (clearly referred to in Dan. 10 13 20 12 1, probably also in Is. 24 21 *ff.* Joel 3[4] 11 Pss. 82 58 10; see Che. *Book of Psalms*[1] 229 *ff.* and *comm.*) are merely the ancient 'gods of the nations'—for which, in this connection, cp especially Dt. 4 19 29 25 *f.* 33 8 𝔊—transformed to suit the new doctrine Again, the 'sons of the Elohim'—formerly independent of Yahwè, whose laws they broke with impunity—now become identified with the angels (cp Ps. 29 1 with 103 20, and 𝔊's translation of Gen. 6 2 [not L] Job 1 6 etc., cp also Lk. 20 36); as such they constitute his council and do his bidding (Job 1 6 2 1; cp Zech. 1 11 *f.*). Similarly, the host of heaven, which in the later years of the monarchy had been favourite objects of worship (cp, *e.g.*, Zeph. 1 5 Jer. 8 2 Dt. 4 19), and therefore rivals of Yahwè, now again become subject to him and do him homage (Neh. 9 6); he is as supreme over them as over men (Is. 45 12, cp 40 26); he is equally supreme over all gods (*e.g.*, cp Ps. 96 4).

On the other hand, the difficulty with which Yahwè's claim to universal worship against all others was

5. Supremacy incomplete.

established is also reflected in the new angelology. Yahwè's supremacy over the 'gods,' or the 'host of heaven,' was won and maintained only by force (Job 25 2 cp 21 22 Is. 24 21 34 45; cp 27 1—for the passages in Job see Davidson's, for those in Isaiah, Cheyne's *Comm.*). This incomplete assimilation of the 'other gods' etc. to beings wholly subservient to Yahwè, combined with a growing dislike to attribute evil or disorder directly to him, led to the differentiation of angels as beneficent or maleficent (see DEMONS, § 5, SATAN, § 3); but the OT nowhere lays stress on the moral character of angels, or knows anything of their 'fall.' Consequently, angels were divided not into good and bad, but into those who worked wholly, and those who worked only partly, in obedience to God. This latter division still seems to hold its own in NT alongside of the former; and, for this reason, in passages such as Rom. 8 38 1 Cor. 15 24 *f.*, the question 'Are the angels referred to good or bad?' is probably out of place (cp Everling).

For several centuries after the Exile the belief in angels did not gain equal prevalence in all circles; thus

6. Schools of belief.

P never mentions them (on Gen. 1 26 2 1 see Dillm.); the Priestly Chronicler does so but rarely—save when quoting directly from his sources—and Esther, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and Maccabees, are marked more by the absence than by the presence of such references; 'Angel' does not occur in the Hebrew of Ecclus. 48 21. Still later the differences become conspicuous; the Sadducees were credited with complete scepticism (Acts 23 8); the ESSENES (*q.v.*, § 3) attached an exaggerated importance to the doctrine; the popular Pharisaic party and all the NT writers share, in general, the popular beliefs. Yet in John angels are alluded to only in 20 12 1 51 (a passage based on an OT narrative), 12 29 (a saying of the populace), and the intrusive verse 5 4; the epistles contain no mention of them (cp the comparative infrequency of references in John to demons (*q.v.*, § 6).

Several features of NT angelology have been already incidentally discussed; they are common to both Jewish

7. Apocalypses and NT.

and Christian writings. Scarcely less influential over the writers of the NT than the OT were the apocalypses then already extant—especially Enoch. It is in Enoch we

first see elaborated a doctrine of the 'fall' of angels. The fall is regarded as the punishment for the intercourse mentioned in Gen. 6 2-4, and for an improper revelation of 'the secret things of the world' (cp in NT Jude 6 2 Pet 2 4). Through their fall they become inferior to men, who therefore judge them (En 14 4-7 15 2; cp 1 Cor 6 3 Heb 2). Enoch should be especially compared with Revelation.

The influence of the OT may be clearly seen in the NT angelophanies, which seem modelled on those of the early OT narratives,—only that now, under the influence of the later development, the angel is quite distinct from God (Acts 10 7 f. is not an exception). These angelophanies abound in the nativity and resurrection narratives and in Acts (5 19 8 26-40 10 3-7 30-32 12 7-11 27 23), but are conspicuous by their absence from the narratives of the life of Christ—the badly attested passage Lk. 22 43 being unique, except so far as Mt. 4 11 = Mk. 1 13 (contrast Lk. 4 4 ff.) may be considered parallel.

Jesus accepts the popular belief in the existence of angels, but never (even in Mt. 18 10 or 26 53) countenances the belief that they influence life in the present: perhaps in the parable of the wheat and the tares (Mt. 13 24-30 37-40) he directly discountenances it. All he says of them has reference to themselves alone, or to their relations to men after life. Thus, at the second coming they will accompany the Son of Man (Mt. 16 27 and parallels; Jn 1 51), and will then separate the good from the evil (*e.g.*, Mt. 13 41; cp Lk. 16 22). They do not marry (Mt 22 30, and parallels); their knowledge is limited (Mt. 24 36 = Mk. 13 32); and they rejoice over repentant sinners (Lk 15 10; cp Lk. 12 8 f., with which contrast Mt. 10 32 f., and cp earlier, Job 33 23). In particular, Jesus breaks away from the prevailing tendency to make angels the intermediaries of revelation: he himself becomes the sole revealer (Mt. 11 27 Jn. 17 6; cp 14 6 ff.), he will himself always be with his disciples (Mt. 28 20), and will instruct them directly (Lk. 21 15), or through the Spirit whom he sends (Jn. 15 26 14 17 26). Thus this part of the doctrine of angels was doomed to give way to the Christian doctrines of the abiding presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. It still survives, however, in Revelation (1 1 17 1 21 9; cp also in the contemporary Jewish *Apoc. Bar.* 55 3, 'The angel Ramiel who presides over true visions'); also in Acts (10 3 ff. 27 23?)—yet here alongside of the new belief (10 11-16). Paul already shows the influence of the teaching of Jesus—he claims to receive his gospel direct from him (Gal. 1 12 15 f.; cp Acts 9 3-6)—but still shares (Gal. 3 19) the common belief (Acts 7 53 Heb. 2 2 Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5 3; cp Dt. 33 2 G) in the past instrumentality of angels in revelation, perhaps also in the present possibility of the same (Gal. 1 8; cp? 4 14). With him, too, angels still play a large part in human life; his own practice and practical exhortations are governed by this belief (1 Cor. 4 9 6 3 11 10). An emphatic warning, however, is uttered against a practice (which was springing up in some quarters) of worshipping angels (Col. 2 18 cp Rev. 19 10). In the same epistle the creation of angels is asserted (1 16)—a point to which, as might be expected, no reference had been made in OT, where they are once mentioned as being present at the creation of the world, Job 38 7 (in Jewish literature, cp Jub. 2 2 Apoc. Bar. 21 6). The question whether Paul associated angels with cosmical forces turns on the interpretation of τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, Gal. 4 3 Col. 2 8 20 (see, on the one hand, Lightfoot, *in loc.*, on the other, Everling, as cited below, and cp ELEMENTS). Such an association would, at least, have accorded with the tendency of the time: note the angels of winds, sun, fire, and water, etc. (Rev. 7 1 19 17 14 18 16 cp Heb. 1 7 and Jn. 5 4, and, somewhat earlier, Enoch 60 11 ff. 61 10). The tendency began much earlier: in the OT angels and stars are closely associated (cp Job

8. Jesus.

9. Paul.

38 7 Is 34 4, and, in general, the double meaning attaching to the phrase 'host of heaven' [illegible] transition from Ps. 104 4 to a fixed belief in [illegible] angels is easy. See PERSIA.

The literature of the subject is large; all the Old and New Testament Theologies contain discussions; on the OT, Pa[illegible] brings *Theol. to Concern Test.* 1-88 [illegible] Cornill are specially helpful. The chief monographs for the OT are by Kautzsch (De Malach Yahwe [illegible]), 'Het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling der Angelologie onder [illegible] *Th. T.* 9 367-415 [75], 10 [illegible] 141 [76]), for the Pauline Doctrine, by Everling (*Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie* [88]). On the vocabulary of the subject see M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie d'après manuscrits hébreux* (Paris, '97). The question of foreign influence is discussed by Kohut (*Ueber d. jüd. Angelologie u. Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*); for further literature on this point see Che, *OPs* 282. See further the valuable discussions of Montefiore (*Hibb. Lect.* viii., esp. p. 479 ff.), and Che[illegible] (*OPs* 322-327, 334-337), and cp Lueken, *Michael* (98).

10. Literature.

ANGLE (Is. 19 8 Hab. 1 15). See HOOK, 3, FISH, § 3.

ANIAM (עֲנִיעָם, surely not 'mourning of the people' [Ges.], but miswritten [see G[illegible]] for עַמִּיעָם, see ELIAM; differently Gray, *HPN* 44 n. 1, who would omit ע, and derive from עָנִי); ΑΛΙΑΛΕΙΜ [B], ΑΝΙΑΜ [A], ΕΝ. [L]) in genealogy of MANASSEH (1 Ch. 7 19 f.). T. K. C.

ANIM (עָנִים, ΑΙCΑΜ [B], ΑΝΕΙΜ [A], -ΙΒ [L]), Josh 15 50 f., a hill town of Judah, mentioned after Eshtemoa (a name equally distorted in G[illegible]). Perhaps the modern el-Ghuwein, which lies to the south of el-Khalil (Hebron) between es-Semu' and Tell 'Arad.

ANISE (ΑΝΗΘΟΝ [Ti. WH], Mt. 23 23 f.) or DILL (RV mg.) is the plant *Anethum graveolens*.[1] The correct rendering is 'dill,'[2] and the plant is distinct from *Pimpinella Anisum*, which is the modern 'anise.' The biblical plant is described (Fluckiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia* (2) 327 f.), as 'an erect, glaucous annual plant, with finely striated stems, usually one foot to one foot and a half in height, pinnate leaves with setaceous linear segments, and yellow flowers. It is indigenous to the Mediterranean region, Southern Russia, and the Caucasian provinces, but is found as a cornfield weed in many other countries, and is frequently cultivated in gardens.'[3]

It is mentioned in Mt. 23 23, along with mint and cummin,[4] as being subjected by the scribes and Pharisees to tithe. This practice accords with the general principle stated at the commencement of the Mishnic tract on 'tithes' ('Whatsoever is food, and is private possession, and has its increase out of the earth, is subject to tithe'—a rule based on the precept of Deut. 14 22, 'Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year'), and the liability of dill in particular to tithe is, in the Talmud, specially mentioned (see the references in Celsius, *Hierobot.* 1 497). N. M. —W. T. T.-D.

ANKLETS and **ANKLE-CHAINS.** These have ever been favourite ornaments among Orientals.[5] Probably the oldest specimens are some in gold and silver which have been found in Egypt, where they appear to have been worn by men as well as women. The chains obliged the wearers to take short and tripping steps. To enhance the effect, bells were (at

[1] The Syriac and the Arabic versions correctly render by the word *shibbettā*, *shibitt* a name for this plant which is probably derived from Persian (see Löw, 373).

[2] This, though supplanted by 'anise' in all the English versions from Wyclif onwards, is the word used in the A.S. version, 'myntan and *dile* and cymmyn.'

[3] Virgil gives it a place in the flower-garden (*Ecl.* 2 48), and Pliny in the vegetable-garden (*HN* xix. 8 52). Cp the Greek reff. in Liddell and Scott.

[4] In the parallel passage in Lk. (11 42) dill is not mentioned—'mint and rue and every herb (πᾶν λάχανον).'

[5] Cp Ar. *halhāl*, and Gk. περισφύριον and περισκελίς, the latter of which is G's rendering of the Heb. מִכְנָסַיִם (in the plur. or dual) 'breeches.'

any rate in later times) attached to the chain—a practice which is alluded to in terms of disapproval in the Koran (*Nur* 24 31). Ornaments of this nature are referred to in Is. 3 18.

They are here called עֲקָדִים,[1] RV 'anklets,' AV 'tinkling ornaments' (Ge *Handwörterbuch*, [illegible] which one the denominative verb [illegible] 'they make a tinkling with their feet' [illegible]). Similar is עֲקֵדָה Is. 3 20 f. RV 'ankle-chains,' AV 'ornaments of the legs,' [illegible] certain (cp Targ [illegible], cp [illegible] N [illegible] RV 'anklets' AV 'chains' [illegible]). In pt. This probably alludes in connection with [illegible] 'to tie,' [illegible] is applied also to ornaments worn on the arms (see Pick [illegible]).

ANNA (ANNA [BNA]), the Greek form of the name HANNAH.

1. Wife of Tobit (Tob 1 9 *ff.*).

2. Daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (Lk. 2 [illegible]). Like Simeon, she represents the class of those who 'waited for the consolation of Israel,' and like him, she is said to have had the gift of prophecy. Being constantly in the temple, and prepared for the honour by fastings and prayers, she was enabled to recognise the child Jesus and his parents when, like Simeon, she burst into a prophetic song of praise. She is also, it would seem, a prototype of the 'widows indeed' (see WIDOW) of the early Christian community (1 Tim. 5 5 9): hence the particularity with which the circumstances of her widowhood are described.

The name Anna or Anne became common among Christians from the tradition that the mother of the Virgin Mary was so called.

ANNAAS (ANNAAC [A]), 1 Esd. 5 23 AV = Ezra 2 18 SENAAH.

ANNAB (ANNAC [A]), 1 Esd. 9 32 RV [Heb. חָנָן, § 50] = Ez. 10 31 HARIM.

ANNAS and CAIAPHAS (ANNAC [Ti. WH]; ΚΑΙΑΦΑΣ [Tr. WH]). In 6 A.D. Quirinius, who on the deposition of Archelaus became governor of Syria, followed the custom of the Herodian family and appointed a new high priest. His choice fell on a certain Ananos (so in Josephus) or Annas (so in N T), son of Seth (Jos. Σήθι) who continued to hold the office until the change of government in 15 A.D. Valerius Gratus, who succeeded Quirinius, gave the post in succession to three men, none of whom, however, held it for more than a year. The second of the three was a son of Annas, called Eleazar by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 2 2). At last, in 18 A.D., Valerius found in Joseph, called Caiaphas, one who was strong enough to hold the office till 36 A.D. Then Vitellius (35-39 A.D.) once more, in 36 and 37, appointed, one after the other, two sons of Annas named Jonathan and Theophilus (*Ant.* xviii. 4 3 5 3). Jonathan still held a prominent position in 50-52 (*BJ* ii. 12 5 *f.*), a point of which we have good proof in the fact that Felix caused him to be assassinated (*BJ* ii. 13 3 *Ant.* xx. 8 5). As in Acts 4 6, Annas, Caiaphas, Jonathas (so D; the other MSS have Joannes, EV JOHN), and ALEXANDER are assigned high-priestly rank, and the first three can be identified from Josephus, JONATHAN being a son, and CAIAPHAS, according to Jn. 18 13, a son-in-law, of Annas, we seem to have good reason for conjecturing Alexander to be the Græcised name of Eleazar the son of Annas.

CAIAPHAS, then, was the acting high priest at the time of the trial of Jesus. His long term of office shows that in his relations with the Romans he must have been obsequious and adroit. Mk. and Lk. do not mention him in their account of the passion; but in Jn. 11 49 18 13 *f.* 24 28 and Mt. 26 57, we read that he presided over the proceedings of the Synedrium; he therefore it was who rent his clothes. According to

[1] Cp עֶקֶב a fetter(?) in Pr. 7 22, the pr. name עֲקַבְיָה (see ACHSAH) and the Ar. عَكَب, a chain connecting the head and forefoot of a camel (the usual mode of hobbling the animal).

Jn. 11 49 *ff.* he became also an involuntary prophet as to what the death of Jesus meant.[1] With regard to his character in general, the accounts accessible to us give no indications.

The most important personality in the group would appear to have been old ANNAS. He seems to be sufficiently implied in the fact that four of his sons[2] and a son-in-law successively held the high-priestly office—whether we assume that Annas expressly wrought for this end, or whether it was simply because those in power sought by this means to win him over to themselves. Only on the assumption that he was, in truth, the real manager of affairs, can we account for it that, according to Jn. 18 13 *ff.*, he gave a private hearing in the case of Jesus, as also that Lk. (Lk. 3 2) names him [illegible] engage with Caiaphas, and (Acts 4 6) enumerates him in the first place, along with Caiaphas and two of his high-priestly sons, as holding high-priestly rank. Other instances, however, of a similar co-ordination of past high priests are not unknown; for example, in the case of Jonathan, son of Annas (*BJ* ii. 12 5 *f.*), of Ananias son of Nedebæos (*Ant.* xx. 9 2-9; see ANANIAS, 9), and of the younger Ananos and Jesus son of Gamaliel, both of whom were high priests for some time during the years 62-65, and had the conduct of affairs in their hands during the first period of the Jewish wars.

The Annas (Ananos) just mentioned, son of Annas, appointed in 62 A.D. by Agrippa II., availed himself of the confusion following on the death of Festus to procure the death of his enemies by tumultuary sentence. Among the victims of his tyranny was, it would seem, James, the brother of the Lord. The passage relating to it in Josephus (20 9 1) however, may perhaps be a Christian interpolation (see JAMES, § 3, end). In any case, the king himself, even before the arrival of the new procurator, put an end to Annas's reign of terror by deposing him from the high-priesthood after a tenure of three months.

H. V. S.

ANNIS, (ANNEIC [B]), 1 Esd. 5 16 RV, RVmg. **Annias.** AV ANANIAS (*q.v.*, 1).

ANNUUS (ANNOYNON [A], om. BL), 1 Esd. 8 48, a name not in Ezra 8 19—in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*)—supposed by some to be a corruption of 'with him' (אִתּוֹ) in Ezra, which may itself be a misread sign of the accusative (so Ge[1]).

ANOINTING. In the OT two distinct Hebrew terms, frequently occurring, are translated in EV by 'anoint.'

1. Terms. while a third (נגר) is incorrectly so understood in Ps. 2 6 by Targ. and Sym. and also by Ewald (cp We. *Heid.*[1] 118). (*a*) סוּךְ (*sûk*) is *always* (Dt. 28 40 Ruth 3 3 2 S. 12 20 14 2 2 Ch. 28 15 Ezek. 16 9 Dan. 10 3 Mic. 6 15) used of the application of unguents to the human body as a matter of toilet, and hence Ex. 30 32 means that the holy anointing oil shall not be used for ordinary toilet purposes. (*b*) משח (*mashah*) and its derivatives.[3] In this case we have to distinguish between the primary physical, and a secondary and metaphorical use. In its physical sense משח is used (1) rarely, probably with the retention of the original meaning of the root, of rubbing an unguent or other substance on an object,—*e.g.*, oil on shields (Is. 21 5

[1] It has been suggested that the reference to his prophesying may have arisen out of a popular etymology of Caiaphas, cp Ar. *Kāfī* 'soothsayer' (Copin in vit. vestigia et indicia rerum, physiognomos, Frankf. [illegible]; cp Nestle, *ZNTW* 4 [illegible] 127, n. 4. Blass thinks that Nestle has upset the etymology from כֵּיפָא 'stone' and קָיְפָא 'oppression,' by showing that the name in Aramaic is written with פ, not ב.

[2] The fourth, Matthias, was appointed to the office for a short time, between 41 and 44, by Agrippa; perhaps Annas did not live to see this, and certainly he did not survive to see the priesthood held by his fifth son, Ananos II. (in 62 A.D.).

[3] On these, as well as on several matters referred to in the course of this article, Weinel's study 'משח und seine Derivate' (*ZATW* 18 1-82 ['98]) should be consulted. Unfortunately, it appeared too late to be used in the preparation of the present article.

2 S [illegible] paint on [illegible] for 22 14 (there [illegible] in LXX [illegible] provided [illegible] but [illegible] the word [illegible] [illegible] 29 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

on a man (or people) for a particular purpose—*e.g.*, on Saul to smite the Amalekites (1 S. 15 17), on Jehu to smite the house of Ahab (2 K. 9 6 *f.*), on 'the Servant' 'to preach good tidings' (Is. 61 1). Thus, after Yahwè has anointed Saul (1 S. 10 1), the spirit of Yahwè comes mightily upon him (*v.* 6), cp 1 S. 16 13; and the connection between the outpouring of the spirit and anointing is clear in Is. 61 1 (Lk. 4 18) 2 Cor. 1 21, and especially in Acts 10 38. Similarly, 'the anointing from the holy one' (1 Jn. 2 20 27) is the illumination of the Holy Spirit, which teaches those that receive it concerning all things. Hence, the term 'anointed' could suitably be applied to Israel as a people—*e.g.*, Hab. 3 13; see further MESSIAH, § 3. In Ps 45 7 89 20, the whole phrase 'to anoint with oil' is used with God as subject; in these cases either the whole phrase is a metaphor, or *mašaḥ* has acquired a quasi-causative sense.

6. Primitive significance. On the relation of the various terms and customs to one another there have been different views, some of which must be briefly referred to. Some (*e.g.*, Kamphausen in the article 'Salbe' in *HWB*[2]) derive the religious from the toilet use, seeing in the rite of anointing both the means of setting apart to God some person or thing as clean and sweet-smelling, and also the symbol of such a condition. But (1) it may be questioned whether the sharp distinction of terms relative to the two uses (cp § 1) be not against this view; (2) there is no positive evidence that the Hebrews interpreted the rite in this way, unless we so regard the custom of mixing sweet-smelling substances in the anointing oil—a custom which cannot be traced before P; and (3) the metaphorical use cannot be satisfactorily explained in this way. Reasons have been given in the preceding section for thinking that the religious rite of anointing men was at any rate understood at an early period to symbolise the outpouring of the divine spirit; but it is possible that this symbolism is not original, even in the case of persons. It certainly does not explain the anointing of things—particularly the pillar at Bethel. This custom Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 233 370 *ff.*, especially 313 *ff.*, cp SACRIFICE) seeks to explain as a sacrifice, the oil being a substitute for the animal fat which was smeared (smearing, it is to be remembered, being the original sense of משח) by the Arabs on similar pillars, and played a considerable part in many other forms of sacrifice. Fat being, according to ancient thought, one of the great seats of life, was peculiarly fitted for the food of the gods (hence the anointing of the pillar), and also for imparting living virtue to the persons to whom it might be applied (hence the anointing of things or other persons). In this case the view that anointing symbolised the imparting of the divine spirit, is a refinement of the idea in which the custom may be presumed to have originated (cp COVENANT, § 5 end). The anointing of the temple and sacred furniture will then be a survival similar to that of sprinkling them with blood. G. B. G.

ANOS (ΑΝΩΟΣ [BA; om. L]), 1 Esd. 9 34, apparently VANIAH of Ezra 10 36.

ANT (נְמָלָה), [1] ΜΥΡΜΗΞ [BNA]; *formica*, Pr. 6 6 30 25 †).

1. Name and allusions. Classical writers often refer to the industry, forethought, and ingenuity of the ant, and especially to its habit of storing grain-seeds beneath the ground in time of harvest.[1]

Thus Ælian tells us that so great is the industry of ants that, when there is moonlight, they work by night as well as by day. It was noticed how carefully their work was organised; they were described as marching like an army, the oldest acting as generals; when they reached the cornfield, the older ants ascended the stalks and threw down the grains to the others, who stood around the foot. Each took its part in carrying away the food to their subterranean homes, which were carefully constructed with several chambers, and protected above by walls of earth to keep out the rain. The seeds were divided into two, sometimes into four, segments, and in other cases peeled, to prevent their sprouting; if wetted by rain, they were brought out and carefully dried in the sun. The ant showed a weather-knowledge far surpassing man's. It was in all respects a πολιτικὸν ζῷον, and is so classed by Aristotle along with the crane and the bee.

The same observations are repeated in later times by Arabic and Jewish writers.

The Mohammedans seem to have associated the ant with Solomon; the 27th chapter of the Koran is styled 'the ant,' because it mentions that Solomon, on his march, once entered 'the valley of ants,' whereupon an ant said, 'O ants, enter into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you underfoot and perceive it not.' It was a custom with the Arabs, says Bochart, to place an ant in the hand of a new-born child, with a prayer that he might grow up wise and sagacious.

2. Species. The only two passages in the OT which mention the ant obviously refer to some species of Harvesting Ant probably either to *Aphænogaster* (formerly called *Atta*) *barbara*, or to *A. structor*, or to *Pheidole megacephala*, which are to this day found in Syria, and, indeed, all round the Mediterranean basin.

Numerous other species of ant have been described in Palestine; but, as far as is known, they resemble in their habits the ants of temperate and colder climates, and do not lay up any store of provisions against the winter: it is possible that, like the latter, they pass the cold season in a torpor or winter sleep.

3. Harvesting ant. The harvesting ants all belong to the genus Aphænogaster, or are closely allied to it. Their habits were well known to the ancients and to mediæval writers. These observers, generalising on insufficient data, assumed that all ants stored up food for winter consumption. When, however, the centre of learning shifting farther N. from the shores of the Mediterranean, the leaders of science were found in central and northern Europe, the position of things was reversed.

Naturalists, noticing that the ants whose habits they observed did not store grain and seeds, arrived at the conclusion that no ants did, and attempted to explain the accounts of the earlier writers by pointing out that they had probably mistaken for seeds the pupæ which, when anything disturbs the ants' nest, are at once seized and borne to a place of safety. The consensus of opinion, accordingly, until about a quarter of a century ago, was that ants never lay up stores of food.

The investigations of Moggridge and Lespès, however, showed that, although this opinion is probably correct as far as ants in more northern climates are concerned, many of the ants in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean store up seeds collected from different plants. Not only do they collect seeds that have fallen, but they also frequently tear the fruit or seed-pod off the plants and bear them to the *formicarium* or nest. They will, moreover, travel considerable distances to obtain their food, marching in two nearly continuous parallel lines, the length of the column sometimes measuring 2.4 yards or more. The two lines are moving in contrary directions—the one toiling laden with spoils towards the nest, the other hurrying back with empty mouths to the harvest ground.

4. Nests: storing. The nests both of *A. barbara* and of *A. structor* are simply excavations in the ground—long cylindrical passages or rounded hollows, the floors of which are to some extent smoothed and cemented. In these hollows, about the size of a billiard

[1] The etymology of this word is very doubtful. It has been [illegible] to derive it (1) from a doubtful Heb. verb נמל (cp מעט) [illegible], referring either to the shape of the ant's body ('insect'), or to its habit of cutting seeds from the corn-ears, or to the incision it is supposed to make in the seeds themselves to prevent their sprouting (though this last was hardly known to the ancient Hebrews); (2) from Ar. *namala* 'to creep' or 'to ascend by creeping'; (3) from a supposed root akin to Heb. נמם, 'to make a slight sound.' The connection with Ar. *namala* is certain; but possibly the meaning of the verb may be derived from the noun. A kindred word is Ar. *anmul* 'finger tip' (Lag. *Übers.* 21). [illegible] says about is *ʿanmāna* ('keen-scented'?); Ar. has the same word as Heb. [illegible]

[1] See the list of passages quoted in Bochart, *Hier.* among them Hor. *Sat.* i. 1 33; Virg. *Æn.* 4 402; Plin. *NH* 11 30; Ælian, 2 25 4 43 6 43. A brief account of the Jewish notices by Rev. A. Löwy in *PSBA* 3 68 [1880-81].

ball, the seeds are stored. In one nest Moggridge counted seeds from twelve different species of plant, and he enumerates eighteen distinct botanical families containing plants which furnish ants with seeds. *A. structor* is frequently found in the neighbourhood of towns or villages, and even in the streets; *A. barbara*, usually in the country.

The ants' nests are entered by one or two holes, whose presence is usually indicated by small heaps of refuse, partly composed of the earth excavated from the nest, and partly built up of the husks and other useless matter, which is carefully removed from the seeds before the latter are stored up. All this refuse is scrupulously removed from the nest, which is kept very clean. The ants do not allow the seeds to sprout; possibly by making an incision in them.

The amount of seed collected and stored in the granaries is very considerable and may cause serious loss to the agriculturist; from one nest an amount of seed estimated at 1 lb. in weight was taken, and there must be many hundreds of nests to the acre. The seed stores of the ants of Palestine are sufficiently important to be mentioned in the Mishna, which records the rules adopted as to their ownership.

The industry of the harvesting ants, and the amount of work they accomplish justify their being held up as examples of untiring energy. They begin work early in the morning and keep at it far into the night, working as hard in the dark as in the sunlight. Meer Hasan Ali in his *History of the Mussulmans* describes how eight or twelve very small harvesting ants will find it difficult to move a grain of wheat, and yet they manage to transport such grains over a distance of 1000 yards to their nest. Their great sagacity is shown in numerous ways—the complexity of the organisation of their colonies (involving the differentiation of individuals to perform different duties), their powers of communicating one with another, and their slave-making propensities. Their habit of laying-up food for the future, and even (in some South-American species) of actually cultivating certain fungi for food, places them with the bees and wasps, as regards intelligence, second only to man in the animal kingdom.

The ants belong to the order Hymenoptera (which includes bees, wasps, and saw-flies), and to the family Formicidæ.

N. M. A. E. S.

ANTELOPE (תֹּאוֹ *to'*, Dt. 14 5; תֹּוא *to'*, Is. 51 20; ΟΡΥΞ [𝔊BAL. in Dt.; and Aq. Sym. Theod. in Is.]; ΘΕΥΤΛΙΟΝ [𝔊BAQ in Is.]), an unclean animal mentioned along with the pygarg and chamois. The above is the rendering of RV and is much preferable to AV WILD OX, WILD BULL (which is based upon Targ. Gr. Ven., and is accepted by Kim.), although wild oxen and wild bulls were common enough throughout Palestine and Mesopotamia (see CATTLE, § 4). The allusion in Is. (*l.c.*) to the capture of the animal by means of a net wholly agrees with what is known of the manner in which antelopes, gazelles, etc. were usually captured.

The species here intended may be the *Antilope leucoryx* (or oryx, cp 𝔊), or the *A. bubalis*. Against the former proposal the objection has been raised that the oryx is called in the modern vernacular of N. Africa *yahmur*, which Heb. יחמור 'fallow-deer' (see ROE); but it is not uncommon for the same name to be given to members of different species by different peoples.[1] On OX-ANTELOPE see UNICORN (beg.).

S. A. C.

ANTHOTHIJAH (עֲנָתוֹתִיָּה) 1 Ch. 8 24† RV, AV ANTO'THIAH (;).

ANTICHRIST (ΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ [Ti. WH]). *History of the Question.*[2] Researches into the meaning of 'Antichrist' have always started from the exegesis of

1. History: Early Period.

[1] For other examples see UNICORN, note.

[2] Cp. Lücke, *Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh.* 1852 *ff.*; Bornemann, 'Die Thessalonicherbriefe' in Meyer's *Handbuch*, 4 ed.

2 Thess. 2 1-12 and certain passages in the Apocalypse (chap. 13).

The first period of the history of the discussion embraces the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers down to the beginning of the Middle Ages. Within this period the tradition is unusually stable. The Antichrist is taken to be a manifestation which is to be made at the end of time; a definite personality, as to whose origin, career, and end, perfectly definite and traditionally fixed views are set forth, which rest but partially on the NT. This exegetical tradition, the importance of which is greatly undervalued by recent commentators such as Bornemann, is, for reasons which will afterwards appear, of the utmost value. To say that the naive dogmatic belief of the church-fathers in 'the truth of this eschatological phantasy down to its least detail' was absolute does not in any way disprove the correctness of their exegesis.

Of the two methods that came into vogue during the Middle Ages—the ecclesiastico-political method with polemical purpose (since Joachim of Floris, afterwards in chief favour with Protestant scholars, especially in the form hostile to papal claims) and the universal historical (perhaps, since Nicolas de Lyra) neither advanced the question in the least.

The beginnings of a truly scientific manner of looking at these as well as at other eschatological traditions were made by certain Spanish and French Jesuits, who threw themselves into the polemic against Protestant attacks with great learning and acumen. Their first step was to revert to the tradition of the church fathers, which they embodied in extensive work.[1] Thus the futurist method was restored to its ascendency.

2. Modern.

This method maintained its ground, until quite recently, among all scientific interpreters of the apologetic school. There is one point, however, in which the exegesis of the moderns, as, for example, Hofman (*Schriftbeweis*) and Luthardt (*Die letzten Dinge*) and almost the whole body of English writers on the subject, falls far below that of the church fathers: the concrete eschatological figures are more or less spiritualised. Thus, Antichrist becomes an impersonal general tendency; the 'temple' (2 Thess. 2 4) is interpreted as meaning Christendom; and the κατέχων, as law and order.

It is in the work of Ludovicus Alcasar (*Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocal.*, Antwerp, 1614) that we find the earliest indications of a thoroughly scientific, historical, and critical handling of this question. The labours and the method of the Jesuit scholars, however, were afterwards made available for the Protestant Church by Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes*, Paris, 1644), who in the treatment of Antichrist may be regarded as the founder of the 'historical' or 'preterist' method. He interpreted 2 Thess. 2 1-12, point by point, as referring to the occurrences of the reign of Caligula. In this method he was followed by Wetstein, Hammond, Clericus, and Hardum; and, since Kern (*Tüb. Z. f. Theol.*, 1833, i. 1), the preterist interpretation of the Antichrist has become almost universal, but as referring to Nero redivivus (so F. C. Baur, *Theol. Jahrbb.*, 1855; Holtzmann, in *BL.*, Hilgenfeld, *ZH T*, 1862, 1866; Hausrath; and many others, including Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, 1876). Following an example partly given by Klopper, however, Spitta (*Zum Gesch. u. Lit. der Urchristentums*, 109 *ff.*) has again sought the explanation of the predictions regarding Antichrist in the circumstances of the reign of Caligula.

Abandoning this (on the whole mistaken) view, a few scholars have sought an interpretation of Antichrist in the Christian world, not resting on any historical events.

Among these scholars may be named Reiche, De Wette, Lücke, Bornemann, and Bornemann (in their respective commentaries) and Kahler (in *PRE*[2]). Ewald's observations in *Jahrb. f. Bibl. Wiss.*, 1851, p. 255, and 1861, p. 241, are of special interest.

[1] Malvenda's *De Antichristo* (Lyons, 1647) being perhaps the fullest. The commentaries of Ribeira (Salamanca, 1591) and Blasius Viegas (Lisbon, 1621) were specially influential.

for the first time he combined 2 Thess. 2 with Mt. 24 15 *ff.* and Rev. 11 3 *ff.*, and thus the problem ceased to be one of exegesis merely. The best work in this direction has been that of Schneckenburger (see Böhmen's survey of his writings in *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1859), who endeavoured systematically (as the only true method) to ascertain the kindred Jewish tradition that lay at the basis of the NT passages. (Preliminary researches in the same sense had been contributed by Corrodi, *Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus* 1781 *ff.*; Bertholdt, *Christol. Jud.*, 1811, § 16; and Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils* 2256 *ff.* 405 *ff.* 436.) Schneckenburger also brought Mt. 24 Rev. 11 and Jn. 5 43 into the field of his survey, and his view may be said on the whole to have stood the test of time.[1]

Still more recently Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des NT. u. der Alten Kirche*, 1895), following up the suggestions of Gunkel's *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (1895), and the method then for the first time securely laid down, has sought to supplement these investigations in two directions: (1) by a comprehensive induction based on all the eschatological portions of the NT that belong to the same circle of ideas, and the careful exclusion of all that do not so belong; and (2) by an attempt at a comprehensive and complete presentation of the tradition (which comes before us in the NT only in a fragmentary way) as it is to be met with in the Jewish sources, and, still more, in the later Christian exegetical and apocalyptic tradition. This tradition is in great measure quite independent of the NT, and in all probability dates as far as its sources are concerned, from pre-Christian times.[2]

4. NT.

The NT Tradition. The name ἀντίχριστος occurs in the NT only in the Johannine Epistles (1 Jn. 2 18-22: 4 3: 2 Jn. 7), and thus in all probability its formation belongs to the late NT period. For an answer to the question who or what is meant by the name, it is best to start from the well-known (probably Pauline) passage in 2 Thess. 2 1-12, where we read that before the end of all things the man of sin, or, rather, of lawlessness (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας), the lawless one (ὁ ἄνομος), the son of perdition (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας), must be revealed. This 'man of sin,' it is clear, is to make his appearance as a false Messiah—an observation which, from the outset, precludes us from referring the expression to any foreign potentate such as Caligula[3] or Nero. He is sent to 'them that are perishing' (namely the Jews), because they received not the love of the truth (the true Messiah).[4] He does not employ any outward force, but accomplishes his work by means of false signs and lying wonders (cp the tradition of the Church fathers, as continued by De Wette, Ewald, Schneckenburger, B. Weiss, Lünemann, Bornemann). He will make his appearance in Jerusalem. In this account of the Antichrist the specially perplexing assertions are that he is to seat himself in the temple of God and that he is to declare himself to be God. This last act, at any rate, does not belong to the *rôle* of a false Messiah. It is also doubtful who or what ought to be understood by ὁ κατέχων, τὸ κατέχον, the power that stands in the way of the manifestation of Antichrist. If once a reference in the passage to a Jewish false Messiah be accepted, the mystery of iniquity (lawlessness: τὸ μυστ. τῆς ἀνομίας) will most probably mean the cruelty which the Jews as a whole had begun to show towards the Christians (same authorities as above). At this point we obtain a clear light upon Rev. 11. The perplexing fact that there the beast rises out of the deep and makes its appearance in Jerusalem (a view of the passage that appears certain—not only from 11 8, but also from the connection of 11 12 with 11 3 as against the other interpretations referring it to Rome) is explained by 2 Thess. 2. The beast that rises out of the deep and appears in

[1] This applies also to the first part of the *Apocalyptische Studien* of B. Weiss, 1889.

[2] Attempts in this direction had already been made by Bertholdt and Schneckenburger.

[3] 2 Thess. 2 4 does not at all fit in with Spitta's interpretation of the passage as referring to Caligula's proposal to set up a statue of himself in Jerusalem.

[4] Cp Jn. 5 43.

Jerusalem is the Antichrist. If this be so, we are supplied with the following additional elements in the tradition: (1) a great drought that comes over the world in the last times (in Rev. through the two witnesses); (2) the two witnesses, their slaughter by the Antichrist, and their resurrection; (3) a previous assemblage of many nations in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The dim and fragmentary character of the whole narrative, however, is striking. In another place in the Apocalypse we find another parallel to the figure of the Antichrist—in Rev. 13 11 *ff.* The beast that 'had two horns like unto a lamb' (RV) is designated by the author of Revelation himself as a False Prophet. When it is spoken of as 'coming up from the land' (not 'earth' as in EV), we may reasonably understand Palestine to be meant. This false prophet also does his work by means of signs and wonders. Here we meet with a new and rather perplexing consideration: the sealing on their foreheads and hands of those whom he has led astray, and the buying and selling of them that is thus made possible. To the same great group of traditions a part of the eschatological discourse in the Synoptic Gospels (especially in Mt.) also appears to belong. Older theories of the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως of Mt. 24 15 having broken down, and Spitta's explanation of it as referring to Caligula being beset with difficulties (indeed, an apocalypse which arose only in 40-41 A.D. could surely not have found its way among utterances of the Lord which were already becoming fixed), we seem compelled to fall back on an older tradition, and to explain the strange phrase of the Antichrist of 2 Thess. 2 4 sitting in the Temple (on these points cp ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION). In this case we arrive at new elements in the tradition: the subsequent flight of those who have believed, the shortening of the days (Mt. 24 22), and the picture of the end of the world and of the final judgment (Mt. 24 29 *ff.*). Here again the fragmentary brevity of the tradition is surprising.

5. Results.

If we now survey these eschatological fragments as a whole, two conjectures immediately force themselves on us: (1) that all these eschatological phantasies were not independently conceived by the various authors from whom we derive them;[1] that, on the contrary, the authors are mostly reproducing a tradition which already lay before them; and (2) that it is a single consistent tradition that underlies all these (partly coincident, partly complementary) fragments. If the second conjecture be true, we may venture to think that the tradition in question has not been lost beyond all possibility of recovery. In point of fact, our very first glance at later Christian apocalyptic literature satisfies us that this literature rests upon a tradition which is but partially dependent on the NT.

6. Early Church tradition.

The Tradition of the Early Church regarding Antichrist. Sources.[2] The tradition becomes tangible as soon as we have a Christian literature copious enough. The influence of this tradition is already visible in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (chap. 16). Irenæus (*Adv. haer.* 5 25-30) also presents himself in this connection. Special importance, however, among the earlier witnesses, attaches to Hippolytus's ἀποδείξις περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, the *Carmen Apologeticum* of Commodian, Lactantius's *Inst. Div.* 7 15 *ff.* (Commodian and Lactantius have a place of their own in the tradition), and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Victorinus. A further group of writings ascribed to an ecclesiastical writer of very great influence, Ephraim Syrus, must be mentioned. Under his name are current three Homilies on the Antichrist: (1) One in Syriac (De Lamy, 3 1-7 *ff.*,—all of it genuine with the exception of a few chapters); (2) one in Greek (Assemani, 2 222-30 3 134-143), perhaps genuine; and (3) one in Latin (Caspari, *ut sup.* 208 *ff.*). The historical event from which all these prophecies start is the

[1] See the detailed argument for the impossibility of this in Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*.

[2] See Malvenda, *De Antichristo* (1647); Ebert, 'On Commodian's "Carmen Apologeticum"' in *Abh. d. kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wissensch.* 5 387 *ff.*; Caspari, *Briefe und Abhandlungen* (90) 208 *ff.* 429 *ff.* and, for the later period, Zezschwitz, *Vom römischen Kaiserthum deutscher Nation*, 1877; Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* 5 505 *ff.*; W. Meyer, *Ludus de Antichristo*, 1880.

beginning of the great barbarian migrations, the invasion of the eastward regions of the Roman Empire by the Huns (Gog and Magog). Allied in character to the foregoing are Cyril's *Catechesis* (xv), the pseudo-Johannine Apocalypse (Tisch. *Apoc. apocr.*), and the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Andrew of Cæsarea. Dependent on Ephraim's Greek homily are the περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κοσμου (ed. Lagarde) of the pseudo-Hippolytus, and the *Physica* of Philip Solitarius (310 *ff.*; Migne, *P. Gr.* 127). This whole mass of tradition is exceedingly valuable on account of its archaic oriental character. Of the older church fathers, Jerome also (*Ad Algasiam*, Quæst. xi.; *In Danielem* vii. and xi.) and Theodoret (*Hæret. fab.* 523), but not Augustine, and, of the later, John Damascenus (ἔκθεσις 427) claim special attention.

As, in the brief review of these apocalyptic interpreters, the advent of the Antichrist is after the downfall of Rome, one might reckon almost with certainty on finding evidence of the currency of the tradition about the time of that downfall. Such evidence we actually possess in the primary document which was the common source of both the so-called Apocalypses of Daniel, the Greek (ed. Klostermann, *Analecta*), and the Armenian (ch. Kalemkiar, *Wiener Z.* 6 127 *f.*; cp Zahn, *Forschungen* 5 119 *ff.*). Again, at the time of the Mohammedan conquests a new rallying-point was given for this eschatological tradition, as we see in the apocalypse of the pseudo-Methodius (7th century, *Orthodoxographa* 2, Basel, 1569), closely connected with which is the later Apocalypse of Peter, now extant in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic redactions (Bratke, *ZNTW*, 1900), and also a series of late Byzantine (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* 1, Moscow, 1893), and late Jewish apocalypses (Jellinek, *Bet-ha-Midrash*; cp Bousset, *Z.* 173 *ff.*). This body of tradition reached the west through the compilation (*De Antichristo*) by the monk Adso (Migne, *P. Lat.* 101 1291 *ff.*), based on the book of Methodius and on a Sibylline book, which last is to be found also (in a redacted form) in the works of Beda (Migne, 90 1183) and dates perhaps from the fourth century. Lastly, an isolated and very archaistic source is to be found also in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah (Stern, *Z.* 1 1886).

7. He who letteth. Subjoined is a brief summary of this tradition as it occurs, almost uniformly, in the sources that have been named.[1]

In the first place, the universally prevalent conviction is that the κατέχων (2 Thess. 2 7) is the Roman empire. This, we may be sure, was the view of Paul also: if he expected a Jewish false Messiah, then the one power left which could 'hinder' was the Roman empire (cp on this point 4 Esd. 4 1 *ff.*). The political *rôle* played by this idea in the history of Christianity may be seen in Tertullian (*Apol.* 32, *ad Scap.* 2) and Lactantius (*Inst. div.* 7 25). Of equally universal prevalence is the conception of Antichrist, not as a Roman or foreign ruler, but as a false Messiah, who is to arise among the Jews themselves in Jerusalem. Almost universally (with the exceptions to be afterwards mentioned) it is predicted that he is to establish himself in the temple and lay claim to Messianic (and, so far, divine) honours. (Sometimes, as in *Ascens. Jes.* 4 6, Vict. in *Apoc.* 13 18, and in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, we read that he will set up his statue in the temple—doubtless a reminiscence of the Caligula episode.) After the destruction of Jerusalem, accordingly, the expectation that the Antichrist will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem becomes universal. He will show special favour to the Jews, will receive circumcision himself, and will compel others to do so. He will arise from the tribe of Dan (*q.v.*, § 9; Jewish haggada is at the root of this [cp *Testam. Dan* 5 *f.*: also the omission of Dan in Rev. 7 5 *ff.*, as to which see Iren. v. 30 2, perhaps also even 1 Ch. 6 61 [46] (see *SBOT*) 9 [54] 7 12]; see Schneckenburger-Böhmer, 412). If, bearing all this in mind, we once more turn to 2 Thess. 2 9 *ff.* Jn. 5 43 Rev. 11 3 *ff.*, it immediately becomes plain that any 'historical' or preterist interpretation of the Antichrist is out of the question. On the basis of a haggadic view of Dan. 11 43 7 8, there came into the tradition this further element, that the Antichrist, at his first appearing, is to conquer the kings of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. Another invariable element of the tradition under consideration is the enumeration of the miracles to be wrought by the Antichrist, particularly celestial signs (Rev. 13 11 *f.*), and miracles of healing (although that of raising the dead is beyond his reach). Hereupon the Antichrist will achieve the dominion of the whole world, and gather round himself to his capital all peoples and vast armies (4 Esd. 13 1 *ff.* Apoc. Bar. 40 Rev. 11 9 *ff.*).

8. Antichrist.

Next, a great drought and famine will come upon the whole earth (differently and less clearly put in Rev. 11 6), and in these straits the Antichrist will order his servants (spoken of also as demons) to mark men with his mark (according to the Latin Homily of the pseudo-Ephraim, a serpent mark), so that only those who bear it shall be permitted to buy bread (Rev. 13 16 *f.*). Against the Antichrist come forward the two witnesses (almost unanimously taken to be Elijah and Enoch), who disclose his real character, so that many turn away from him (otherwise, and very obscure, what we read in Rev. 11 3 *ff.*). It is noteworthy that in many sources there is no mention of the resurrection of the two witnesses—doubtless an incident introduced for the first time by the author

9. Conflict.

[1] For the references in detail see Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Gött. 1895.

of Rev. 11. At the preaching of the witnesses a considerable company of Israel are converted and begin the opposition to the Antichrist (perhaps Rom. 9 20 is to be interpreted in this connection). The 144,000 who are sealed in Rev. 7 5 *ff.* certainly have their explanation here. The faithful now betake themselves to the wilderness or to the mountains (Mt. 24 16 *ff.*); but the days of Antichrist's reign of terror shall be shortened. The years shall become months, the months days, the days hours (Mt. 24 22). Then the Antichrist will send his armies in pursuit of the faithful who have fled into the wilderness; but there they shall be delivered by the angels of God or by the Messiah (Rev. 12 15 *ff.*), and the army of the Antichrist destroyed (cp the mysterious angelic battle outside the city, in Rev. 14 14 *ff.*), and, in connection with this, the appearance of the lamb with the 144,000 in Rev. 15 1 *ff.*). The Antichrist is finally slain, according to authorities, by the Messiah, with the breath of his mouth (Is. 11 4 2 Thess. 2 8—the same statement is found in late Jewish sources, such as Targ. Jon. on Is. 11 4 and others). Perhaps an older tradition may be traced in the view that the archangel Michael is to be the conqueror of the Antichrist (Dan. 12 1 Rev. 12 7, *Ass. Mos.* 10). Now is seen a mighty sign in heaven (Mt. 24 30)—the sign of the Son of Man—interpreted by later writers (cp already *Did.* 16 6, σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ) as referring to the Cross, but originally, we may be sure, bodeking the Divine Judge of the world (Bousset, 154). Then follows the coming of the Divine Messiah to judgment, and mighty convulsions of nature (Mt. 24 29 *f.* Rev. 6 12 *ff.*). From the four corners of heaven desolating storms burst upon earth and cleanse it (Rev. 7 1 *ff.*), and before the divine advent descends a tempest of fire, which burns the earth down to its depths, and dries up the sea and the rivers (Rev. 21 1).

10. Defeat of Antichrist.

At the very first glance it is plain that, in this tradition, we are dealing not with an artificial exegetical mosaic of the various passages of the New Testament (and the Old) which here come into account, but with an original body of tradition, organically and inherently consistent; and that the separate eschatological fragments of this tradition in the NT become intelligible only when they are brought into their organic place in the scheme of the tradition as a whole, so that their essential consistency becomes manifest.

11. Coherence of tradition.

Origin of the Tradition.—Naturally we turn, in the first instance, to the eschatological ideas of the OT. Schneckenburger will have it that the idea of the Antichrist comes from the prophecies concerning Gog and Magog in Ezek. (38 *f.*). That in every form of the tradition the prophecy concerning Gog and Magog occurs in close connection with the story of the Antichrist is indeed true to the extent that they are made to appear, sometimes after (Rev. 20 7 *f.*), and sometimes before, the time of his rule. Positive identification of Gog with Antichrist, however, does not occur till the seventh century, and even then only in Jewish sources. Many of the details of the traditions can be traced, as has been already said, to Jewish haggada. In this particular point Dan. 7 11 *f.* is approximated to most nearly; but even here there is a marked difference, and the originality of the view outlined above is conspicuous. In Daniel the disturber is a foreign power; but here the seducer, who personates God or simulates the Messiah, rises up from amid the people of God. Thus there has been an important development since Daniel. Perhaps, as was suggested in conversation to the present writer by Prof. Smend, the historical occasion for this advance was supplied by the experiences of Israel under the Maccabees and the Herods. In any case, we must note a parallel in Jewish Apocalyptic. That ideas allied to those in our tradition were active among the Jews about the time of Christ is shown by 4 Esd. 5 1 *ff.* (5 6; regnabit quem non sperant), *Apoc. Bar.* 36-40, *Sibyll.* 3 63 *ff.* (2 167 *ff.*), *Test. Dan* 5, *Ass. Mos.* 8 *ff.*, and the (probably Jewish) nucleus of *Asc. Jes.* (3 23-4 13). Now, in this tradition, the constantly recurring name of the great enemy of the last times—a name already known to the apostle Paul (2 Cor. 6 15)—is Belial (Beliar). But, according to many passages of the *Testaments*, Belial is a spirit of the air, ruler of the evil spirits. According to *Test. Dan* 5, the Messiah will fight against him in the last days. The supporters of Belial are the children of Dan. In *Sib.* 3 63 *ff.* (probably dating from the time of Cleopatra), Belial is already presented in an aspect closely resembling that

12. OT eschatology.

13. Belial.

of Antichrist (still more so in the *Ascensio*, which, however, has unquestionably undergone Christian revision). In the *Ascensio* the angel Sammael interchanges parts with Belial, and Sammael figures also in later Jewish tradition as the enemy of the last times[1] (on the origin of Belial, and on the various developments of meaning, see BELIAL). Suggestions of the same idea occur in Lk. 10 18 Jn. 12 31 (Col. 2 15). Here we would seem to have an aspect of the tradition that, in point of time and contents, comes a great deal nearer that of Antichrist (2 Cor. 6 15: 'and what concord hath Christ with Beliar?'), which is not of historical but of purely eschatological origin: the idea of a rebellion of an angelic power against God at the end of time. Perhaps

14. Dragon. it is out of this figure—behind which in turn stands the wilder figure of the dragon rising in rebellion against God in the last times, which Gunkel conjectures to have its origin in the Babylonian creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2 *f.*)—that, under the experiences of the Maccabean period, the humanised figure of a pseudo-Messiah came into existence. In this way we can explain also the superhuman traits in the picture, such as his declaring himself to be God (2 Thess. 2 4), and his sitting in the temple of God (cp the myth of the storming of heaven by the dragon in Rev. 12 1 *ff.*). These conjectures find further confirmation in the fact that, in later tradition, the ghostly-demonic element in the portrayal of Antichrist comes again more conspicuously to the front, and the Antichrist is even represented as a dragon who rebels against God (cp the writings of Ephraim Syrus, and Apoc. Zeph.).

Points of Contact with other Traditions.—One legend that comes into relation with that of Antichrist

15. Nero redivivus. in many ways is that of Nero redivivus. Not that the figure of Antichrist had its beginning in the story of Nero. Originally both legends had currency side by side. It was only after Nero's return at the head of the Parthians (at first conceived of in a purely human way—cp the nucleus of Rev. 17) had become indefinitely delayed, and after men had begun to expect the returning Nero only as a spirit from the under-world, that they gradually transferred to him some traits belonging to the Antichrist[2] (cp *Sib.* 3 61 *ff.*, where, in like manner, Belial is interpreted to mean one of the Cæsars; see APOCALYPTIC, § 95). Such an amalgamation of the two figures is already met with in Rev. 13 and 17 (in their present form). The old form of Antichrist, however, retains such vitality that in the end (Rev. 13 11 *ff.*) it appears as a second beast, servant of the first and on the same scene. A similar and (as far as its occasion is concerned) still more manifest doubling of Antichrist is seen in Commodian's *Carmen Apologeticum*, in Lactantius (as above), in Martin (see Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 2 14), and in the βιβλίον Κλήμεντος (Lagarde, *Reliq. juris eccl.* 80 *ff.*). There is a complete fusion in the *Ascensio Jesaiæ*, and in the commentary on the Apocalypse of Victorinus. This complicated figure of Nero redivivus took special hold on the Sibylline literature of the second century,[3] and here again, in the delineation of this, we meet once more with the old features of the dragon myth. A fusion between the Antichrist tradition and the Simon Magus legend has already been observed by Schneckenburger, and traced in a variety of points by the present writer. The same tradition comes into fusion with the later Alexander legend and the old German saga of the end of the world (Muspilli, *Edd.*)

Or, this and other connected subjects see Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, in the English translation of which (1896) special attention has been bestowed on the index (see, *e.g.*, 'Simon Magus,' 'Alexander'). See also E. Wadstein, 'Die eschatologische Ideengruppe: Antichrist, Weltsabbath, Weltende und Weltgesicht in ihrer christlichmittelalterlichen Gesammtentwickelung,' *ZNW*, 1905 and 1907. On the Armenian form of the

1 Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum* 2 709; cp *Asc. Jes.* 7 9.
2 This has been already remarked by Schneckenburger.
3 Cp Zahn, 'Apocal. Studien' in *Z. f. kirchl. Leben u. Wiss.*

Antichrist-legend see Conybeare, *Acad.*, 26th October 1895; and on a singular Mohammedan tradition see LYDDA at end.

W. B.

ANTILIBANUS (ΑΝΤΙΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ [BA], om. ℵ), Judith 1 7. See LEBANON.

ANTIMONY (פוּךְ), Is. 54 11 RV mg., EV 'fair colours.' See PAINT.

ANTIOCH (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ [Ti. WH]). 1. in Pisidia; more correctly, 'Antioch towards Pisidia' ('Αντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ), to distinguish it from the Antioch on the Meander (the form 'Pisidian Antioch,' 'Αντιόχεια ἡ Πισιδία [Ti. WH], Acts 13 14, arose to distinguish it from the more famous Antioch of Syria). It was really a Phrygian city; but in NT times it was of course included within the Roman province Galatia. Strabo (p. 577) accurately describes it as lying 'on a hill,' on the south side of the range now called Sultan Dagh, in Phrygia Parorea; but it was not until 1833 that Arundell found its ruins at *Yalobatch*. The town was founded about 300 B.C. by the Seleucid kings, and the transportation of 2000 Jewish families to the fortresses of Lydia and Phrygia, as recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3), must in part refer to Antioch. By Augustus it was made a Roman colony (6 B.C.); hence its coins bear the legend Cæsarea. Antioch was adopted as the centre of military and civil administration in Southern Galatia, and from it radiated the roads to the colonies designed to check the unruly highlanders of Pisidia and Isauria. As an element in the pacification of this district, the privileges of the Jews were confirmed by the Emperors, and Paul found a large Jewish colony in the city. The Romanisation of this part of Galatia was in especially active progress during the reign of Claudius, 41-54 A.D. At the time of Paul's visit, therefore, Antioch was at the height of its importance. Besides its relations with Apamea (on the W.) and with Iconium, Lystra, and eastern Asia Minor, it must have had a commercial connection with the Pamphylian seaports, among them Attalia and Perga; and Paul must have reached Antioch by following this southern trade-route, which probably ran through Adada (*Kara Bavlo*, *Bavlo* being the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name). There was a large body of Jewish proselytes in Antioch, many of them women of position through whom the Jews were able to influence the magistrates against the apostles (Acts 13 50). The magistrates had summary jurisdiction over disturbers of the public peace, such as the apostles were alleged to be (cp *v.* 44, πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη, and *v.* 45, ἰδόντες τοὺς ὄχλους); but the 'casting of them out of the borders' of the colony could not imply permanent banishment—at any rate in the case of Paul, who was a Roman citizen. Accordingly we find the latter returning to Antioch from Derbe (Acts 14 21) and perhaps revisiting the city at least twice (Acts 16 6 18 23, see GALATIA). If the trade of Antioch was concentrated in the hands of the Jews, we can the more easily understand Paul's first success here in Asia Minor: the new teaching did not conflict with any commercial interests of the gentile inhabitants, as it did at Ephesus and Philippi, while at the same time the Jewish proselytising had prepared the people for its reception. It is also not without significance that on the death of king Amyntas, some seventy years before Paul's visit, the ancient worship of 'Mēn' (Μὴν Ἀσκαΐος, Ἀρκαΐος Strabo, Ἀσκηνός coins) had been abolished, so that there was probably no gentile hierarchy in existence to oppose the apostles. Hence the effect of their preaching was more marked here than in any other case, except Corinth (Acts 13 44 48 *f.*). All the more strange is the subsequent unimportance of the South Galatian churches.

2. In Syria (2 Macc. AV ANTIOCHIA). This great city, the metropolis of the Roman world,

1. City. the Queen of the East (ἡ καλὴ Athen. 1 75; orientis apex pulcher), and the residence of the imperial Legate of Syria, survives in *Antakieh*,

a town of only 6000 inhabitants. It is situated at the point of junction of the ranges of Libanus and Taurus, on a fine site hard by the left bank of the Orontes, just where the river turns westwards to run between Mt. Pieria on the N. and Mt. Casium on the S., to the sea 16 m. distant. A little higher up the river Antigonia had been built in 307 B.C. by Antigonus; but seven years later Seleucus Nicator transferred its inhabitants to his new city of Antioch.

Strabo's meagre account (p. 750) is the foundation of our topographical knowledge of the city. Like the district in which it lay, Antioch was a τετράπολις, an agglomeration of four parts.

The first contained the population of Antigonia; the second the bulk of the citizens. The third part was the creation of Seleucus Callinicus (246-226 B.C.), and the fourth, on Mt. Silpius, of Antiochus Epiphanes. Each part had its own wall; but in addition, the whole vast area, larger than that of Rome, was surrounded by huge walls running over the mountains and across the ravines. From Nicator's time dates the well-known statue 'the Fortune' (Τύχη) of Antioch, a work of the Sicyonian Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus (Paus. vi. 2 7). The memory of it is preserved on the coins, and in a small marble statuette in the Vatican. The goddess, a graceful gentle figure, rests negligently on a rock; while the river, a vigorous youth, seems to swim out from under her feet.

Seleucus Nicator also embellished DAPHNE (Δάφνη [VA]), 5 m. distant from Antioch, but reckoned a suburb. It was a spot musical with fountains; its groves, crowded with temples, halls, and baths, were the seat of a cult of Apollo and Artemis.

Among its artistic treasures was a statue of Apollo Musagètes by the Athenian Bryaxis. The precincts of Daphnè were endowed with the right of asylum and naturally became the haunt of villany—of runaway slaves, debtors, and cut-throats (Tac. *Ann.* 860; Tiberius in 22 A.D. attempted to regulate this abuse in several cities): if we may trust the story of Onias in 2 Macc. 4 33, Daphnè 'flung away the one rare chance of sheltering virtue.' The site is now called *Bêt el Mâ'*, the 'house of Water.' It retains no traces of its former magnificence.

From this suburb, which Roman wealth, Greek art, and Oriental licentiousness conspired to make unique even in the East, Antioch took its distinguishing name — ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ. In itself the title bore no reference to the pleasure pursuits of the suburb—as though insinuating that there the true life of the city was to be found: it was a genuine official title.

Accordingly we find it on coins (cp 'Αντιοχέων τῶν ἐπὶ Καλλιρόῃ; τῶν ἐν Μυγδονίᾳ; τῶν πρὸς τῷ Σάρῳ). Hence Pliny (*HN* V 5 21 [18]) writes 'Antiochia Epidaphnes.' Tacitus (*Ann.* 2 83) transliterates the Greek, and calls the suburb itself 'Epidaphna.'

Holm has summed up in a striking sentence the historical position of Antioch under the Seleucid kings.

2. Character. Although close to the sea (ἀνάπλοις αὐθημερόν Strabo, p. 751), it was yet no seaport; on the borders of the desert, it was yet something more than a centre for the caravan trade between the East and the West. The city reflected the character of the kingdom of which it was the capital, a kingdom which itself also was neither a genuine naval nor a genuine land power. Antioch was a Greek city, just as the Seleucid kingdom was an attempt to impose upon the Orient the political ideas and forms of Hellas. Yet, in the capital as in the kingdom at large, there was no true Hellenism; the commingling of Oriental and Western elements resulted in the perpetuation of the worst features of both races, and the moral worthlessness of the Syrian found in the brilliance and artistic temperament of the Greek merely the means of concealing the crudities of his own life. The characteristic failing of the Greek also was exhibited on a great scale. A third element, and that the one most important for biblical history, was provided by the Jews. The colony was in fact coeval with the city, for it dated from the time of Seleucus Nicator, who gave the Jews the same privileges as he gave the Greeks (Jos. *Ant.* XII. 3 1).[1] For this connection with the Syrian kings see 1 Macc. 11 42 *f.* Herod completed the marble-paved street which we can

[1] According to 2 Macc. 4 9 (cp also *v.* 19) Jason conferred on the people of Jerusalem the status of citizens of Antioch (ANTIOCHIANS) on which see *Th. T* 12 544 (78).

trace from the 'Gate of St. Paul' to the modern town (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5 3). Thus all the forms of the civilised life of the Empire found in Antioch some representative. In its agora, said Libanius, the customs of the world might be studied. In no city was pleasure more earnestly pursued. *Daphnici mores* were proverbial; the Orontes was synonymous with superstition and depravity (Juv. *Sat.* 3 62). Yet it would be of value to discover to what extent the lower and middle orders of the population were really affected by the luxury and *abandon* of which we hear so much; that is after all but one side of the city's life, and there is a temptation to exaggerate it. There was little real intellectual life; epigram and light prose were the most flourishing forms of literature. Cicero (*Pro Arch.* 3, § 4) is exaggerating with his 'eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti.' Antioch is far less celebrated than Alexandria in the literature of the first and second centuries A.D. This intellectual attitude is a fact of some importance, in its relation to the first Christian teaching.

The mixture of Roman, Greek, and Jewish elements admirably adapted Antioch for the great part she played

3. Christianity. in the early history of Christianity. The city was the cradle of the church. There, as elsewhere, Judaism prepared the ground for the seed of the word (cp Chrys. *Hom.* XXV.). 'Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch,' one of the first deacons (Acts 6 5), was only one of a 'vast multitude of Greeks' who in that city were attracted to the Jewish doctrine and ritual (Jos. *BJ* vii. 3 3; cp Acts 11 19-21). The ancient and honourable status of the Jews in Antioch gave to the infant church a firm and confident organisation. Very early the city became a centre on a level with Jerusalem in importance (Acts 11 22 26-30 13 1). The cosmopolitanism of its inhabitants inevitably reacted upon the Christians in the way of familiarising them with universalist ideas, and Antioch consequently became the centre of missionary labour. It was Paul's starting-point on his first journey with Barnabas (Acts 13 1-3), and thither he always returned with his report of work done (Acts 14 26 *f.* 15 30 18 22). It was at the instance of the church at Antioch that the council of Jerusalem sent the circular letter to the gentile Christians (Acts 15 23 Gal. 2 4-14), and, according to Acts 11 26 (on which see CHRISTIAN, beginning, and § 2 [end]), it was in Antioch that 'the disciples were called Christians first'—undoubtedly as a nickname. We know that the people of Antioch were noted for their scurrilous wit (Philost. *Vit.* 3 16 Zos. 3 11 4 41 Procop. *BP* 2 8).

W. J. W.

ANTIOCHIA (ΑΝΤΙΟΧ[Ε]ΙΑ [AℵV]), 1 and 2 Macc. AV, RV ANTIOCH, 2.

ANTIOCHIANS (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ [VA]), 2 Macc. 4 19 (-ΧΙΑΣ [A]), and in AV also *v.* 9 (-ΧΟΝ [V]), where RV has '*citizens* of Antioch.' See ANTIOCH 2, § 2 n.

ANTIOCHIS (ΑΝΤΙΟΧ[Ε]ΙΣ [VA]), concubine of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4 30).

ANTIOCHUS (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ [AℵV]; ΑΝΤΙΩΧΟΣ [ℵ* once, V* once, A once]). 1. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, was the son of Seleucus Callinicus, and ascended the Syrian throne at the age of fifteen, on the death of his brother Seleucus Ceraunus. He is the earliest of the great SELEUCIDÆ (*q.v.*) mentioned in the Apocrypha, but Antiochus II. Theos and Antiochus I. Soter (his grandfather and great-grandfather respectively) are alluded to in Dan. 11 (see DANIEL, § 6). His reign (223-178 B.C.) embraced a series of wars against revolted provinces and neighbouring kingdoms, wars in the prosecution of which his disasters and successes were equally great. The events of his life are briefly alluded to in Dan. 11 10 *ff.*—notably his expedition in Asia Minor in 197 B.C. (cp *v.* 18) which, after varying fortune, ended in a crushing defeat at the hands of Scipio Africanus near Magnesia in 190 B.C. (cp *v.* 18). This was one of the exploits of the Romans which

Judas the Maccabee is said to have heard of (1 Macc. 8 1).

[illegible] account in its present form is not free from inaccuracies. Thus, the writer states that Antiochus, the 'great king of Asia,' had with him 120 elephants (*v. l.*, incep. αντιοχ [κ*D]; but according to Livy (37 39) there were only fifty-four. 'It is not unlikely that in the popular tradition the original number was exaggerated' (Cambr. Bible, *ad loc.*). Cp MACCABEES, FIRST, § 10.

One of the conditions of the humiliating peace imposed in 188 B.C. was that twenty hostages, including a son of the king (cp 1 Macc. 1 10 and below, 2), should be sent to reside in Rome. Antiochus the Great was killed in an attempt to plunder the temple at Elymais (187 B.C.), and was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV. Philopator. See SELEUCIDÆ.

2. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (Ἐπιφανής 'the illustrious' [cp 1 Macc. 1 10 where A -ειs], called in mockery Ἐπιμανής 'the madcap'), youngest son of no. 1. On his place as hostage (see above, 1) being taken by his nephew DEMETRIUS, he returned to the East, and his elder brother, Seleucus IV having meanwhile been murdered—seized the Syrian throne (175 B.C.), and soon became famous for his conquests in Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (cp 1 Macc. 1 16 *ff.* 2 Macc. 5 1 *ff.*, and see Dan. 11 21 *ff.*). During his Egyptian campaign he twice took Jerusalem (1 Macc. 1 20 *ff.* 2 Macc. 5 11 *ff.*). In spite of the presence of a strong favourable Hellenistic party (see JASON, MENELAUS), Antiochus appears to have seen that he could never hope to subdue Judæa until he had rooted out the peculiar Jewish religion (see ISRAEL, § 69 *f.*). 1 2 accordingly promulgated a decree enjoining uniformity of worship throughout his dominions (1 Macc. 1 41 *ff.*), and even went so far as to endeavour to force upon the Jews the worship of heathen deities (see ABOMINATION, ii.). His persecuting policy was responsible for the rise of the ASSIDEANS, and stirred up the successful resistance of the Maccabees. His end (164 B.C.) is variously described. According to 1 Macc. 6 1-16 he was visiting a rich and celebrated temple in Persia (see ELYMAIS), when tidings of the ill-success of his troops in Judæa, and remorse for his sacrilege at Jerusalem, caused his death—according to Polybius (31 2) at Tabæ in Persia.[1] The usually accepted reference to his end in 2 Macc. 1 10-17 is not very probable, see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7. He is doubtless alluded to in Ps. 75 4 *f.*, and there are numerous references to his life and character in DANIEL (*q.v.*, §§ 1, 6, 8, 10, 18).

The post-Talmudic tract *Megillath Antiochus* is a legendary account, in Aramaic, of the persecutions in his reign; cp Schü. *GJV* 1 123 (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 11). See SELEUCIDÆ.

3. Antiochus V. Eupator (Εὐπάτωρ), the young son of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (see 2, above), was left under the care of LYSIAS, whilst the father conducted his wars in Persia (1 Macc. 3 32 *f.*). On the death of Epiphanes (164 B.C.) Lysias obtained the regency, ousting his rival PHILIP, 5, and set up Epiphanes' son as king, giving him at the same time the surname Eupator (1 Macc. 6 14 *ff.*)—'on account of the virtues of his father' (Appian). Together they entered Judæa (see ISRAEL, § 75 beg.) and, encamping at Beth-zacharias, besieged Bethsura (see BETH-ZUR). The Maccabæans were defeated and the famous ELEAZAR (*q.v.*, 7) was killed (1 Macc. 6 28 *ff.*).[2] The war was brought to an abrupt close, however, by the news that Philip had occupied Antioch, and a hasty peace was concluded restoring to the Jews the privileges they had enjoyed previous to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (cp ISRAEL, *l.c.*). In the following year (162 B.C.) the king and his guardian were put away by DEMETRIUS [*q.v.*, 1] (1 Macc. 7 1 *ff.* 2 Macc. 14 1 *ff.*). See SELEUCIDÆ.

4. Antiochus VI., surnamed THEOS (Θεός), son of Alexander Balas, spent his early youth as a ward of an Arabian (see IMALCUE). He was brought forward by Tryphon, a former follower of Balas, and set up as king in opposition to Demetrius Nicator (see DEMETRIUS, 2) who was rapidly becoming unpopular (1 Macc. 11 39 54; 14 5 B.C.). On his coronation he received the surnames 'Epiphanes' and 'Dionysus.' Henceforth he became a mere tool in the hands of Tryphon, who ultimately found an opportunity of slaying him (1 Macc. 13 31). See further TRYPHON, SELEUCIDÆ.

5. Antiochus VII. Sidetes (Σιδήτης),—*i.e.*, man of Sidè in Pamphylia,—called also Εὐσεβής (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 2), was the son of Demetrius I. and younger brother of Demetrius II. Nicator. The capture of his brother by the Parthians gave Sidètes the opportunity of asserting his claim to the Syrian throne in opposition to the unpopular TRYPHON. To win over the Jews he wrote, from Rhodes, to Simon 'the chief priest and governor,' and by advantageous concessions, remission of royal debts, and the formal permission to coin money, attained his end (1 Macc. 15 1 *ff.*; αντιοχος [κ* *v.* 1]). Tryphon was besieged at Dor (*v.* 25), and ultimately forced to flee to Orthosia (*v.* 37). The situation immediately changed. Antiochus felt his position secure, and sent Athenobius to Simon demanding Joppa, Gazara, the citadel of Jerusalem, and the arrears of tribute (28 *ff.*). The refusal of these demands brought about war, and CENDEBEUS was dispatched against the Jews (15 38 *ff.*). Sidetes appears no more in 1 Macc.; but in the time of John Hyrcanus (see MACCABEES, i. § 7) he came and besieged Jerusalem (133 B.C.), and five years later met his death whilst fighting the Parthians under Phraortes II. (Arsaces VII., 128 B.C.). See SELEUCIDÆ.

6. Father of NUMENIUS (1 Macc. 12 16 14 22).

ANTIPAS (ΑΝΤ[Є]ΙΠΑϹ [Ti. WH], abbrev. from ἀντίπατρος, see Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1 3; cp Cleopas from Κλεόπατρος). 1. See HERODIAN FAMILY, 2.

2. The 'faithful witness' of Pergamum named in Rev. 2 13. According to the *Acta Sanctorum* (Apr. 11) he was bishop of Pergamum, and suffered death (by the 'brazen bull') under Domitian.

ANTIPATER (ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟϹ [ΑΝV]), son of Jason [3], an ambassador sent by the Jews to the Lacedæmonians (1 Macc. 12 16 14 22). See SPARTA. For the Antipater from whom Antipatris (see below) was named see HERODIAN FAMILY, 1.

ANTIPATRIS (ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΙϹ [Ti. WH]) was founded by Herod the Great on 'the finest plain' of his kingdom

1. Allusions. —*i.e.*, Sharon—in memory of his father Antipater (Jos. *BJ* i. 21 9), but also, as the history of the town abundantly proves, for strategical reasons. The other details given by Josephus are, that it lay 'close to the mountains' (*BJ* i. 4 7) on the plain of Kaphar Saba (Καφαρσαβᾶ), fertile and well-watered, that a river encompassed the city, and a grove of very fine trees (*Ant.* xvi. 5 2). In another passage, probably from a different source, Josephus identifies it with Kaphar Saba (Χαβαρζαβᾶ ἡ νῦν Ἀντιπατρὶς καλεῖται), and tells how, to resist Antiochus on his march against the Arabians (*circa* 85 B.C.), Alexander Jannæus made a deep ditch and a wall, which however Antiochus destroyed, extending thence, a distance of 150 (?) stadia, to the sea at Joppa (*ib.* xiii. 15 1). During Roman times Antipatris was a station at or near the junction of the military roads from Lydda and from Jerusalem respectively to Cæsarea, where the latter road issued from the hills. Thus Paul was brought by night from Jerusalem to Antipatris and thence, part of his escort returning, to Cæsarea (Acts 23 31). The return of so much of Paul's escort is explained by the fact that, Antipatris being according to the Talmud (*Talm. Bab.*, *Gittin*, 76*a*) on the limits of Jewish soil, all danger of an attack by the threatened Jewish ambush (Acts 23 16 20 *ff.*) was now past. There, in 66 A.D., Cestius Gallus halted on his way to Lydda (*BJ* ii. 19 1), and to this point, on his subsequent retreat from Jerusalem, he was pursued by the Jews (*ib.* 9). There,

[1] His father, Antiochus III. the Great, died whilst engaged in this same district upon a similar errand. Tradition may have confused the son with the father.

[2] 2 Macc. 13 21 ascribes their ill-success to treachery (see RHODOCUS).

too, in the same year, Vespasian halted on his march from Cæsarea to Lydda (*ib.* iv. 8 1).

Antipatris is not marked in the *Tab. Peut.* The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) gives it as 10 R.m. from

2. Site. Lydda and 26 from Cæsarea; the *Itin. Ant.* as 28 from Cæsarea; and Eus. and Jer. in the *Onom.* as 6 S. from Galgulis (in all probability the present Jiljūliyeh). Schurer (*Hist.* 5 130) and others, following Rob. (*BR* 4 139 *f.*), identify it with the present Kefr Sābā, 23 R.m. (as the crow flies) from Cæsarea. But, as Kefr Sābā is no less than 17 R.m. from Lydda and 2 R.m. N. from Jiljūliyeh; as, besides, it has no ancient remains, nor any such wealth of water or encompassing river as Josephus describes, it is more probable that Antipatris lay farther S. on the upper waters of the 'Aujeh, which are about 29 R.m. from Cæsarea, 4 S. of Jiljūliyeh, and about 11 N. of Lydda, in a district which better suits the data of Josephus. Here Dr. Sandreczky and Sir C. W. Wilson (*PEF Qu.St.*, 1874, p. 192 *f.*) have suggested the site of *Kal'at Rās el-'Ain*, at the very copious sources of the 'Aujeh, which they identify with the crusading castle of Mirabel (el-Mirr being a neighbouring place-name). They point out, too, that the valley of the 'Aujeh would be a more natural line for the great ditch of Alexander Jannæus than a line from Kefr Sāba to the sea. Although Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 80 *ff.*) thinks that the Talmud distinguishes between Kefr Sābā and Antipatris, this is doubtful, for, while their names are given separately, both are deemed as border towns—between Samaria, a heathen country, and Judæa. These are all the data for the question of position. Without excavation on the sites named, and the discovery of the rest of the Roman road—probably the road by which Paul was brought—traced by Eli Smith in 1843 from Gophna to the plain, but lost at the edge of the hills (*Biblioth. Sac.* 1 478 *ff.*), it is impossible for us to be certain where exactly Antipatris stood. We cannot expect to find many ruins on the site. Unlike other Herodian sites, it is not stated to have been embellished by great buildings; and the town did not afterwards develop. Bühl (*Pal.* 199) favours Rās el-'Ain.

In 333 the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls it a *mutatio*, or change-house, not a *civitas* like Lydda (the next 'change' he mentions Betthar, 10 R.m. towards Cæsarea—is perhaps the present eṣ-Ṭireh, *PEF Mem.* 2 16). In 404 the *Peregr. S. Paulæ* calls it 'semirutum oppidulum.' In 451 it had a bishop (*Acts of the Coun. of Chalcedon*: cp *Descr. Parochiæ Jerusalem, circa* 460), and in 744 it still contained Christians. With their disappearance before the Arabs, the Greek ecclesiastical name would vanish, and has not been recovered (but see the curious statement of a native in *PEF Mem.* 2 134, that the name of Kefr Sābā is Antifatrūs). The Crusaders wrongly identified Antipatris with 'Arsūf, the ancient Apollonia. G. A. S.

ANTONIA, see JERUSALEM.

ANTOTHIJAH, or rather RV ANTHOTHIJAH (עֲנָתוֹתִיָּה, עַנְתוֹתִיָּה [Gi.], עַנְתֹתִיָּה [Bä.]; probably a feminine adjective formed from ANATHOTH [*q.v.*]), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 24† (ΑΝΩΘΑΙΘ [ΑΝΑΘΩΘΙΑ, Α] ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΙΝ [ℭ^BA], ΑΝΑΘΩΘΑ[L]).

ANTOTHITE (עֲנָתוֹתִי), 1 Ch. 11 28 AV. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANUB (עָנוּב; ΕΝΝΩΝ† [B], ΕΓΝΩΒ [A], ΑΝΩΒ [L]; *ANOB*), a Judahite, descendant of Coz (RV Hakkoz) (1 Ch. 4 8). Probably to be identified with ANAB (We.).

ANUS (ΑΝΝΑϹ [B]), 1 Esd. 9 48 AV = Neh. 8 7 HANAN, 4.

ANVIL (פָּעַם), Is. 41 7†. See METAL WORK.

APAME (ΑΠΑΜΗ [BA], -ΠΗ- [L]; אפמא; *APEME*), daughter of Bartacus and concubine of Darius (1 Esd. 4 29).

APAMEA (Jer. Talm. *Kil.* 9 32*c* אפמיא, but oftener אכפמיא), mentioned in the Vg. text of Judith 3 14, apparently as a district ('pertransiens . . . omnem Apameam') in the line of march of Holofernes.

'Απαμήνη, one of the ten districts of N. Syria under Rome (Ptol. *Geogr.* v. 15 19), took its name from 'Απαμεία, a fortified town (named after Seleucus Nicator's Persian wife), built on a hill some six or more miles east of the Orontes, half-way between Emesa and Antioch, and now represented by important ruins under the village that occupies the site of the old citadel, now called *Kal'at el-Mudīq*: see Strabo, p. 752; Ritter, *Erdkunde* 17, Abth. ii. 1 [illegible]; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.* 71 *f.* (ph. & photographs and map); also refs. in Boettg. *Lex. Jos.*

APE (קוֹף, קֹף; πιθηκοι [BAL]; *simiæ*, 1 K. 10 22, λίθων τορευτῶν [BL], cp 7 11; 2 Ch. 9 21†). An animal mentioned among the rarities brought from Ophir by Solomon's fleet. The Heb. *koph*, 'ape,' is evidently a loan-word,[1] and is usually connected with *kapi*,[2] the Sanscr. name of the ape; thus the home of the animal, though not necessarily the situation of Ophir, will be indicated. It is mentioned in each case, in MT (the phenomena of ℭ are here very peculiar), in connection with the peacocks (if the common theory is correct) imported by Solomon from OPHIR. Perhaps 'monkey' would be a more correct modern English rendering than 'ape,' which suggests the tailless *quadrumana*, while the animals of this order represented on the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions have tails. Just so, κῆβοι would have been a better Greek rendering than πίθηκοι (the LXX word), if Aristotle is correct in making the π. θηκοι tailless. Four kinds of monkeys are represented on the Assyrian monuments. Those on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser II. seem to belong to an Indian species; they appear in company with the Indian elephant and the Bactrian camel (Houghton, 'On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures,' *TSBA* 5 319 *f.* [77]). Monkeys (*gab*) and baboons were much in request in Egypt. Queen Ḥa'šepsut ('Hatasu,' 18th dynasty) received them among other rarities from the (African) land of Punt; see the picture of the native ambassadors leading specimens of the *Cynocephalus Hamadryas* and the *Cynocephalus Babuinus*.[3] Halévy, however (*RE* 2 103 *f.*), would identify Solomon's קופים and תכיים (see PEACOCKS) with the *tuku* and *kukupi* mentioned in the Amarna tablets in the requests of the Asiatic princes—*i.e.*, different sorts of vessels full of aromatic oil, etc.[4] Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 81) gives an account of the sixteen ingredients of the Egyptian κῦφι.[5] N. M.—A. E. S.

APELLES (ΑΠΕΛΛΗϹ [Ti. WH], contracted from 'ΑπολλόΔωρος) is saluted in Rom. 16 10, where he is called 'the approved (δόκιμος) in Christ,' an expression which seems to suggest that he had shown constancy as a confessor in time of trial. Nothing further is known of him. Weizsäcker suggests that his Christian activity may have been chiefly within the household of Aristobūlus also mentioned in . . . (*Apost. Zeit.* 1 399).

In the list of the 'seventy apostles' which we owe to Pseudo-Dorotheus, Apelles is represented as bishop of Heraclea; that of Pseudo-Hippolytus mentions Smyrna. According to the ὑπόμνημα of Peter and Paul by the Pseudo-Symeon Metaphrastes, he was consecrated bishop of Smyrna by Peter.

APHAEREMA (ΑΦΑΙΡΕΜΑ [NV^1]), 1 Macc. 11 34 RV, AV APHEREMA.

APHARSACHITES (אֲפַרְסָכָיֵא [Bä.]; אֲפַר [Gi.]; ΑΦΑΡϹΑΧΑΙΟΙ [BA], but -ϹΑΚΚΑΙΟΙ [B] in Ezra 5 6; -ΡΑϹΘΑΧΑΙΟΙ [L]; see also next article), a word used (Ezra 5 6 6 6†) apparently as the title of certain officers under Darius. Another form is APHARSATHCHITES; see Ezra 4 9, where the word is misunderstood (see EZRA, ii.

[1] If it belongs to the original text: see PEACOCK, § 2.

[2] Whence also κῆβος (κιβός), a tail, Eng. *ape*.

[3] Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 5 [illegible] (= Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pl. [illegible]);

§ 10) and treated as the name of a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER. Its etymology is still very uncertain. See G. Hoffmann, *ZA* 2 54 *f.*; Marquart, *Fund.* 64; and Andreas in Marti, *Bibl.-aram. Gram.*, Glossary, p. 53*

APHARSATHCHITES, The (אֲפַרְסַתְּכָיֵא [Bu.]; אֲפַרְסָתְכָיֵא [Gi.]; ΦΑΡΕϹΘΑΧΑΙΟΙ [B], ΑΦΑΡϹΑΘ· [A], ΑΦΑΡϹΑΤΑΧ· [L]), Ezra 4 9†. See APHARSACHITES.

APHARSITES (אֲפַרְסָיֵא [Bu. Gi.]; ΑΦΡΑϹΑΙΟΙ [B], ΑΦΑΡϹ· [A]; ΦΑΡΑϹΘΑΙΟΙ [L]), mentioned in Ezra 4 9† as a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER. Various attempts at identification have been made (*Persians*, by Rawlinson, *Pulp. Com.* ad loc., but see *KAT*(3) 376; *Parsua*, a Median tribe, by Del. *Par.* 327); but the word is best regarded as a scribe's error, related (some think) to אפרכיא (EV APHARSACHITES, Ezra 5 6 6 0), or, more probably, miswritten for פָּרְסָיֵא, 'scribes.' The last letter of מדברא (MT טרפליא, see TARPELITES) was attached by dittography to the next word (Marquart, *Fund.* 64).

APHEK (אֲפֵק ΑΦΕΚ [BAL]). It is not easy to determine how many places of this name are mentioned in the OT. Only one of them has been satisfactorily identified.

1. In Josh. 13 4 (ταφεκ [B], αφεκα [A], -κκ. [L]) Aphek appears as the limit of the Sidonian country, apparently as its northern limit towards the Giblites or Byblians. This Aphek, therefore, is commonly identified with Aphaca (now *Ifka*), famous for its sanctuary of Astarte, which lies at the source of the river of Byblus, the Adonis or (as it is now called) Naḥr Ibrāhīm; cp Lucian, *Dea Syria* 6-8.

2. The Aphek assigned in Josh. 19 30 to the tribe of Asher is mentioned in Judg. 1 31 (where the name is written אַפִּיק, APHIK, αφεκ [AL], ναει [B]) as one of the towns which the Canaanites were able to maintain against the invaders. Here also some suppose that Aphaca is meant; but it is difficult to believe that Asher ever attempted to extend so far north, and, as it appears from Josh. 17 11[1] that Asher had a theoretical claim to part of the plain of Sharon S. of Mt. Carmel as far at least as Dor, it is probable that Aphek in Sharon (no. 3) is meant.

3. In Josh. 12 18 (οφεκ [B]) we read, in the list of the kings smitten by Joshua, 'the king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one'; but it is better to emend the verse with the aid of 𝔊[B] ('Οφὲκ τῆς Ἀρώκ) and read 'the king of Aphek in the (plain of) Sharon, one' (see Di. on the passage). This Aphek in Sharon, as Wellhausen has pointed out, is the city (*a*) from which the Syrians of Damascus made repeated attacks on Samaria, 1 K. 20 26 30 (αφεκα [BA], -κκ. [L]), 2 K. 13 17,[2] and (*b* and *c*) from which the Philistines assembled their forces for war with Israel before the battles of Gilboa (1 S. 29 1) and of Eben-ezer (1 S. 4 1; Jos. αμφεκα or αφεκα).

(*a*) As regards the Aphek of Kings: that it lay in a lowland plain is clear from 1 K. 20 23, and that the plain is that of Sharon follows from 2 K. 13 22 𝔊[L], where we find the addition (undoubtedly genuine) 'and Hazael took the Philistine from his hand from the Western sea to Aphek.' Aphek therefore lay on the verge of Philistia—*i.e.*, in Sharon—and we must understand that, both in Benhadad's time and in the time of Hazael, the Syrians avoided the difficulties of a direct attack on the central mountain-land of Canaan by striking into the maritime plain south of Carmel and so securing the mastery of the fertile coast-land without having to besiege Samaria. Their route would, in fact, be the present great road from Damascus to Ramleh through Megiddo.[3] At Aphek, somewhere in the north of the Sharon Plain, they had a great military post from which they could direct their armies either against Samaria or against the Philistines (2 K. 12 17 [18]).

(*b*) As regards the Aphek of Samuel: it is clear that a point in the northern part of the Sharon Plain, on the road to Megiddo and the plain of Esdraelon, is appropriate to 1 S. 29 1. The mustering-place of the Philistines cannot have been in the heart of the Hebrew territory, least of all at such a place as el-Faḳū' on Mt. Gilboa (in the rear of Saul's army!) where it is absurdly placed by Conder and Armstrong. It is argued that the Philistines were at Shunem (1 S. 28 4) before they reached Aphek; but to argue thus is to forget that 1 S. 28 3-25, the story of Saul and the witch of Endor, is a distinct narrative, by a different hand, and that 29 1 originally followed directly on 28 1 *f.*

(*c*) Finally, the attack on central Israel which issued in the battle of Eben-ezer and the destruction of Shiloh (1 S. 4) would naturally be taken to have been made from the same Aphek, were it not that commentators have assumed that the position of Eben-ezer, and therefore of Aphek, is fixed somewhere near Miẓpah by 1 S. 7 12. It is certainly safer, however, to distinguish the battle-field of Eben-ezer in 1 S. 4 1 from the stone Eben-ezer set up by Samuel many years later, than to assume the existence of two Apheks fitted to be the starting-point of a Philistine campaign (cp EBEN-EZER). And here also it is to be observed that chaps. 4 and 7 are derived from distinct documents, and that the historical value of the second is very insecure.

From what has been said it will appear without further argument that it is illegitimate to seek an Aphek in the region, between Mt. Tabor and the Sea of Galilee, to which Eus. and Jer. give the name of Saron, or to place the Aphek of Kings at the caravan-station of Fīḳ in the mountains to the E. of the Sea of Galilee. This may be the Apheca near Hippus or Hippe of *OS* 91 24 and 219 72; but is not a biblical site. W. R. S.

The existence of an Aphek in Sharon is put beyond doubt by the following additional evidence. *First*, in the lists of Thotmes III. (*c.* 1600 B.C.) nos. 60-76 form a group by themselves; 62 is Joppa, 64 Lydda, 65 Ono. Then come 66 Apuḳn, 67 Suḳa, 68 Yḥm. At this last place, Thotmes had to decide which of three roads he should take over Carmel. Yḥm must therefore have lain near the most southerly road—that is, somewhat south of the mouth of the Wādy 'Abu Nār—and may be the present Yemma by the high road along the edge of the Samarian Hills. Suḳa is doubtless the present Shuweiḳeh, 2 m. farther S. Apuḳn therefore lay between it and Ono. Maspero, it is true, identified Suḳa and Apuḳn with the Judæan Shocoh and Apheka of Josh. 15 48 53; but W. Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 161) has shown that the list contains nothing S. of Ajalon. The *n* of Apuḳn may be the common termination of place-names ון. Max Müller says it may also be read as *i*. *Secondly*, in the autumn of 66 A.D. Cestius Gallus, advancing on Jerusalem from Cæsarea, reached Antipatris, and 'sent before' a party to drive the Jews out of 'the tower of Aphek' (Πύργος Ἀφεκοῦ). After taking the tower he marched on Lydda (Jos. *BJ* ii. 19 1). This agrees with the data of Thotmes III. and places Aphek between the River 'Aujeh and Lydda. Here there is now no place-name which affords any help in the case, unless it be that of the village Fejjeh—*i.e.*, originally, Feggeh—about 9 m. NE. of Joppa (which, however, does not lie quite near enough to the E. limit of the plain to suit Lucian's text of 2 K. 13 22), and it ought not to be overlooked that in a list of mediæval Arab place-names quoted by Röhricht (*ZDPV*, 1896) there occur both Sair Fuḳa and Faḳin. *Again*, in a fragment of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) a city Apḳu is described as 30 'kasbu-ḳaḳḳar' from Raphia on the Egyptian frontier. Schrader (*KAT*(2) 204), who translates kasbu-ḳaḳḳar by 'double leagues,' takes Apḳu to be on

[1] On this passage see ASHER, § 3.
[2] See We. *CH* 254; cp *Hist.*, ET, 39 [but cp GASm. *HG* 350 401 *f.*].
[3] Cp the route of Al Nābulusī, ed. Tuch

the E. of the lake of Gennesaret (*i.e.*, the present Fîḳ) and the Aphek of 1 K 20 26, etc. This, however, seems less likely to give the distance from Raphia of a place so situated than of an Aphek on the plain of Sharon. The 'Aujeh, it may be remarked, is 70 m. from Raphia. It ought not to be overlooked that the particularising of one Aphek as 'in Sharon' (Josh. 12 18, see above, 3) implies the existence of other Apheks in the land. G. A. S.

APHEKA (אֲפֵקָה, ΑΦΑΚΑ [AL], ΦΑΚΟΥΑ [B]), an unidentified city in the mountain-land of Judah (Josh. 15 53).

APHEREMA, RV APHIREMA (ΑΦΑΙΡΕΜΑ [ℵ], ΑΦΕΡ. [VA] אפרים), 1 Mace. 11 34, probably a Græcised form of the city-name EPHRAIM (*q.v.*, ii.).

APHERRA (ΑΦΕΡΡΑ [BA]), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 (om. L) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

APHIAH (אֲפִיחַ; ΑΦΕΚ [BL], -ΦΑΧ [A*], -ΦΙΧ [A^2]), 1 S. 9 1†, according to MT, one of Saul's ancestors; but 'son of Aphiah, a Benjamite,' should probably be 'of Gibeah of Benjamin' (מגבעת[ה] בן ימין). So virtually Wellhausen; but he did not notice that Aphiah (cp ☪ and note that κ = ך, ι = י, in Reḳa Nu. 31 8) is a corruption of Gibeah. This was reserved for Marquart (*Fund.* 15). T. K. C.

APHIK (אֲפִיק), Judg. 1 31†. See APHEK, 2.

APHRAH, HOUSE OF, RV **Beth-le-Aphrah** (בֵּית לְעַפְרָה, ΟΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΓΕΛΩΤΑ [BAQ]), Mic. 1 10†, the name of a town not identified with any certainty. The determination of the site of Beth-le-Aphrah cannot be separated from the larger question of the text of the whole passage, Mic. 1 10-15, which cannot be discussed here (see Taylor, *MT of Mic.*; Ryssel, *Untersuch.* on the Book of Mic. 26 *ff.*; We. *Kl. Proph.*; Wi. *AT Unters.* 185 *f.*, *AOF* 1 103). So much, however, is plain—the vocalisation cannot be trusted, especially in view of the paronomasia ('house of dust' RV mg.), and even the consonants were differently read by ☪. The older writers (*e.g.*, Winer, so now also Nowack) identified Aphrah with OPHRAH (*q.v.*); cp Pesh. 'the houses of Ophrah.' But the context seems to demand some place farther W. and S. Winckler, with his rather too ingenious emendation 'Bethel' (reading אל־עפר for לעפרה עפר *IOF*, *l.c.*), seeks to avoid this objection by reading 'Gilgal' for the historically impossible 'Gath,' and (with We.) 'Bekaim' (see BOCHIM) for the very questionable *bikô* (בָּכוֹ) in 1 1 *a*. Hitz. (*KGH*, *ad loc.*), followed by Mühlau in *HWB*^(2), suggests a '*Afrā* that Yâḳût (*Mo'jam el buldân*, *sub voc.*) mentions as 'a castle in Palestine near Jerusalem.' Ges.-Bu. suggests doubtfully *Betogabra* (Eleutheropolis, *Beit Jibrîn*), which, however, represents an Aram. בית גברא (Nestle in *ZDPV* 1 224 *f.*). Perhaps the name of the Wâdy el-Ghafr running E. not far S. of Mirâsh may be an echo of Micah's Aphrah. So GASm. (*Twelve Proph.* 1 384), Che. (*JQR*, July 1898). The ל in לעפרה seems to be a scribe's error (as if 'in the dust').

APHSES (אֲפֵצֵץ), 1 Ch. 24 15† AV, RV HAPPIZZEZ.

APIS (חָפִ; Ο ΑΠΙΣ [BℵVQ] ΟΠ. [Q* (supers.r. α Q^1 *fort*)]; Egyptian *Hapi*), the bull-god of Memphis (see EGYPT, § 13). Though the name of this famous deity does not occur in EV, he is mentioned once in OT (Jer. 46 15*a*). ☪ alone has preserved the true division of the words: for נִסְחַף, AV 'are swept away' (similarly RV Pesh. Vg.), we must read נָס חָפִ, 'hath fled Apis' (ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις). Cp König, *Syntax* 210, n. 1. For an analogous correction see Giesebrecht and Cornill *ad loc.* and cp CALF, GOLDEN, § 2.

APOCALYPSE, THE (BOOK OF REVELATION). According to the best authorities (ℵCA [in subscription] 28, 82, 93, 95; Tr. WH), the title runs

1. Name, and place in NT.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ Ἰω[ν]ου. Later MSS add του θεολογου (Q and many cursives), or του αποστολου, or του απ. και ευαγγελιστου (P vg. cod., Syr. h).

In almost all MSS the Apocalypse now holds the last place in the NT. The stichometry of Cod. Claromontanus (D, Paul) arranges as follows: Evang. Paul. Cath. Apoc. Act. (see Greg. *Prol.* 3 16; cp also what is said about the Evangeliaria, 175 and 368). In the Syriac version of the Apocalypse which has been edited by Gwynn, the book was preceded by the Fourth Gospel. The hiatus in Cod. D was perhaps originally occupied by the Apocalypse and Johannine Epistles (Bousset, *TLZ*, 1892), thus giving the order Evang., Apoc., Epp. Joh., Acts. All this perhaps indicates that the Apocalypse and the other Johannine writings were originally handed down together. In point of fact, Tertullian actually speaks of an 'instrumentum Johannis,' which consisted of Apoc. and 1 Jn. (*Ieiun.* 38, 39; *Pud.* 19; *Fuga* 9; *Praescr.* 33). Cp Rönsch, *Das neue Test. Testam.* 528.

The Book seems to be presupposed in two places in the Ignatian epistles. (*a*) *Ad Eph.* 15 3: ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί (ℵA read λαοί in Rev. 21 3) καὶ αὐτὸς ᾖ ἐν ἡμῖν θεός. (*b*) *Ad Philad.* 6 1: οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων (cp Rev. 3 12 *f.*, in the epistle to the church of Philadelphia).

2. External evidence: canonicity.

Andrew of Cæsarea, moreover, mentions Papias, amongst others, as bearing witness to the Apocalypse (ταυτῃ προμαρτυροῦντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον), and on Rev. 12 7 adduces (32 40 *ff.*, ed. Sylb. two observations taken verbatim from Papias. That Eusebius does not mention the testimony of Papias is doubtless to be accounted for by the historian's unfriendly attitude towards the book. Irenæus appeals in support of the traditional number 666 to 'elders' who had actually seen John. (In all probability we could reduce this testimony of the elders to that of Papias alone: Harnack, *Chron. der altchristl. Lit.* 1 333 *ff.*). We find a writer so early as Justin asserting the book to be apostolical (*Dial.* 81: παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ ἐν ἀποκ.) and canonical (*Apol.* 1 28: ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε). This early recognition of the Apocalypse as a canonical writing need not surprise us: the book itself puts forward a claim to this character (1 18 *ff.* 22 18).

In the second half of the second century we find the Apocalypse widely recognised.

3. 2nd Cent.

It is generally current (*a*) in Asia Minor, alike among Montanists, anti-Montanists (Apollonius; Euseb. *HE* v. 18 14), and mediating writers (Melito of Sardis; *ib.* iv. 26 2); and (*b*) in Gaul, both with Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.* ii. 22 5 *ff.* iii. 11 8 34 xi. 1 v. 30 1 3) and in the writing of the church of Lugdunum and Vienna (in Eus. *HE* v. 1 55). (*c*) In Africa, as already mentioned, Tertullian knows of an *instrumentum Johannis* to which both the Apocalypse and 1 Jn. belong; the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* shows acquaintance with it (cp *c.* 4 and 12). (*d*) In Egypt the *Judicium Petri* seems to know the book (Hilgenf. *N. Test. extra Can. Receptum* 101); (*e*) for Antioch, Bishop Theophilus (Eus. *HE* iv. 24 1) is our witness to the same effect; and (*f*) for Rome, the Muratorian Canon, (*g*) Clement of Alexandria (cites the Apocalypse (*Paed.* 2 10 [108]; *Strom.* 6 16 [146]), Origen is unaware of any reason ever [illegible] the book its apostolic origin (*in Jo.* v. [illegible]; cp Eus. *HE* vi. 25 9).

4. 3rd Cent.

The situation changes, however, in the third century. As early as in the second century Marcion had refused to recognise the book (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 4 [illegible]), and the so-called sect of the Alogi attributed both the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel to Cerinthus (Epiph. *Haer.* 51, Philastr. *Haer.* 60 Hippolytus; cp Iren. iii. 11 9)—probably on account of their own hostility to Montanism (after Irenæus; Th. [illegible], *Kritik* [illegible] 1 [illegible], Bousset, *Komm.* 16 *f.*)

This opposition by the Alogi was [illegible] by the Roman presbyter Caius, who, in his dispute with the Montanist Proclus,

also attributed the work to Cerinthus (Eus. *HE* iii. 28 f). From the refutation of Caius by Hippolytus (ἀνοφάλαια κατὰ Γαΐου, Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. 1 18, fragments in Gwynn, *Hermath.* ii 417-412; cp also the writing catalogued in the inscription on the throne: ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως) we learn that Caius directly took up and continued the criticism of the Alogi.

The criticism of Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus. *HE* vii. 25) was more moderate and more effective. He does not hold Cerinthus to have been the author of the Apocalypse, but conjectures that it must have been the work of some other John than the son of Zebedee, arguing from a comparison between the Apocalypse on the one hand and the Gospel and Epistles on the other as to style, language, and contents. The criticism of Dionysius was afterwards taken up by Eusebius, who was the first to provide a firm basis for the conjecture of Dionysius as to a second John by a reference to what Papias says of 'both' Johns (*HE* iii. 39) and inclines to class the Apocalypse with the spurious books, νόθοι (*HE* iii. 25 f).

Henceforward the view of Dionysius and Eusebius became the prevailing one in the Eastern Church.

5. Eastern Church. The book was recognised, indeed, by Methodius of Tyre (*Symp.* 1 5 6 8 4 *ff.*) and Pamphilus (*Apol.*, ed. de la Rue, 1 25 4 0), but on the other hand unrecognised by Cyril (*Catech.* 4 33-36), Greg. of Naz. (*Carm.* 33), the Synod of Laodicea (Can. 64, see Zahn, [illegible] 2 197 *ff.*), the *Apostolical Constitutions* (Can. 85, 1241; Zahn, 2 191 *ff.*), the *Iambics* of Seleucus (Zahn, 2 [illegible]). The Apocalypse is not mentioned by Theodore of Mopsuestia, or by Chrysostom (cp the προθεωρία of the Synopsis of Chrysostom, Zahn, 2 220), or by Theodoret. In the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus manipulated in Jerusalem (*circa* 850; Zahn, 2 238 236 *ff.*) it figures among the Antilegomena; in the list of the sixty canonical books it is not found, though it is again introduced into the *Synopsis* of Athanasius.

The unfavourable judgment of the Syrian church regarding it is very noteworthy.

6. Syrian Church. The *Doctrine of Addai* which, in the form in which we now have it, dates from about 400 A.D., recognises, as authoritative scripture, nothing beyond the four gospels (Diatessaron), the Pauline Epistles, and Acts. From the Peshitta it is wholly absent. Whether Ephraim recognises the Apocalypse as canonical is, to say the least, doubtful. The Greek works that pass under his name, being of uncertain authenticity, cannot here be taken into account, and thus the evidence that he did appears to rest mainly on a single passage (*Opera*, Assem. 2 232, cp Rev. 5 1-9).[1] In any case, the noteworthy fact remains that Ephraim cites the Apocalypse but little, and develops his apocalyptical ideas on lines supplied by other writings. Besides, the Syrian Church did not look upon the book with favour.[2] Jacob of Edessa (*ob.* 708) cites it (Ephraemi opera, ed. Assem. 1 192), and Bar Salib (*ob.* 1171), bishop of Mabug (Mabbōgh), comments on it (Gwynn, lxxxvii ci); but Bar-Hebræus (*ob.* 1286) holds it to be the work of Cerinthus or of the 'other' John (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* 2 15), and 'Ebed Ješu' (*ob.* 1318) omits it from his list of canonical scriptures. In an Armenian Canon also, by Mechitar of Aivirank (1290), the Apocalypse is reckoned among the Antilegomena.

Though the opposition to the Apocalypse was thus persistent in the Syrian Church, it gradually died away in the other Eastern provinces.

7. Rest of East. The book is acknowledged by Athanasius, Didymus, Cyr. Alex., Nilus, Isidore of Pelusium (Egypt),[3] Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Johannes Damascenus. Andrew, archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, wrote his commentary on it in the first half of the fifth century. He was not, however, followed in this until the ninth century, when Arethas, his successor in office, also undertook the task.

In the Western Church, on the other hand, the Apocalypse was accepted unanimously from the first.

8. West. Hippolytus (see above) defended and commented on it in a no longer extant work, and makes copious quotations from it in his Commentary on Daniel and in his *De Antichristo*.

Similarly, it is recognised by Lactantius (*Instit.* 2 2 7 1 5, epit. 42; cp 7 15 *ff.*), Hilary (*De Trin.* 6 20 43), Ambrose

[1] Gwynn, (*The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version*, Dublin-London, 1897, p. cii) cites also De Lamy, *Hymn.* 1 6 a passage which the present writer finds himself unable to accept as proof.

[2] Ephraim of Harkel, it is true, included it in his translation, as probably also (according to the latest researches of Gwynn) did Philoxenus of Mabug (Mabbōgh).

[3] See Fritzsche, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*[2], Bonn, 1825.

(*De Virg.* 14, *De Spiritu* 3 30), Rufinus (*Exp. in Symb.* [illegible]), on Novatus, Commodian, Arnobius, and others see Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*.

Augustine (in *Evang.-Joh.* 13 [illegible] *Epist.* 118, *Civ. Dei* 2 17) insists on the identity of the author of the Gospel with the writer of the Apocalypse.

The book was acknowledged at the synods of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). Early as the end of the third century it was commented on by Victorinus, bishop of Pettau (*ob.* 303 A.D.). He was followed by the Donatist Ticonius (before 380).

An exceptional position was taken up by Jerome, who, under eastern influence, relegated the Apocalypse to the second class of *scripturæ ecclesiasticæ* (*in Ps.* 149), as also afterwards by Philastrius, if it be indeed the case that the book was not mentioned in the Canon of his *De hæresibus* 87 *f.*

At a later date the capitulum Aquisgranense (*Corp. Jur. Germ.*, ed. Walter, ii. 177 *f.*, cap. 20), adopting the decision of the Synod of Laodicea, removed it from the Canon.

At the Reformation the view of Jerome was revived by Erasmus in his *Annotationes*. Luther's well-known

9. Since Reformation. adverse judgment, pronounced in his preface of 1522, rests more on a religious than on a scientific foundation. Subsequently he gradually modified his view in a sense more favourable to the book. In his translation, however, he indicated his unfavourable opinion so far at all events that he relegated James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse to the end of the NT without pagination. The last edition of the NT in this form appeared in 1689. Carlstadt (*Libellus de canonicis scripturis*, 1520), falling back on the criticism of Eusebius, classed the Apocalypse among the seven Antilegomena. The opposition to its reception lasted down to the following century, and disappeared only after the introduction of John Gerhard's cunningly devised distinction between canonical and deutero-canonical writings (*Loc. theol.* i. cap. 9, § 241). In the reformed churches the opposition disappeared much earlier—from the time of Calvin, indeed.

In the eighteenth century the question was again revived by Abauzit (*Discours hist. sur l'apoc.* (in *Œuvres diverses*, tom. i., 1770); Hermann Oeder (*Christlich freie Untersuch. üb. d. sogenannte Offenb. Joh.*, published by Semler, Halle, 1769), reverting to the view of Caius of Rome, attributed the book to Cerinthus. He was followed by Semler (*Freie Untersuch. des Canons*, 1772, and in many controversial writings), and by Corrodi (*Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, 1781). The best defence was that of Hartwig (*Apologie der Apok.*, 1780-83). Cp also the successive editions of J. D. Michaelis, *Einl. in die göttlichen Schriften* from 1750 onwards.

Our sources for the text are the following:—

10. Text: the material.[1] A. *Greek MSS.*—(1) Uncials. It exists in ℵAC (29-5 14 7 14-17 8 5-9 16 10 10-11 3 16 13-18 2 19 5-22 21 being absent), also in P Porfirianus Chiovensis sæc. 9 Act. Cath. Paul. Apoc. (16 12-17 1 19 12-20 2 22 6-21 being absent), and Q (in Tischendorf, B), Vaticanus 2066 sæc. 8 (Apoc. only). (2) Cursives. Of these some seventy are more or less collated. Their readings can be learned from the editions and collations of Mill-Küster (1710), Bengel (1734 *ff.*), Wetstein (1751-2), Matthæi (1782-88, tom. x.), Alter (1786-87), Birch (*Variæ Lectt. in Apok.*, 1800), Scholz (30-36), Scrivener (*Codex Augiensis*, 1859; *Adversaria Critica*, '93), Tregelles (57-72), Tischendorf (ed. octava major), Alford (*New Test.* vol. iv. ed. 2, 1885), Simcox (*J. Phil.* 22 285 *ff.*).

B. *Versions.* (1) Latin.—A good deal is now known about these. The oldest stage is represented by h (Floriacensis), the Latin translation used by Primasius (Haussleiter, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Kanons* iv.); the intermediate, by the Gigas Holmensis (ed. Belsheim, '79). The best material for the Vulgate is brought together in Lachmann (*Nov. Test.*) and Tischendorf. (2) Syriac.—A valuable Syriac rendering (probably the Philoxeniana) has recently been edited by Gwynn (*op. cit.*).[2] The Syriac MSS hitherto known (see Gwynn, xiv. *ff.*) represent the text of Thomas of Harkel. (3) Importance also attaches to the still comparatively unexplored Coptic (see Goussen, *Stud. Theol.* i.) (4) Armenian versions.

C. *Church Fathers.*—There are copious citations in Origen, Hippolytus (especially in the *De Antichristo* and in the com-

[1] See F. Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde*, 1861; B. Weiss, 'Die Joh.-Apok.' in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 7 1 (91); W. Bousset, 'Text-kritische Studien' in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 11 4 (94); Gwynn, *The Apocalypse in a Syriac version*, 1897; on which see T. K. Abbot, 'Syriac version of Apocalypse,' *Hermathena*, 1897, pp. 27-35.

[2] See last note.

mentary on Daniel; see the new edition by Bonwetsch and Achelis), and Cyprian. The text used by Andrew of Cæsarea and Arethas in their commentaries has not as yet been fully established. The text of the lost commentary of Tyconius can best be inferred from the excerpt from the commentary on the Pseudo-Augustinian Homilies.

In the attempt to classify this material, it is best to begin with the class which shows the latest text, namely

11. Classification. (1) the Arethas class, so named because a text of this order was used by Arethas for his Commentary (hence also many cursives of this class are, strictly speaking, MSS of Arethas Commentary). To this class belong Q and about forty of the more or less known cursives. The material being so defective, separate groups within the class can hardly be distinguished.

Tentatively and under great reservation a few may here be suggested. (i.) 9, 11, 47, 94 are somewhat closely connected (cp *TLZ*, 1894, p. 654); (ii.) 2, 8, (14), 149, 151, 29, 90, 97 (the last three very intimately related), 94; (iii.) 6, 11, 11, (47); (iv.) lastly, Q, 14, 92 show near affinities. The group formed by (iv.) 7, 16, 39, 45, 69 represents the transition-stage between this class (1) and the next class (2).

The second class, which we can detach from the rest as having arisen out of a later redaction, is (2) the so-called 'Andrew' class, the class to which the text used by Andrew (see above, § 10 C) in his commentary belonged. It falls into several clearly distinguishable subordinate groups.

(i.) The group consisting of 18, 68, 87, 121 stands almost entirely apart, presenting as it does many points of contact with the Arethas group, but often showing a very peculiar text. The following three groups, on the other hand, are very closely akin: (ii.) 1, 12, 36, 81, 152 (often with a very archaic Ecclesiastical substratum); (iii.) 28, 71, 79, 85, 93; (iv.) 10, 17, 37, 49, [72], 91, 96, [154], 161. Cod. Parhamensis of being ranked with this class as a whole, but cannot be associated with any of the subordinate groups in particular.

Of all the known cursives there are only (3) four [26], 38, 51, 95 which it has hitherto been found impossible to classify; they show an ancient text.

It is as yet difficult to detect the 'Western text' (see TEXT) in the Apocalypse; but this will gradually become practicable as in recent years new sources have become accessible.

12. 'Western Text.'

Witnesses to it, though only in part, are the uncial ℵ (with a very erratic and only partially ancient text), the text of Primasius (identical, according to Haussleiter's investigations, with Cyprian's text, and thus old African), the fragments of *h*, the Gigas Holmensis *g*, Ticonius (containing a later development of the text), and the Syriac version edited by Gwynn and designated Σ (the later version known as S shows a text almost everywhere corrected in accordance with the Arethas class, though in many places also it contains a text older than Σ). To the same category belong also, in part, the group 1, 12, 36, 81, 152 (cp Gwynn, xlii.) and, finally, the Armenian version, which, unfortunately, is not yet sufficiently known (note the coincidence of 1, 12, 36, etc. with arm.; cp Bousset, *Komm.* 178). A further point worthy of notice is the close affinity of ℵ, Σ (S), and Origen; one might almost venture to constitute ℵΣOr. a distinct group in the Western Class (Bousset, 181; Gwynn, lv *ff.*).

Distinctly the best text is that presented by ACVg. The Vulgate furnishes us with good means of controlling the text of AC, especially where the two differ or where C is wanting. AVg., therefore, where C is wanting, often constitutes a stronger testimony than that of all the other witnesses together.

13. Result.

'I John am he that heard and saw these things' (22 8 RV; cp 1 9). Are we to identify this John with the apostle, the son of Zebedee? Within the book itself 21 14 might fairly be urged against this identification. The first to submit the question to thorough discussion was Dionysius of Alexandria (see above, § 4); in the result he attributed the book to another John. This theory of a second John, adopted also by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39 1 *ff.*), was revived in the present century (Bleek, Ewald, de Wette, Lücke, Neander, Düsterdieck, etc.), the John of the Apocalypse being usually in this case identified with the 'Presbyter' of Eus. *HE* iii. 39 1 *ff.* Criticism advanced another step, however, and declared the whole tradition regarding the presence of John the Apostle (and Evangelist) in Asia Minor to have been due to a confusion between his name and that of the presbyter.

14. Professed author.

See Nagel, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1864; Luthardt, *Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes*, 1840; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 1867, i. 101 *ff.*; Scholten, *De Ep. Johannes in Kleinasien*, 1872; Weiffenbach, *Das Papias-Fragment*, 1874; Thoma, *Das Johannesevang.*, 1882; and others. Against Scholten cp Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1876 77, also Zahn, *Einl. in das N. T.* ii. p. 649 *ff.*; *Acta Joannis* clv., Steitz, *St. Kr.*, 1868, p. 529 *ff.*, Herzog, *RE* ii. 78 *ff.*

The question is difficult. The first remark to be made upon it is that the assumption that there were two Johns in Asia Minor, the apostle and the presbyter, finds only slender support in ancient tradition. Whatever the interpretation we may put on the important testimony of Papias preserved by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39 1 *ff.*), it is at least certain that Papias speaks not of two Johns in Asia Minor, the apostle and the presbyter, but of one John, whom we are to look for as a near neighbour of Papias in space and time. Of a second John the second century and the first half of the third know nothing; he is unknown to Irenæus and to those who disputed the claims of the Fourth Gospel, to the Alogi and to Caius, to Tertullian, to Clement, and to Origen. Not till the time of Dionysius of Alexandria is reached do we find any indication of the sort (Eus. *HE* vii. 25 16). Even Dionysius alleges no other evidence than that in his day two graves of 'John' were shown.

15. Only one John in Asia Minor.

The inference he draws from this, that there must have been two Johns—is by no means a stringent one. It would not be less reasonable to suppose that in his day the precise burial-place of John was no longer known, or that the two μνήματα represented two distinct holy 'places' of John (so Jer. *de vir. ill.* 9: *duae memoriae*; Zahn, *Acta Jo.* clv). For this supposition, Eusebius has supplied a plausible basis by combining the statement of Papias about two Johns with the traditions mentioned by Dionysius about two graves of John at Ephesus.

If the assumption that there were two Johns in Asia Minor proves to be a baseless hypothesis, and its baselessness is shown by the fact, among other things, that the 'John' of Asia Minor is so often spoken of without distinguishing phrase of any kind, the question which next arises is as to whether this John was the apostle or the presbyter. At this point the important testimony of Papias turns the scale in favour of the presbyter. For his contemporary and the authority whom he quotes is—next to Aristion the 'presbyter' John (Eus. *HE* iii. 39 4); and Aristion and John are doubtless also to be identified with the πρεσβύτεροι who, according to Eus. *HE* iii. 39 3, Papias could still directly interrogate. The evidence of 2 Jn. and 3 Jn., claiming as they do to be written by the πρεσβύτερος, points in the same direction. Moreover, as has already been pointed out (§ 14), the Apocalypse apparently does not profess to have been written by the apostle. On the other side, it is true, we already find Justin (*Dial.* 81; see above, § 2) asserting the apostolic authorship. It is, however, noticeable that Irenæus—for whom the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse are all by one and the same author—speaks of John as an apostle only in indefinite expressions similar to those in Gal. 1 19, but elsewhere invariably designates him as 'disciple' (μαθητής); see Bousset, *op. cit.* 41 *f.* Further, Irenæus, who calls Papias a disciple of John, also speaks of Polycarp as his fellow disciple (Eus. *HE* iii. 39 1). If we refuse to suppose that Irenæus had already confounded the presbyter with the apostle, then the great teacher of Polycarp was also, according to Irenæus, the 'presbyter' John; for Papias was a disciple of the presbyter. In the Muratorian canon, further, John is called simply 'discipulus,' whereas Andrew is 'apostolus.' The testimony also of Polycrates in the letter to Victor (ap. Eus. *HE* v. 24 2 *ff.*) claims particular attention in this connection. Here, in a passage where everything turns upon the exact titles of the persons named, Polycrates designates

16. Viz., the Presbyter.

the ἀποκοίαι of Asia Minor (2) the apostle Philip and his daughters; (3) John who lay on the bosom of the Lord, μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, who was buried in Ephesus, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον φορῶν; (4) the bishops Polycarp, Thrasean Sagaris, Papirius, Melito. Polycrates thus designates, plainly with intention, the author of the Fourth Gospel also as teacher and witness, not as apostle. Indeed, the traditions relating to the Fourth Gospel become much more intelligible if we are able to assume that the witness (Jn. 19 35, ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν) is not the Galilean apostle, the son of Zebedee, but another John, a Jerusalemite (Bousset, *Komm.* 43 *f.*). It may also be remarked that the statement of the Fourth Gospel that the beloved disciple was 'known unto the high priest' (18 15) harmonises well with the account of Polycrates, 'who became priest' (ὃς ἱερεὺς ἐγενήθη; cp Luther, H. Delff, *St. Kr.*, 1891, and Harnack, *Chron.* 1 [illegible]).

The inference from all this would seem to be that the (one) John of Asia Minor, who was the presbyter, was one who had seen Jesus indeed, but not one of the number of the apostles. The John of the Apocalypse (cp the superscription of the Epistles) is thus the presbyter.

Whether the Apocalypse was really written by him is another question. In order to understand how the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel could both be attributed to the same disciple of the Lord, it is necessary to remove them both a little distance away from him. John is only the eye-witness, not the author of the Fourth Gospel; so, in like manner, in the Apocalypse we may have here and there a passage that can be traced to him, but the book as a whole is not from his pen. Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse all come from the same school. They show also at various points linguistic affinities (Bousset, *Komm.* 202 *ff.*). They had, moreover, at first the same history: they were, it would seem, the favourite writings of Montanism, and were all three alike rejected by the opponents of Montanism, the Alogi.

17. Real authorship.[1]

The earliest Greek fathers who in any measure attempted to interpret the Apocalypse were Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Methodius.

Irenæus, in *Adv. Haer.* 5; Hippolytus, in Comm. on Daniel, in ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, in extant fragments of the πεφάλαια κατὰ Γαΐου, and in a no longer extant commentary on the book itself; Methodius in *Symp.* 1 5 6 8 9 *ff.* Of continuous commentaries originating in the Greek Church we possess only those of Andrew (5th cent., ed. Sylburg) and of Arethas (9th cent., ed. Cramer).

18. Interpretation:[2] Greek and Latin.

The oldest Latin commentary, which contains much interesting and ancient material (for example, the interpretation of various passages referring to Nero), is that of Victorinus of Pettau (*ob.* 303). We possess it only in Jerome's redaction. Haussleiter is about to edit it in its original form. An exceedingly powerful influence was exercised also by the commentary of Ticonius.

This work is, unfortunately, no longer extant, and has to be reconstructed, as far as the materials allow, from the pseudo-Augustinian *Homilia in Apoc.* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 35), the commentary of Primasius (*ob.* 586, ed. princ. Basel, 1544), and (mainly) the great compilations of Beat. (written in 776 (*ed. Apocalypsis*, ed. Florez, 1770)).[3]

In his commentary, written before 380 A.D. wholly from the Donatistic point of view, Ticonius consistently carries out the spiritualistic interpretation. In his explanation of the millennium passage (20 1 *ff.*) he was afterwards followed by Augustine (Bousset, *Komm.* 65). Down to the Middle Ages the exegesis of the book continued to follow that of Ticonius, if his Donatistic tendency be left out of account.

[1] Cp also below, §§ 28 and 34.
[2] See Lücke, *Einl. in die Offenbarung* (2), 1853; Holtzmann, *HK* 4; Bousset, *Komm.* 21 *ff.*
[3] See Haussleiter, *ZKW* 7 [illegible] *ff.*; Bousset, *Komm.* [illegible]

Apart from the works already named, mention must be made of those of Cassiodorus (*Complexiones in apocalypsin*, fol. Scipio Maffei, Florence, 1721), Beda (*ob.* 735; *expositio apocalypsis* in *Bibliotb. Patr.* Cologne, vol. v.), and Ambrosius Autbertus (*Expositio in Apocalypsin*, in *Bibl. Patr.*, Col., v. [illegible]). Dependent, in turn, on Ansbertus are Alcuin (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 100) and Haymo of Halberstadt (841) (Migne, 117), while Walafried Strabo's (*Glossa ordinaria* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 114) depends on Haymo. To the same class of interpretations belong the performances of Anselm of Laon (Migne, 162), Bruno of Asti (Migne, 165), Rupert of Deutz (Migne, 169), Richard of St. Victor (Migne, 196), Albertus Magnus (*Opera*, Lyons, 1651, tom. 12), a commentary, probably in reality of Waldensian origin, which is found, in two revisions, among the works of Thomas Aquinas (*Opera*, Parma, 1869; tom. [illegible] *ff.* 512 *ff.*), Hugh of St. Caro (1263) (*Postilla*), Dionysius Carthusius (14th cent.). Thus the single commentary of Ticonius continued to dominate the whole interpretation of the Apocalypse until far down in the Middle Ages.

The next interpreter of the Apocalypse to attain wide influence was Joachim of Floris (soon after 1194).

19. Joachim.

Expositio . . . abbatis Joachim in Apoc., Venice, 1527). With him the fantastic futurist (chiliastic) interpretation began to gain the upper hand over the formerly prevalent spiritualising view. He was at the same time the originator of a 'recapitulation theory,' which he carried out into the minutest details. As 'the Age of the Spirit,' associated with a mendicant order that was to appear, occupied a central place in the prophecies of Joachim, he naturally became the prophet of the 'opposition' Franciscans, and his works were accepted by them as sacred. It was in these circles accordingly that his immediate followers in the interpretation of the Apocalypse arose (Peter Johannes Olivæ, Ubertino de Casale, Serafinus de Fermo, Annius Viterbiensis, Petrus Galatinus); but his influence spread very widely in the course of succeeding centuries, and a continuous chain of many links connects the name of Joachim with that of Cocceius, who, in virtue of his *Cogitationes de apoc. S. Joannis* (Leyden, 1005), is usually taken as the typical representative of the modern 'recapitulation theory.'

Among the precursors of the Reformation the anti-Roman and anti-papal interpretation began to

20. Reformation.

ground, although the only methodical exposition of this view that can be named is the commentary (by John Purvey?), emanating from Wycliffite[1] circles, and written in 1390, which was afterwards published by Luther (*Commentarius in Apoc. ante centum ann. editus*, 1530).

The founder of a consistently elaborated universal historical interpretation was Nicolaus de Lyra (1320, in the *Postilla*, which have been often printed). He is followed by certain Catholic interpreters, and, in method at least, by Luther, who in his preface of 1534 (Walch., 11) gives, in the space of a few pages, a clever but fantastic interpretation of the entire book, in which, as might be expected, the anti-papal interest holds a central place. Luther's view continued to dominate the interpretation of the Apocalypse within the Lutheran church.

21. Universal-historical method.

It prevailed from the time of Lucas Osiander (*Biblioram sacrorum*, pars 3) down to that of J. Gerhard (*Annot. in Apoc. Joh.*, Jena, 1643) and Abr. Calovius (*Biblia Vet. Test. Illustr.*, tom. 2 Frankfort, 1672, a learned work with valuable introductory material and persistent polemic against Hugo Grotius; for a list of the commentaries dependent on Luther see Bousset, *Komm.* 94). None of the works mentioned was of any value for the real interpretation of the book; the Apocalypse and its interpretation, so far as the Lutheran Church in Germany is concerned, became merely the arena for anti-Catholic polemics.

Within this period the number of works produced in Germany and Switzerland on this subject without dependence on the dominant Lutheran view was very small.

Among them the *Diligens atque erudita enarratio libri Apoc. Joh.*, 1547, of Theodor Bibliander is worthy of notice; in it we can discern in the treatment of chaps. 12 and 13 the

[1] Cp Wycliffe's own interpretation of Rev. 20 in the *Dialogus* in Neander, *KG* 6 428.

beginnings of an interpretation looking to contemporary conditions. Bullinger (*Praelectiones*, 1557) and Junius (*Praelectiones in Apocalypsin*, 1591) have a good deal in common with [illegible]

Wildest and most fantastic of all are the English commentaries of this period.

Among them may be named Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms (*A Plain Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John*, 1593), Thomas Brightman (*Apocalypsis apocalypsis*, Frankfort, 1609), Joseph Mede (*Clavis Apocalypsis*, 1627), and Sir Isaac Newton (*Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, 1733; dependent upon Mede).

The history of a strictly scientific interpretation of the Apocalypse, on the other hand, must be held to begin with the learned commentaries of French and Spanish Catholic theologians. They meet the Protestant polemic with considerable and indeed often astounding erudition and grasp; look to the point of view of the earlier Church Fathers, lay the foundations of a cautious and for the most part purely eschatological interpretation.

23. Scientific.

In this connection the works of Franciscus Ribeira (1578), Blasius Viegas (1601? cp also Bellarmino, *De Summo Pontifice*, lib. tert. De Antichristo), Benedictus Pereyra (1606?), and Cornelius a Lapide (1626) are well worthy of mention.

Conspicuous above them all is the *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi* of Ludovicus ab Alcazar. That work was the first to carry out consistently the idea that the Apocalypse in its earlier part is directed against Judaism and in its second against Paganism, so that in chapters 12 ff. we read of the first persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire, and in ch. 19 of the final conversion of that Empire. He thus presents us with the first serious attempt to arrive at a historical and psychological understanding of the book.

The idea worked out by Alcazar had already been expressed by Hentenius in the preface to his edition of Arethas (*Novum commentarius*, ed. Morellus et Hentenius 2), and by Salmeron (*Opera*, 12, Cologne, 1604, 'In sacram Jo. Apoc. praeludia'). It ought to be added here that the explanation of the wounded head as referring to Nero Redivivus is found (for the first time since Victorinus) in the commentary of the Jesuit Juan Mariana. It was from the Jesuits that Protestant science first learned how to work this field.

Grotius (*Annot. ad NT*, Paris, 1664), who is so often spoken of as the founder of scientific exegesis, is, in his remarks on the Apocalypse at any rate, entirely dependent on Alcazar, whose interpretation, indeed, he has not improved by the details assuming references to universal history and contemporary events which he has introduced into it.

Grotius in turn was followed by Hammond (cp the Latin editions of Clericus, tom. I, Amsterdam, 1698, and Clericus's notes to Hammond), Bossuet (1683), and Hervæus (1684). In Holland and Germany the fantastic school of interpretation continued to flourish for some time longer, prominent representatives being, in Holland, Vitringa, with his profoundly learned ἀνάκρισις ἀποκαλύψεως (1705; dependent on Mede), and his many followers, and in Germany, Bengel, with his commentary (1740-46-58) and sixty practical discourses on the Apocalypse. Much greater sobriety is shown by Joh. Marck in his *In Apoc. Comm.* 1695, with its copious exegetical material and valuable introduction; also by a group of eschatological interpreters in which are included Eleonora Peters (1696), Antonius Driessen (1717), and Joachim Lange (*Apokalyptisches Lustwort*, 1720).

In the eighteenth century, although Aubert de Verse (*La clef de l'apocalypse*, 1703) followed the lines laid down by Grotius, Hammond, and Bossuet, the interpretation founded on allusions to contemporary events gained the ascendency, and in a very narrow form. At this period it took for the most part the very unfortunate course of endeavouring to treat the whole of the Apocalypse, after the analogy of Mt. 24, as a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem.

23. Since 18th century.

In this category must be placed the expositions of Abauzit (*Essai sur l'Apoc.*, 1731), Hardeiß (1741), Wetstein (*Libellus ad crisin atque ductum Apocalypseos NT*, ed. Semler, 1766), Harenberg (1759), Hartwig (cp § 9), and, finally, Zullig (1834).

On the other hand, we find much that is rightly said in Semler's notes to Wetstein in Corrodi's *Gesch. des Chiliasmus*. And a return was made to the essential general principles of Alcazar by Herrenschneider

(*Inaugural diss.*, Strassburg, 1786) and by [illegible] (*Commentarius*, 1791). Even those objects of [illegible] interpretation that looks to universal [illegible] still persisted in showing the traces in Alcazar's work were now stripped away, and thus a provisional resting place was reached.

This stage is seen in the works of Bleek (*Vorl.*, 1862; *Beiträge*, 1846; *Erklärung*, published by H. [illegible] 1875), Ewald (*Comm.*, 1828, *Die Johann. Schriften*, 2, 1862), De Wette (*Kurze Erklärung*, 1848-49, 4), Luthardt (*Vorlesungen über die Offenbarung*, 1861, 2), Volkmar (1862), and also, for the most part, Düsterdieck (1864).

In all these works the interpretation from contemporary history is consistently carried out. All set forth from the decisive observation that in chap. 11 the preservation of the temple is predicted, and all, accordingly, date the book from before 70 A.D. Further, they all rightly recognise that the main drift of the Apocalypse is directed against Rome; all, too (except Düsterdieck), recognise Nero Redivivus in the wounded head. In particular, since the discovery, independently arrived at by Fritzsche, Benary, and Reuss that the number 666 is intended for Νερων Καισαρ, the reference to Nero has become the *cheval de bronze* of all exegesis of the Apocalypse.

In passing, mention may be made of some works which, although following obsolete exegetical methods, are not without a scientific value: Hengstenberg (1849-51, 61), Ebrard (1851), Elliot (*Horae Apocalypticae*, 1851; unvollst.), Auberlen (1854), Christian (1861), Luthardt (1861), Alford (*New Testament*, 4), Kliefoth (1874), Beck (*Erkl. von Offenb.*, posth.; revision) and Kübel (in Strack-Zöckler's *HA*, 1888; this takes a mediating course between the standpoints of contemporary history and eschatology). See also Zahn, 'Apokalyptische Studien,' in *ZKW L.*, 1885-86.

The interpretation of the Apocalypse entered on a new phase[1] as soon as doubts arose regarding the unity of the work and the method of literary criticism to be applied. The conjecture, which had been hazarded more than once,[2] that the Apocalypse was really a composite work was again taken up independently (1) by Daniel Volter, at the suggestion of Weizsäcker, whose pupil he was. The particular hypothesis put forth by Volter[3] as to the composition of the Apocalypse may for convenience be called the redaction hypothesis (*Uebearbeitungs-Hypothese*).

24. Question of unity.

25. Redaction hypothesis.

He assumed in his first sketch, which he has not substantially modified, a fundamental text (*Grundschrift*) consisting (apart from single verses) of 1 1-4 4-8 7 1-8 8f. 14 1-7 15 19 1-4 14 14-20 19 10 dating from the sixties, and an appendix 10 1-11 13 17, dating from 68-70 A.D. This underwent three (or rather four) redactions, of which the latest was in 140 A.D. or, at all events, later than 120.

The work of Volter is based on a few happy observations. For example, he saw that 14 14-20 really forms the close of an apocalypse, recognised the divergence between 7 1-8 and 7 9-17, the true character of 10 1-11 13, and so forth. Nevertheless, broadly, Volter's performance gave the student an impression of excessive arbitrariness, and was rejected on almost every hand.

Against the first edition see Harnack, *LLZ*, 1882, Dec.; Holtzmann, *ZWT*, 1882; Warfield, *Presb. Rev.* 1884, p. 203; against the second edition, Jülicher, *GGA*, 1886, pp. 25-32; Zahn, *ZKWL*, 1886.

The question was next taken up from an entirely different side (2) by F. Vischer (Die Offenb. Joh. eine jüdische Schrift in christlicher Bearbeitung: *Texte u. Unters.*, 1886, 2nd ed. 1895), the result being a lively and fruitful discussion. Vischer believed himself to have discovered that the ruling chapters (11 f.) of the Apocalypse can be understood only on the as-

[1] In connection with what follows see Holtzmann, *HT*, 1891; Bousset, *Die Offb. Joh. u. Korinthe*, 1894; A. Meyer, *Theol. Rundschau*, 1897, 1898; Hetze [illegible]

[2] Cp Grotius, Hammond, Vogel (Comm. vii. *De Apoc. Joh.* 1811-1816), Bleek (*Verl. theol. Zeitschr.* 2 244 f.); he afterwards changed his view in *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1846, p. 81; *Vorl.* 1875, p. 225 ff.).

[3] *Die Entstehung der Apoc.*, Leipzig and Gotha, 1885; *Die Offb. Joh.*, 1887, pp. 253 ff. 608 ff.; *Prot. KZ*, 1887, p. 32 f.; *Das Problem der Apoc.*, 1893.

umption of a Jewish origin. As he nevertheless continued to be convinced of the essential unity of the book, he inferred that in the form in which we now have it it is *a Christian redaction of a Jewish writing*. To the Christian redactor, besides isolated expressions, he attributed the following passages: 1-3 5 9-14 7 9-17 12 11 13 5 f. 14 1-5 11-13 15 3 16 15 17 14 19 9 10 1 f. 20 4-6 21 8 22 [illegible]

[illegible] able to arise found wide acceptance. Among those who [illegible] their acceptance of his main thesis were Schmiedel (*Die Offb. des Joh.*, 18[illegible]; "Apokalyptische Studien"); [illegible] (*Theol. Lit.*, 1887, p. 28 f.; Menegoz in *Rev. de théol. et de philos.*, 1887, p. 106; Krüger in *GGA*, 1887, pp. 26-35; Simcox in *Expositor*, 1887, p. 428 f. On the other hand, Volter (*Die Offenb. Joh. in ihrer ursprungl. Gestalt*, 1886), Beyschlag (*SK*, 1889), and Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1890) declared themselves against it.

Although it must be cordially acknowledged that to Vischer belongs the honour of having first raised the question in its entirety, it must be said that he was not successful in his attempt to solve it. He has neither proved the Jewish character of chap. 11 f. nor [illegible] his fundamental thesis regarding the unity of the book. We shall be doing him no injustice if we classify him among those who uphold the 'redaction' hypothesis.

26. Sources hypothesis.

The earliest exponent of the 'sources' hypothesis (*Quellen Hypothese*), which has lately come into competition with the redaction hypothesis, was Weyland, who wrote almost contemporaneously with Vischer (*TL*, 1886, pp. 454-470; and *Onzeer king en Compilatie-hypothesen betreffende de Openb. van J.*, 1888). Weyland finds in the Apocalypse two Jewish sources (א and ב) which have been worked over by a Christian redactor.

א corresponds, roughly, to Volter's primary document; ב to the first and second of Volter's redactors (in Volter's Appendix א and ב are separated). Weyland's Christian redactor corresponds in a general way with Vischer's redactor. In 1894 Rauch (*Die Offb. des J.*) signified his adherence to Weyland.

Against both the hypotheses we have just described serious and far-reaching objections present themselves.

27. Objections.

Against the 'sources' hypothesis must be urged, in substance, the linguistic unity of the book (see below, § 34); against the redaction theory it has to be observed (*a*) that the fundamental document made out by Volter and his followers (see above, § 25) has no special character of its own, inasmuch as all the really living and concrete passages occurring within it are attributed to the redactor; (*b*) that the disappearance of every trace of these numerous later redactions is remarkable.

From such considerations the necessity for a third way became apparent. This third way was first pointed out by Weizsäcker in his *Apostolic Age*.

28. Fragment hypothesis.

He rightly discerned in the Apocalyptist's thrice repeated number of seven the fixed plan of an author who wrote the Apocalypse as a whole, and gave to his work the character of a literary unity. Into this literary unity certain interpolations intrude with disturbing effect (7 1 9-17 11 1-13 12 1-11 12-17 13 17). Thus Weizsäcker arrived at his fragment hypothesis. According to him the Apocalypse is a literary unity proceeding from a single author, into which, however, apocalyptic fragments of various date have been introduced by the author himself. In the opinion of the present writer these are the lines along which the true solution of the problem is to be sought. All later investigators in this field have followed one or other of the three hypotheses just enumerated.

Oscar Holtzmann (*GVT* 258-264) assumes a Jewish groundwork into which again a still older source (13 14 6-13) has been worked in a Christian revision. Pfleiderer (*Urchristentum*, 1887, pp. 606-36) steers an eclectic course; Sabatier (*Les origines litteraires de l'apocalypse*, 1887) and Schoen (*L'origine de l'apoc.*, 1897) represent a combination of Weizsäcker and Vischer (regarding the Apocalypse as the work of a Christian author who has embodied Jewish fragments in his book).

A thoroughly elaborated 'sources' theory is that of Spitta (*Offenb. Joh.*, 1889). In diametrical opposition to Weizsäcker, he claims to see, in the thrice repeated series of seven, three sources.

29. Spitta.

These are (*a*) the seal source or Christian primitive Apocalypse U (Urapokalypse), written soon after 60 A.D. (practically, apart from the specifically Christian interpolations of the redactor, chaps. 1-6 and 7 9-17 8 1 19 9 to 22 5-21), (*b*) the trumpet source Jb, a Jewish writing (Judisch) of the reign of Caligula (7 1-8 8 10 1-7 11 15 12 13 14 1-11 16 1, 20 19 11-20 20 1-15 21 1-8); (*c*) the vials source Jp, from the time of Pompey (containing, approximately, the remainder of the book).

These three have been worked together into a collected whole by a Christian redactor. (The additions assigned to him by Spitta are of about the same extent as those assigned to him by Vischer.)

The sources theory was next carried to the utmost by P. Schmidt (*Anmerkungen über die Comp. der Offenb. Joh.*, 1891).

Erbes (*Die Offenb. Joh.*, 1901) in his separation of the literary sources agrees in the main with O. Holtzmann, but also maintains with Volter (whose hypothesis he simplifies) the thoroughly Christian character of the whole book. Bruston (*Les origines de l'apocalypse*, 1898) pursues a path of his own. Ménégoz (*Journal de théol. rel.*, 1 [1898] pp. 41-45) assumed two Jewish apocalypses and a Christian redactor.

The unity of the book is defended by certain scholars; [illegible] by E. Wei[illegible] (*Geschichte und Texte u. Untersuch.*, 8 [1901]), Bovon (*Revue de théol.*, [illegible] 1895, pp. [illegible] 162), Hirscht (*Die Offenb. des Joh.*, [illegible] 1895), and Bicin (*Ein. J.*, 1895-84). An extreme [illegible] is taken by H. Holtzmann (*Einl.*, 1892, *Zu Joh.*, [illegible]).

Finally, together new lines of investigation were opened up by Gunkel in his *Schöpferische und chaotische Urzeit* (1895). He controverted sharply and sometimes perhaps not altogether fairly, both the current methods of interpreting the Apocalypse (that which looks to contemporary history for a clue, and that which adheres to literary critical methods), and proposed to substitute for them, or at least to co-ordinate with them, a history of apocalyptic tradition. He insisted with emphasis upon the thesis that the (one) Apocalyptist was not himself the creator of his own representations, that his prophecies were only links in a long chain of tradition. In his investigation of this apocalyptic tradition he greatly enlarged the scope of the usual question 'Jewish or Christian?' by his endeavours to prove for chap. 12 a Babylonian origin, and in other places also (see below, § 40) to trace Babylonian influences in the book. Even if we grant that Gunkel has often overshot the mark, as, for example, when he refuses to recognise Nero in the beast and its number it is undeniable that his book marks the beginning of a new epoch in the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

30. Gunkel.

Stimulated by Gunkel, and accepting some of his results, Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des neuen Testaments, und der alten Kirche*, 1895) proceeded to illustrate Gunkel's method by applying it to a definite concrete example, investigating the entire tradition regarding Antichrist, and endeavouring to show that in this instance a stream of essentially uniform tradition can be traced from New Testament times right through the Middle Ages and beyond them. In his view the Apocalypse can be shown to be dependent in a series of passages, particularly in chap. 11, on this already ancient tradition regarding Antichrist.

31. Bousset.

This view has been controverted by E. Lohmeyer (*Theologische Arbeiten aus dem rheinischen wissenschaftlichen Predigerverein gewidmet*, Neue Folge, 1, Freiburg i. B., 1897), who, as against Bousset, argues for the contemporary [illegible] of the method in its most perverse form.

Finally, in the *Kritisch exegetisch. Kommentar* ('96), Bousset has sought to bring to a focus the results of the labours of previous workers. In his method of interpretation he follows Weizsäcker (fragment hypothesis), and therefore gives a continuous commentary, describing the character of each particular fragment in its own place. In his exegesis he has given special attention to

the indications of Gunkel, and to the result of his own researches on the subject of Antichrist.

To sum up the result of the labours of the last fifteen years upon the Apocalypse. It seems to be settled that

32. Results. the Apocalypse can no longer be regarded as a literary unity. Against such a view critics can find insuperable considerations.

[illegible] these is the [illegible] 7 1-8 and 7 9-17, as [illegible] 7 1 and 9 1 ff. [illegible] locations of the [illegible] ff. and 14 [illegible] of the connection [illegible] 10 11 [illegible] the prophecy beginning in 1 [illegible] 12, 13 [illegible] presupposes by [illegible] 17, the [illegible] 14 [illegible] is denied, [illegible] 14 [illegible] 17; the [illegible] that [illegible] 17 two [illegible] of the [illegible] hits [illegible] and the [illegible] character of chap. [illegible] 2.

Further, the chapters [illegible] not represent the same religious level. Chs. 7 [illegible] (cp. 9 [illegible]), with its particularistic character, is related in [illegible] with chaps. 1-3, and with 7 9-17; in 11 1 ff. the preservation of the temple is expected, whilst in 21 22 the new Jerusalem is to have [illegible].

Moreover, different parts of the book require different dates: chap. 11 1-2 must have been written before 70 A.D., cp. 17 (probably when Vespasian had already been emperor for some time; whilst the writing, as a whole, cannot, at the earliest, have been finished before the time of Domitian.

This result holds good notwithstanding Gunkel's warning against the overhasty efforts of criticism. That a variety of sources and older traditions have been worked over in the Apocalypse will not be denied even by the student who holds that it is no longer possible to [illegible] the sources.

It may seem doubtful whether a general character, date, and aim can be assigned to the Apocalypse,

33. Relative unity of structure. for, as has been seen, the work is not a literary unity. Still, if there be good ground for the critical conclusion indicated [illegible] the Apocalyptist is [illegible] an independent writer who has simply introduced various fragments into his *corpus apocalypticum* (Weizsäcker, Schön, Sabatier, Bousset), a relative unity has already been proved for the Apocalypse. This conclusion is confirmed, step by step, when the details of the book are examined.

The relative unity is shown (1) in the outward structure of the whole.

Four separate times do groups of seven occur (epistles, seals, trumpets, vials); will in these groups the prevailing distribution is 4 3 [illegible]. The delineations of judgment and its horrors are regularly followed by pictures of joy and heavenly bliss; cp. 7 11 14 19 11 15 19 1 [illegible]. Everywhere natural connections are employed in order to bind the separate parts together into one whole: cp. for example, 1 20 and 4 1, 5 1 and 14 10 8-7 11 11 13; also 19 2 14 8-9 11 16 5-12 ff.; also 18 19 7 8 21 [illegible].

(2) Further, the relative unity is shown clearly in the uniformity of the language throughout.

34. Of language and style. The following are the more important facts.[1] Throughout the entire book are found (*a*) strongly marked grammatical irregularities (anacoluthia and impossible constructions (*e.g.*, 1 5 ff. 12 7), and confusions of case, especially with following participles (1 4 10 2 13 [see the reading of ℵ] 20 3 12 5 11 ff. 6 1 7 4 9 ff. 8 9 9 14 10 6 11 1 14 6 12 14 16 12 17 8 18 12 ff. 19 6 20 2 21 27 [reading of ℵ]). In 1 11 and 14 14 (to take only one instance) the reading *υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου* cannot have been due to two separate persons.

(*b*) Hebraisms, especially the repetition of the demonstrative pronoun in the relative clause (3 8 7 2 9 13 12 20 8, cp. 12 [illegible] 17 9, also 2 7 17 26 3 12 21 6 4 21 6), and the Hebraistic *καί* (3 20 10 7 11 7).

(*c*) The *constructio ad sensum* is specially frequent (*e.g.*, 4 1 ff. 5 6 12 ff. 7 4 9 ff. 13 14 14 18 13 14 14 3 17 4 11 10 19 4 14); sometimes involving a plural predicate after a neuter plural subject (3 2 4 8 8 9 5 14 9 20 11 2 14 18 15 4 16 14 18 1 21 24). Less clearly attested is the simple ungrammatical confusion of gender (9 7 14 19 19 20 21 14 22 2; see the MSS.).

(*d*) Various other systematic peculiarities of idiom. For example, *προσκυνεῖν* governs the dative when the object is *θεός* (4 10 7 11 11 16 19 4 22 9, cp. 14 7) or *δράκων* (13 4), whilst, on the other hand, we have *προσκ. τὸ θηρίον, τὴν εἰκόνα*, 13 [4] 12 15 14 9 11 19 20 20 4 (in 16 2 also we should read *τὴν εἰκόνα* according to the readings of ℵ, which are wrongly given in the printed editions). The instrumental dative is extremely rare in the Apocalypse; its place is often taken by the construction with Hebraistic *ἐν*, or even (but rarely) with *διά* and the accusative (4 11 12 11 13 14). The vocative is rarely used (twice only: *κύριε*, 11 17; *οὐρανέ*, 18 20). After a neuter plural the predicate is usually also plural (1 19 8 11 15 4 16 20 [18 14] 20 12 21 4). The Apocalyptist, except in a very few cases, construes *ὁ καθήμενος ἐπί* with the accusative, *τὸν καθήμενον ἐπί* with the accusative, *τοῦ καθημένου ἐπί* with the genitive, *τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπί* with the dative; he writes *ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον*, but *ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων* (exception in 14 9), and *ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν* invariably (except in 12 1). He construes either *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* or *εἰς τὴν γῆν* (14 16, *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*), *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης* or *εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*. He invariably construes *γράφειν, ἵστασθαι ἐπί* with accusative (14 1 *γεγρ. ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων* and 10 8 *ἵσταται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* are the exceptions but only confirmations of other rules). Notewrthy, also, is the constant vacillation in tense between present and future, and, in descriptions, between present and aorist. The Apocalyptist uses the infinitive almost invariably in the aorist. Exceptions occur in the case of *βλέπειν*, of which he apparently never makes an aorist; also in 11 6 13 1 (?). On the other hand, following the rule that is customary elsewhere, he construes *μέλλειν* almost always with the present infinitive. The copula is often wanting, particularly in relative sentences (1 4 2 1 3 1; 9 11 20 10). A change in the use of [illegible] tive and [illegible] ly after *ἵνα* (*ὅπως* does [illegible] 19, but here [illegible] a certain regularity prevails. A quite extraordinary [illegible] in 12 14 and 14 13 (cp. Jn. 8 [illegible] 11 1). [illegible] particles the book displays an oppressive monotony: *καί* is predominant everywhere; only in the epistles to the seven churches is the style somewhat livelier.

The arrangement of the words is markedly Hebraistic. In choice of words it is remarkably so. The following characteristic phrases and turns of expression may be noted: *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ*; *ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*; *οἶνος τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς*; *ζῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*; *λίμνη τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου*; *φιάλαι γεμούσαι λαοῦ εθνη*; *βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς*; *βρονταὶ φωναὶ ἀστραπαὶ σεισμός*; *πηγαὶ ὑδάτων*; *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*; *ἀκολουθεῖν* and *ἀκολουθεῖν μετά*; *ὄνομα αὐτῷ*; *μετὰ ταῦτα*; *ἀληθινός*; *δοῦλος* (in a peculiar sense), *μαρτυρία, μαρτυρεῖν*; *δεικνύειν*; *νικᾶν*; *σφάττειν*; *σκηνοῦν*; *τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς*. Compare, further, the combinations in 6 15 11 13 13 16 19 5 18 20 12 (the formula *μικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι*); the beatitudes *μακάριος*; 1 3 14 13 16 15 19 9 20 6 22 7 14); the doxologies (1 [illegible] 4 11 5 9 11 7 7 12 16 5; 19 1 6); the formulæ introduced with *ὧδε* (13 10 18 11 17 9); *ἤλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ὀργῆς, ὥρα* etc., 6 17 11 18 14 7 15 18 16 19 [illegible]).

The general style of the Apocalypse is monotonously diffuse: article and preposition are almost always repeated when there are more substantives than one, as also is the governing word before the governed. Whole clauses are gone back upon and repeated in the negative; Hebrew parallelism is not uncommon.

We are now at last able to form a tolerably clear conception of the personality, the time, the circum-

35. Date. stances, and the literary aims of the apocalyptist who planned the Apocalypse, as a whole, in the form in which we now have it.

(*a*) The Apocalyptist writes at a time in which violent persecutions have already broken out; indeed they are beginning to become, so to say, epidemic.

Of the seven churches, four (Ephesus, Pergamum, Smyrna, Philadelphia) are passing through such times of trial. The martyrs already form a distinct class in the general body of believers. They are destined to have part in the first resurrection before the thousand-years reign begins (20 4 ff. cp. 7 9 ff.). The seer beholds them under the altar (6 9 ff.). All through the book this time of struggle is kept in mind (13 1 14 9 ff. 15 1 ff. 16 6 17 6 18 20-24).

(*b*) The Apocalyptist predicts a still mightier and more strenuous struggle.

In this struggle the predestinated number of martyrs is to be fulfilled (6 9 ff.). Philadelphia is to be preserved in this last great tribulation (3 10; cp. the *μεγάλη θλῖψις* of 7 14). This time is not far off; the martyrs who have already suffered are bidden endure only a little longer (6 11). Therefore, 'Blessed are they that die in the Lord from henceforth' (*ἀπ' ἄρτι*; 14 13).

(*c*) His struggle turns, and will in the future turn, upon the worship of the beast. That this beast is in one sense or another the Roman Empire, or connected with it, is admitted on all hands. It is important, however, to consider the grounds on which the Apocalypse opposes Rome. Rome's horrible deed is not, as might perhaps be guessed, the destruction of Jerusalem, not yet in the first instance, at least, the Neronian persecution, but the worship of the beast—*i.e.*, Caesar-worship (cp. 13 14 9 ff. 15 2 ff. 16 2 ff. 19 11 ff. 20 4 [illegible] cp. Mommsen [illegible]). What the

[1] A justification of these results in detail will be found in the Author's Commentary on this book (Introd. pp. 18-208). In some cases, where the reading adopted is less strongly attested, the citations are in brackets.

book predicts is the great conflict about to break out all over the world between Christianity on the one hand and the Roman Empire (with the Roman state religion, the worship of the emperors) on the other (cp ANTICHRIST, § 7).

(d) This great battle will begin with the return of Nero Redivivus.

In common with the rest of the men of his day, the Apocalyptist shares the popular expectation of the coming again of that emperor. Nero is (13 3 12 14) the head that was wounded to death and afterwards healed. He is only 'as it were' (ὡς) slain, like the lamb (5 6). For as the latter continues to live on in heaven, so does Nero prolong a shadowy existence in hell. Out of the abyss (17 8) he will again return, and as Roman Emperor demand adoration. Then will be the days of the great fatal struggle. Hence the name of the beast is 666 = *i.e.*, נרון קסר (cp ANTICHRIST, § 15).

(e) Thus the date of the Apocalypse admits of being approximately determined. The end of the first century is already sufficiently indicated by the fact that the Apocalyptist expects the return of Nero from hell (Th. Zahn, 'Apocal. Stud.' in *ZKWL*, 1885, pp. 501-76, 1886, pp. 337-52 393-405; see below, § 45). The following consideration points to the same inference. Behind the Apocalyptist in point of time there already lies a great persecution. He himself is again living in times of persecution, and is expecting worse to come. Inasmuch as the former persecution must be assumed to be the Neronian, we are compelled to carry the Apocalypse down to the later period of Domitian. When we do so the fact that 11 1 *ff.* points to a time before the destruction of Jerusalem need not cause us any misgiving: doubtless the passage comes from an earlier source. On the other side we should be able to fix an inferior limit for the date, could it be shown that the epistles were already known to Ignatius (see above, § 2). The date thus indicated—the close of the first century—was in point of fact the date at which, it would seem, the general persecutions of the Christians, turning substantially on the rendering of divine honour to the emperor, first broke out (see CHRISTIAN, § 6). The Apocalypse, as we now have it, presupposes conditions very similar to those which we meet in the well-known correspondence between Pliny and Trajan. In this it is not implied that the Apocalypse could not have been written some ten years or more earlier.

In the conclusion just indicated we find ourselves in agreement with the best attested tradition as to the date of the writing of the Apocalypse.

According to Irenæus (v. 30 2; cp v. 20 7), the Apocalypse was 'seen' at the close of Domitian's reign at Patmos, and therefore, of course, to say the least, not written earlier (cp Vict. Pettau. *Comm.* on Apoc. 10 11; Eus. *HE* iii. 18 1-3; Jer. *De vir. illus.* 9; Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2 31). A different tradition is met with, it is true—perhaps in Tertullian, who (*De præscr. Hær.* 36) mentions the martyrdom of John (by boiling oil—a death from which he was miraculously delivered), and his subsequent banishment, in connection with the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul (but see, on the other hand, *Scorpiace* 15). It is certain that at all events Jerome (*Adv. Jovin.* 1 26 [2 16]) understood Tertullian as assigning this martyrdom and banishment of John to the reign of Nero (cp Eus. *Dem. Evang.* 3; the superscription of the Syriac translation of the Apocalypse edited by Ludovicus de Dieu; the Gnostic *Acts of John*; Theophylact [who gives the date as thirty-two years after the Ascension; cp the notes of some of the Greek cursives of the Fourth Gospel: thirty years after the Ascension, under Domitian (!); Erbes, 48]). Finally, Epiphanius (*Hær.* 51 12 33) will have it that the book was written under Claudius. The same statement occurs in the Commentary of Apringius (upon whom see Bousset, *GGN*, 1895, p. 2), whence it found its way into that of Beatus (ed. Florez, 33).

The Apocalypse is distinguished from the apocalyptic literature of Judaism from the time of the book of Daniel onwards by the high prophetic consciousness which it displays.

36. Personality of Apocalyptist. The Apocalyptist as he stands at one of the turning-points of the world's history looks with a clear eye into the future and feels himself to be a prophet. He is a Christian of an especial type. For the prophets are servants of God in a peculiar sense (1 1 10 7 11 18 22 6 [cp 15 3]); the angels are the fellow-servants of the angels (22 9); other Christians are so only in so far as they follow the revelation of the prophet (22 9). God is master of the spirits of the prophets (22 6 cp 17 17 19 10). Hence the author directly claims for his work the rank of a sacred book. It is intended from the first to be publicly read (1 3); those who hear it and obey what is written therein are blessed (1 3 22 7), and whosoever adds to or takes away from it falls under the most grievous curse (22 18 *f.*). The frequent mention of the prophets along with the saints (*i.e.*, Christians in general) (see 11 18 16 6 18 20 24)—is a proof, not, as many critics have supposed, of the Jewish, but of the Christian, origin of the related passages. The Apocalypse in this respect was the forerunner of Montanism, and it is no matter for surprise that it was specially valued in Montanistic circles. It is also noteworthy that the Apocalyptist speaks to his own age and time. Whilst Daniel is represented as receiving, at the close of his vision, the command to seal the book for long, here in sharp contrast we read (22 10) 'Seal not up the words of the prophecy.' The Apocalyptist seems to have been a Jewish Christian of universalistic sympathies. For him the name of Jew is a name of honour (2 9 3 9); he seems to uphold a certain prerogative for the Jewish people (7 1-8 11 1-13 20 7 *f.*). He shows himself intimately familiar with the language of the OT.

Into the apocalyptic unity thus defined, isolated fragments have been introduced in a manner which can still be more or less clearly detected.

37. Details of criticism. Of these the more important at least must now be discussed, and some detailed account of the more noteworthy results of criticism given.

Of recent critics the majority (Vischer, Volter, Weyland, Pfleiderer, O. Holtzmann, Schmidt) regard the epistles to the seven churches (chaps.

38. Chaps. 1-6, 1-3) as having been originally separate from the rest of the book and as having been prefixed only after the Apocalypse had in other respects assumed its present form; but Spitta has shown good grounds for believing that chaps. 1-3 and 4-6 ought not to be separated, and (as against Vischer and others) has established for the whole of chaps. 4-6 that Christian character which unquestionably belongs to 5 6 *ff.* Thus Spitta takes chaps. 1-6 as a single original document (Christian primitive apocalypse = U').

He seeks to prove this by pointing out that there is a definite close at the end of 6, and a fresh beginning of a new apocalypse in 7 1 (so also P. Schmidt). But the sixth seal (6 12 *ff.*) does not represent the final catastrophe; it only pictures a great earthquake in the typical apocalyptic manner. In 6 15 *ff.* the end is still to come, and if, with Spitta, we pass on to 7 9-17 immediately after 6 17, any representation of the end of all things has completely disappeared from our reconstructed Apocalypse. In any case, it is impossible that one should fail to recognise an interpolated fragment in the short passage (6 9-11) relating to the fifth seal. We have an exact parallel to it in 4 Esd. 4 35 (cp also Æthiop. *Enoch* 47). And the tradition of 4 Esd. must be regarded as the original one. It speaks quite generally of a predestined number of the righteous which has to be fulfilled before the coming of the end, whilst in the Apocalypse the conception is applied to the predestined number of the martyrs—a modification which can be explained very easily from his general position (see above, § 35).

Spitta's view that 7 1-8 constitutes a fresh beginning, which has nothing to do with the preceding chapters,

39. Chap. 7 1-8, is certainly correct; but neither has the passage anything to do with that which follows it (7 9-17); as to this practically all critics are agreed. These facts, however, will not justify us in attributing 7 9-17 to the redactor (as do Volter, Vischer, Pfleiderer and Schmidt), nor yet in carrying out a system of deletions in chap. 7 (as do Erbes, Weyl, Rauch) until the two disparate sections have been brought into harmony. Our proper course is to recognise (cp also Spitta) in 7 1-8 an interpolated fragment—probably Jewish.

The sudden mention of the four winds, which are held by the angels and are nowhere in the preceding narrative let loose, points to this conclusion, as also does the introduction of the 144,000 Israelites of the twelve tribes—a number which in 14 1 *ff.* is interpreted in a sense inconsistent with the original intention.

Bousset has hazarded the conjecture that here we have a fragment of the Antichrist Legend

The next passage which presents special difficulties is 11 1-13. Here all critics are agreed in recognising a fragment interpolated between the sixth trumpet and the seventh (cp 9 11 and 11 14). Further, almost all critics agree in regarding chap. 10 as an introductory chapter connected with this fragment. On closer examination it is found, moreover, that 11 1-13 really consists of two smaller fragments: (*a*) 11 1 *f.*, a prediction of the preservation of the temple, written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and presenting points of contact with Lk. 21 24; (*b*) the prophecy relating to the beast and the two witnesses (11 3-13). This latter piece is of an extremely fragmentary and enigmatical character.

40. Chap. 11 1-13.

Certain matters are introduced without any preparation: the two witnesses, the beast from the abyss, the war of the beast with the witnesses, the peoples and tribes rejoicing over the death of these last. All these are *disjecta membra* which point to some larger connection.

In this passage, too, Bousset has sought to show that we have a fragment from the Antichrist legend.

In accordance with Jewish and primitive Christian anticipation the Antichrist is destined to appear as a God-defying ruler in Jerusalem, to lead the people astray and tyrannise over them, and to gather together a great army from all nations. Against him will arise the two prophets Elijah and Enoch, and Israelites to a definite number (7 1-8) will be converted. A great famine and drought will come. Then Antichrist will put to death the two witnesses, and the end will draw near. It is evident that here we have a coherent tradition, of which some fragments are preserved in chap. 11.

Chap. 12 is the most difficult in the book. It also falls into two sections, 12 1-12 and 12 13-17, and betrays itself as a foreign intrusion both by its unfamiliar character and by its strange and bizarre representations.

41. Chap. 12 1-17.

A. Dietrich (Abraxas) was the first who sought to trace in the chapter an adaptation of the myth of the birth of Apollo: he held the pregnant fugitive woman to be Leto, the dragon was the Python, the child (who in the original legend himself slew the Python, Michael being a later introduction) was Apollo. The water which in the Greek myth figured as a protecting power has here become auxiliary to the dragon.

Recently Gunkel, in his *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, has directed special attention to this chapter, and shown that an adequate understanding of it could be arrived at neither on the assumption of a Christian nor on that of a Jewish origin (Vischer, Weyland, Spitta)—that on either hypothesis there remains an intractable residuum, bearing a mythological character. Here, accordingly, as elsewhere in the Apocalypse (cp the seven angels, stars, candlesticks, torches [EV 'lamps'], eyes, pp. 294-302; the twenty-four elders, 302-8; Armageddon, 203 *f.*, and p. 325 n. 2; the number $3\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 266-70; also chaps. 13 and 17, 379 *ff.*), he found elements taken from Babylonian mythology, and in particular the myth of the birth of the sun-god Marduk and of the persecution of Marduk by the dragon Tiâmat. The difficulty in this construction of Gunkel's is that down to the present date it has been impossible to find in the Babylonian mythology any trace of the myth of the birth and persecution of the youthful sun-god. Bousset (*Apok.* 410 *f.*), however, has called attention to parallels with one chapter in Egyptian mythology (the myth of the birth of Horus).

In the result, there seems much probability in the supposition that chap. 12 embodies a myth of the birth of the sun-god and the persecution of the young child by the dragon, the deity of winter and of night. The Apocalyptist has changed the sun-god, however, into the **παῖς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός**, the persecutor into the devil, and the deliverance of the child into the resurrection (observe the incongruity of this adaptation). In this treatment of the material laid to his hand, he was not able to give full significance to the flight of the woman, which is so prominent a feature in the original myth. This is accordingly only briefly touched on in 12 6; but it receives copious and special treatment in the second half of the chapter (*vv.* 13-17). Hence the incongruity between 12 *f.* and 12 13 *ff.* which Weizsäcker grants.

What historical occurrence is intended by the flight of the woman in 12 13-17 is not quite clear. Usually the flight is taken as referring to circumstances connected with the destruction of Jerusalem either to the destruction and (in a sense) the deliverance of Judaism, or, better, to the flight of the primitive Christian church.

42. Chap. 12 13-17.

Erbes, who seeks to explain ch. 13 as referring to the Caligula period (see below), interprets the flight and deliverance of the woman in connection with the first persecution of Christians at Jerusalem, strangely taking *v.* 17, 'the remnant of her seed who hold the testimony of Jesus,' as pointing to the Jews (!) at the time of the Caligula persecution. Spitta actually takes the persecution of the woman as representing an occurrence in heaven. 'The remnant of the seed of the woman' represents, he thinks, the actual Israel as contrasted with the ideal pre-existent Jerusalem (Israel?). Others (Vischer) interpret the remnant as meaning believers as distinguished from the Messiah.

Chap. 13 also contains two passages of a peculiar character—those describing the first beast and the second. O. Holtzmann, Spitta, and Erbes were agreed in recognising here a Jewish (Holtzm., Sp.) or a Christian (Erb.) source dating from the time of Caligula. Independently of each other, they all (as had already been done by Th. Zahn) accepted the number 616 which is given in some MSS (C. 11 Irenaeus), instead of 666, and interpreted it as meaning Γαΐος Καισαρ. The beast demanding worship, whose image (εἰκών) is repeatedly spoken of, is in this view, the half-mad tyrant Caius Caligula, who in 39 A.D. ordered his procurator, Petronius, to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. Parallels to this prophecy belonging to the same date were found in Mt. 24 ('abomination of desolation') and in 2 Thess. 2. The 'wound' (πληγή) of the beast was interpreted by Spitta as meaning the sickness which befel Caligula towards the beginning of his reign. These conjectures are by no means impossible; but if they are accepted, certain important particulars in the chapter must be deleted—in particular, references to the wounded head of the beast. This and the number 666 (נרון קסר) show distinctly that (in its present form) the chapter was intended to be understood of the return of Nero Redivivus. Whether an older source dating from Caligula's time has here been worked over remains doubtful.

43. Chap. 13: the first beast.

As compared with this interpretation, the view which takes the wounded head to be Julius Cæsar (Gunkel, Bruston) has little to be said for it—since the number 666 in that case remains unexplained; nor can we reasonably interpret the death-wound to mean the interregnum of Galba-Otho-Vitellius, or refer the number to the Roman empire (Λατεῖνος, Düsterdieck; קיסר רומים, Ewald).

Still greater has been the perplexity of interpreters over the second beast. All attempts to make it out to be some definite personality have hitherto been unsuccessful. Bousset (*Comm. ad loc.*) upholds the view that it is in reality a modification of the older conception of Antichrist, who is here represented as serving the first beast, the Roman emperor, and perhaps is to be interpreted as signifying the Roman provincial priesthood, the active agency in promoting the worship of the emperor.

44. The second beast.

The objection usually urged against referring the passage to Nero—that the beast whose number is 666 cannot mean Nero the man; that it must mean the Roman empire—is not valid. To the Apocalyptist Nero Redivivus is at the same time the incarnation of all that is dreadful in the Roman empire. The number of the beast is the number of a man (cp 17 11, 'and the beast . . . is himself also an eighth' (καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν).

Chap. 17 is intimately connected with chap. 13, and this duplicate treatment of the same subject is in itself proof sufficient that the Apocalyptist had before him older prophecies which he has worked over more than once. In this chapter also the reference to the returning Nero is clear. Since Eichhorn, however, it has further been recognised on all hands (cp De Wette, Bleek, Lücke), and with justice, that the kings with whom the beast returns for the destruction of Rome are

45. Chap. 17.

the Parthians, whose satraps might already be regarded as independent kings (Mommsen, *Rom. Kaisergesch.* 5 521). Thus our present chapter also comes into a larger historical connection. As early as the year 69 A.D. a pseudo-Nero had raised commotions in Asia Minor and Greece (Tac. *Hist.* 2 8 *f.*; Dio Cassius, 64 9; Zonaras, 11 15); in the reign of Titus a second pseudo-Nero showed himself on the Euphrates (Zonaras, 11 18) and was acknowledged by the Parthian King Artabānus (Mommsen, 5 521). About 88 A.D. a third pseudo-Nero again made his appearance, also among the Parthians, and threatened the Roman empire (Suet. *Nero*, 50; Tac. *Hist.* 1 2). In this form we find the same expectation also in the fourth Sibylline book, written shortly after 70 A.D. (*Sibyll.* 4 119 *ff.* 137 *ff.*), and in the oldest portion of the fifth book, written about 74 A.D. (5 143 *ff.* 361 *ff.*); in the last passage it is associated with a denunciation of Babylon and a prophecy of the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Rev. 18 21); cp Zahn's exhaustive researches (as above, § 35). By both time and place our chapter (perhaps associated with the threatening utterance against Rome and the prophecy of a new Jerusalem) belongs to the same circle of expectations and predictions. It was doubtless written in Asia Minor; but the exact date is disputed.

According to 17 10 the Apocalyptist represents himself as writing under the sixth emperor, five having died and a seventh having yet to come, to be succeeded by the eighth, who is to be one of the seven (Nero). In reckoning, it is possible to begin either with Julius Cæsar or with Augustus, to count or not to count the interregnum of Galba-Otho-Vitellius, and finally to ask whether the passage was really written under the sixth emperor, and not, rather, as a *vaticinium ex eventu*, under the seventh or eighth. Thus interpreters have taken the sixth emperor to be now Nero (so all who hold the Apocalypse to have been written before 70 A.D.; also Völter), now Vespasian, and, conformably, take the chapter to have been written now under the last-named emperor, now under Titus (the seventh; Weyland) or Domitian, who is then taken, on rationalising lines, as Nero Redivivus (Erbes).

The parallels cited above appear to render the reign of Vespasian the most probable date. The writer—probably a Christian—expected after Vespasian a short reign for his successor also. The tradition was that seven Roman emperors were destined to reign. Thereafter Nero was to come back with the Parthians, and, in alliance with these, to take vengeance on Rome, the bloody persecutor of the Christians (17 6; 'with the blood of the saints'; the words 'with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus' appear to be a gloss). The denunciation of Rome (chap. 18) connects itself very well with this prophecy (see *Sibyll.* 5).

It is further to be noted that chap. 17 has already, in the form in which we now have it, undergone redaction. On the one hand, Nero is simply the eighth ruler who was one of the seven; on the other, he is the beast who comes up from the abyss. On the one hand, he wages war along with the Parthians against Rome; on the other, he wages war along with the kings of the earth against the lamb. In this redacted form (17 8 12-14 or 15; cp also Völter) Nero is designated as the dread spectre of the time of the end who comes back from hell. Now, we find the same expectation in chap. 13, where Nero is plainly represented as dead (ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, 'as though it had been smitten unto death') and as counterpart (Wiederspiel) of the lamb that had been slain and is to come again. This mode of representing Nero probably comes from the latest redactor. Parallels to it can be found in the later portions of the fifth book of the Sibyllines (33 *f.* 215-26), and in the eighth book (1-215).

The legend of Nero Redivivus first arose towards the end of the century, a full generation after Nero's death, when he could no longer well be supposed to be still alive among the Parthians (cp Zahn, as above). Its reception into the Apocalypse supplies one of the elements for determining the date of the book.

Chap. 16 12 *ff.* (the sixth and seventh vials) also must have originally belonged to chap. 17. In this passage the angel pours out his vial upon the Euphrates, 'that the way may be made ready for the kings from the east' (cp 9 13 *ff.*, with its reference to the angels bound and loosed at the Euphrates; on which, see Iselin in *Theol. Z. aus der*

46. Various fragments.

Schweiz, 1887, as above, § 25). The representation of the gathering of the kings at Armageddon (Har-Magedon) in this passage is noteworthy; it is not very intelligible, as we read of no mountain of Megiddo, but only of a plain (but see ARMAGEDDON). It recalls the ancient accounts of battles of the gods upon the mountains (Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 263 *ff.* 389 n. 2).

Chap. 14 14-20 also appears to be an ancient fragment. It thus early sets forth a final judgment by the Son of Man. The passage, however, is so very fragmentary that it is hardly possible for us to make out what its original character may have been (cp the expression 'without the city' in 14 20). Bousset has sought to explain it by reference to the Antichrist legend.

Fragments of older date seem to have been introduced into the account of the chaining of the dragon, the millennium, the irruption of Gog and Magog (20 1-10; cp 20 9, παρεμβολὴ τῶν ἁγίων, πόλις ἠγαπημένη, and Æthiop. *Enoch* 56, *Sibyll.* 3 319-422). The description of the binding and loosing of Satan recalls the Persian legend of the chaining of the dragon Azi Dahak on Mt. Demavend. Finally, a continuous piece—perhaps of Jewish origin (see 21 24 26 22 2)—lies before us in the description of the new Jerusalem, 21 9-22 5.

We ought to compare Tob. 13 16 *ff.*, Ps. Salom. 17 21 *ff.*, *Sibyll.* 5 247-85, 414-33, and the Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elijah*, edited by M. Buttenwieser, 65-67. In this last-named Jewish source also we find the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven.

To summarise the results of the foregoing analysis: With the conclusion of the epistles to the seven churches (chaps. 1-3) the Apocalypse, properly so called, begins. Here the first six seals succeed one another uninterruptedly, till the interpolated fragment in 7 1-8 is reached. As a pendant to this fragment, with its distinctly Jewish character, the Apocalyptist proleptically introduces in 7 9-17 a picture of the blessedness of believers from every nation who have come out of the great tribulation. Now follow the seventh seal and, arising out of this, the seven trumpets (chaps. 8-11). Between the sixth and the seventh trumpets the passage 10 1-11 13 has been interpolated. In chap. 10 the Apocalyptist indicates to some extent what the 'disposition' of the remainder of the book is to be (cp 10 11). It is to be observed that in chaps. 9 *ff.*, in addition to the distribution under seven trumpets, the Apocalyptist has attempted a second under three woes. The first woe answers to the fifth trumpet; the second, the mention of which might have been expected after the sixth trumpet, does not come up until 11 14, after the great interpolation has been reached. The third great woe (which is not expressly named by the Apocalyptist) is doubtless indicated in 12 12. It is hardly likely that we have here a redaction from an older source. Before, then, he comes to the culmination of his prophecy, in chap. 13, the Apocalyptist casts his glance backwards in chap. 12. Borrowing the imagery of an ancient sun-myth, he depicts the birth, persecution, and rescue of the Saviour, and afterwards the persecution of the Church. In chap. 13 he goes on to foretell the coming final struggle, the last great and decisive battle between the faithful ones and the beast who demands adoration. For him the supreme crisis of this struggle still lies in the future, when Nero Redivivus is to appear. In the bright picture which he prophetically introduces at 14 5 by way of contrast to chap. 13, he adapts and modifies 7 1-8. 11 6-13 is intended to effect the transition to what follows. 14 14-20 is a smaller interpolated fragment. The great finale remains. The Apocalyptist still had to work in the prophecies contained in chap. 17 *f.*; by way of introduction to these, chap. 15 *f.* are given. Then follows, after an intermediate passage (19 1-10), the picture of the final judgment (19 11-21 8); after which we have a new fragment, 21 9-22 5, followed by the close.

47. Summary.

Literature.—The literature of the subject has been indicated in the course of the article.

W. B.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CONTENTS

Introductory (§§ 1-4).
Apocalypse of Baruch (§§ 5-17).
Enoch; Ethiopic (§§ 18-32), Slavonic (§§ 33-41).
Ascension of Isaiah (§§ 42-47).
Jubilees (§§ 48-55).
Assumption of Moses (§§ 59-67).
Testaments of xii. Patriarchs (§§ 68-76).
Psalms of Solomon (§§ 77-85).
Sibylline Oracles (§§ 86-98).

See APOCRYPHA for references to the following less important apocalypses.

Abraham (APOCRYPHA, § 1).
Adam (*ib.* § 10).
Bartholomew (*ib.* § 10 (1) e).
Elias (APOCRYPHA, § 21, no. 10).
Esdras (*ib.* § 21, no. 13).
Moses (*ib.* § 10 nos. 1[a], no. 2, and § 21, no. 12; also below, § 49).
Paul (APOCRYPHA, § 13).
Zephaniah (*ib.* § 21, no. 1).

1. Synopsis of Article.

INTRODUCTORY: The objects and nature of apocalyptic literature (§§ 1-4).

I. APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH[1].—A composite work derived from at least five authors, written mainly in Palestine, if not in Jerusalem, by Pharisees *circ.* A.D. 50-90. Preserved only in Syriac (§§ 5-17).

II. Ethiopic BOOK OF ENOCH.—Written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic by at least five Assidean authors (200-64 B.C.) in Palestine. Part I. chaps. 1-36 earlier than 170 B.C. Part II. chaps. 83-90, 166-161 B.C. Part III. chaps. 91-104, 134-95 B.C. Part IV. (the Similitudes) chaps. 37-70, 1st c. B.C. Part V. (the Book of Celestial Physics) chaps. 72-78, 82, 79. Part VI. (Fragments of a lost Apocalypse of Noah) (§§ 18-32)[2].

III. Slavonic BOOK OF ENOCH, or THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH. Written by an Alexandrian Jew, mainly from pre-existing materials, about A.D. 1-50. Eclectic in character; preserved only in Slavonic (§§ 33-41).

IV. ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.—A composite work, written originally in Greek, partly by Jewish, partly by Christian authors, A.D. 1-100. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Lat. (§§ 42-47).

V. BOOK OF JUBILEES.—Written originally in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, probably 40-10 B.C. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Slavonic (§§ 48-55).

VI. ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—Written in Palestine, in Hebrew, 7-30 A.D., by a Pharisee. Preserved only in Latin (§§ 59-67).

VII. TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS.—A composite work written originally in Hebrew by two Jewish authors representing respectively the legalistic and the apocalyptic sides of Pharisaism, 130 B.C.-10 A.D., and interpolated by a succession of Christian writers from the close of the 1st century down to the 4th century A.D. Preserved in Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic versions (§§ 68-76).

VIII. PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Written originally in Hebrew, possibly in Jerusalem, by two or more Pharisees, 70-40 B.C. (§§ 77-85).

IX. SIBYLLINE ORACLES.—Written in Greek hexameters by Jewish and Christian authors, mainly by the latter—the earliest portions belonging to the 2nd century B.C., the latest not earlier than the 3rd century A.D. (§§ 86-98).

2. Problem.

INTRODUCTORY.—The object of apocalyptic literature in general was to solve the difficulties connected with a belief in God's righteousness and the suffering condition of his servants on earth. The righteousness of God postulated the temporal prosperity of the righteous, and this postulate was accepted and enforced by the Law. But while the continuous exposition of the Law in the post-exilic period confirmed the people in their monotheistic faith and intensified their hostility to heathenism, their expectations of material well-being, which likewise the Law had fostered, were repeatedly falsified, and a grave contradiction thus emerged between the old prophetic ideals and the actual experience of the nation, between the promises of God and the bondage and persecution which the people had daily to endure at the hands of their pagan oppressors. The difficulties arising from this conflict between promise and experience might be shortly resolved into two, which deal respectively with the position (1) of the righteous as a community, and (2) of the righteous man as an individual.

The OT prophets had concerned themselves chiefly with the former, and pointed in the main to the restoration (or 'resurrection') of Israel as a nation, and to Israel's ultimate possession of the earth as a reward of righteousness. Later, with the growing claims of the individual, and the acknowledgment of these in the religious and intellectual life, the second problem pressed itself irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers, and made it impossible for any conception of the divine rule and righteousness which did not render adequate satisfaction to the claims of the righteous individual to gain acceptance. Thus, in order to justify the righteousness of God, there was postulated not only the resurrection of the righteous nation but also the resurrection of the righteous individual. Apocalyptic literature, therefore, strove to show that, in respect alike of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and the final consummation of all things; and thus, in fact, it presented a Semitic philosophy of religion (cp CHRONOLOGY OF OT, § 1). The righteous as a nation should yet possess the earth either in an eternal or in a temporary Messianic kingdom, and the destiny of the righteous individual should finally be determined according to his works. For, though he might perish untimely amid the world's disorders, he would not fail to attain through the resurrection the recompense that was due in the Messianic kingdom, or in heaven itself. The conceptions as to the duration and character of the risen life vary with each writer.

The writings that are treated of in the rest of this article, however, deal not only with the Messianic expectations but also with the exposition and application of the Law to the numberless circumstances of life. As Schürer has rightly observed, the two subjects with which Jewish thought and enthusiasm were concerned were the Law and the Messianic kingdom. These were, in fact, parallel developments of Pharisaism. As we have the former—its legalistic side—represented in the *Book of Jubilees*, so we have the latter—its apocalyptic and mystical side—set forth in the *Book of Enoch*. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* give expression to both sides of Pharisaism; but this book, as we shall see in the sequel, is really a composite work and springs from authors of different schools. The rest of the books here discussed belong mainly to the apocalyptic side of Pharisaism.

3. Method.

It is a characteristic of apocalyptic as distinguished from prophecy that the former trusts to the written, the latter to the spoken, word. This is due largely to the fact that the prophet addresses himself chiefly to the present and its concerns, and that, when he fixes his gaze on the future, his prophecy springs naturally from the circumstances of the present. The apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, almost wholly despairs of the present; his main interests are supramundane. He entertains no hope of arousing his contemporaries to faith and duty by direct and personal appeals. His pessimism and want of faith in the present thus naturally lead him to pseudonymous authorship, and so he approaches his countrymen with a writing which purports to be the work of some great figure in their history, such as Enoch, Moses, Daniel, or Baruch. The standpoint thus assumed is as skilfully preserved as the historical knowledge and conditions of the pseudonymous author admit, and the future of Israel is 'foretold' in a form enigmatical indeed

[1] On other Apocalypses of Baruch, see below, APOCRYPHA, § 21.

[2] On chaps. 71-80 *f.*, see § 30 *f.*

but generally intelligible. All precision ceases, however, when we come to the real author's own time; his predictions, thenceforward, are mere products of the religious imagination, and vary with each writer. In nearly every case, we should add, these books claim to be supernatural revelations given to the men by whose names they are designated.

It will not be amiss here to notice the gross misapprehension under which Jost, Graetz, and other Jewish writers laboured when they pronounced this literature to be destitute of value for the history of Jewish religion. To such statements it is a sufficient answer that from 200 B.C. to 70 A.D. the religious and political ideals that really shaped the history of Judaism found their expression in this literature. It is not in the discussions and logomachies of the Rabbinical schools that we are to look for the influences and aims that called forth some of the noblest patriotism and self-sacrifice the world has ever witnessed, and educated the nation for the destinies that waited it in the first century of our era, but in the apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic books which, beginning with Daniel, had a large share in preparing the most religious and ardent minds of Galilee and Judea; either to pass over into Christianity, or else to hurl themselves in fruitless efforts against the invincible might of Rome, and thereby all but annihilate their country and name. Still it is true that the work of the scribes and the exposition of the schools had opened the way for this new religious and literary development. The eschatological element, moreover, which later attained its full growth in such pseudepigraphical writings as Daniel, Enoch, Noah, etc., had already strongly asserted itself in later prophets such as Is. 24-27, Joel, Zech. 12-14. Not only the beginnings, therefore, but also a well-defined and developed type of this literature had already established itself in the OT. Its further developments were moulded, as we have pointed out above, by the necessities of the thought and by the historical exigencies of the time.

4. Historical value.

Cp Smend's introductory essay on Jewish apocalyptic, *ZATW* 5 222-250 (C 5); Schürer, *Hist.* 5 44 *ff.*; Hilgenfeld, *Die jüd. Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, 1857 (Einl.).

I. THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.—The Apocalypse of Baruch was for the first time made known to the modern world through a Latin version of Ceriani in 1866 (*Mon. Sacr.* i 273-98). This version was made from a Syriac MS of the sixth century, the text of which was also in due course published by the same scholar, in ordinary type in 1871, and in a photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. An examination of the Syriac version makes it clear that this version is a translation from the Greek. It occasionally transliterates Greek words, and the text is at times explicable only on the supposition that the wrong alternatives of two possible meanings of certain Greek words have been followed by the translator. Even before Ceriani's publication, however, we had some knowledge of the Apocalypse of Baruch; for chaps. 78-86, which contain Baruch's Epistle to the nine tribes and a half that were in captivity, had already appeared in Syriac and Latin, in the London and the Paris Polyglots, in Syriac alone in Lagarde's *Lib. Vet. Test. Apoc. Syr.* 1861, in Latin alone in Fabricius's *Cod. Pseudep. Vet. Test.*, and in English in Whiston's *Authentic Records*. Ceriani's Latin version was republished in Fritzsche's *Lib. Apoc. Vet. Test.* (71) in a slightly emended form; but, as the Syriac text was still inaccessible, Fritzsche's emendations are only guesses more or less fortunate—generally less.

5. The Syriac Baruch.

6. A translation from Greek.

We have just remarked that the Syriac version is a translation from the Greek. We shall now enumerate the reasons from which it appears that the Greek was in turn translated from a Hebrew original.

7. The original Hebrew.

(i.) The quotations from, or uncertain [illegible] of the OT agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against G. (ii.) Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text. Thus there are many instances of the familiar Hebrew idiom of the infinitive absolute combined with the finite verb, and many breaches of Syriac grammar in the Syriac text are probably to be explained as survivals of Hebrew order and Hebrew syntax. (iii.) Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. Thus, among many others, the passages 21 9, 11, 12, 24 2 and 62 7 can be restored by retranslation into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of δικαιοῦσθαι, and this in turn of צדק; but צדק also δίκαιος εἶναι, and this is the meaning required in the above passages, where the Greek translator erroneously adopted the commoner rendering. (iv.) Many *paronomasiæ* discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 44-53.

The final editor of this work assumes for literary purposes the person of Baruch, the son of Neriah.

8. Contents.

The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; the supposed time is the period immediately preceding and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldæans. Baruch, who begins by declaring that the word of the Lord came to him in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah,[1] speaks throughout in the first person. If we exclude the letter to the tribes in the captivity (chaps. 78-87), the work naturally divides itself into seven sections, separated from one another in all but one instance (*i.e.* after 35) by fasts which are, save at the end of the first section, of seven days' duration. The omission of a fast after chap. 35 may have been due either to an original oversight of the final editor or to the carelessness of a copyist.

That the text requires the insertion of such a fast is to be concluded on the following grounds: According to the scheme of the final editor events proceed in each section in a certain order (see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 9, 36, 61). Thus first we find a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or disclosure, and finally an announcement of this to an individual or to the people. Thus in the fifth section, 21-34, we have a seven-days' fast (21 1), a prayer (21 4-26), a revelation (22-30), and an address to the people (21 24). Then another seven-days' fast should ensue at the beginning of the sixth section (36-46). With the exception of this omission events follow in this section as in the others.

These sections are very unequal in length—1-5 6 57-8 9-12 4 12 5-20 21-35 36-46 47-77—a fact that, though it does not in itself make against unity of authorship, confirms the grounds afterwards to be adduced for regarding the work as composite.

1. The first section (1-5 6) opens with God's revelation to Baruch regarding the coming destruction of Jerusalem. But a time of prosperity should return.

2. According to the next section (5 7-9 1), Baruch fasts until the evening, and the Chaldæans encompass Jerusalem next day. In a vision Baruch sees the sacred vessels removed from the temple by angels and hidden in the earth till the last times. The angels next overthrow the walls, the enemy are admitted and the people carried away captive to Babylon.

3. In the third section (9 2-12 4), Baruch fasts seven days, and receives a divine command to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon; but Baruch himself is to remain at Jerusalem to receive God's revelations regarding the future. Baruch bewails Jerusalem and the lot of the survivors. 'Would that thou hadst ears, O earth, and that thou hadst a heart, O dust, that ye might go and announce in Sheol and say to the dead: "Blessed are ye more than we who live."'

4. In the fourth section (12 5-20), Baruch fasts for seven days, and is told by God that he will be preserved till the end of time in order to bear testimony against the nations that oppressed Zion. When Baruch complains of the prosperity of the wicked and the calamities of the righteous, God answers that the future world is made on account of the righteous—that the blessings of life are to be reckoned not by its length but by its quality and its end. Baruch is bidden not to publish this revelation (20 3).

5. In the fifth section (21 1-35), Baruch fasts, as usual, seven days. He deplores the bitterness of life, and supplicates God to bring about the promised end. God reminds him of his ignorance, and declares that the end, though close at hand, cannot arrive till the predestined number of men be fulfilled, and again, in answer to Baruch's question respecting the nature and the duration of the judgment of the ungodly, describes the coming time of tribulation, which will be divided into twelve parts. At its close the Messiah will be revealed. Baruch summons a meeting of the elders in the valley of Kedron, and announces to them the future glory of Zion.

6. The sixth section (36-46) should begin with the missing fast of seven days. Shortly after, he has a vision of a cedar and a vine

[1] We may observe here that Jeconiah reigned only three months, and was carried captive to Babylon [illegible] years before the fall of Jerusalem.

which symbolise the Roman power and the triumph of the Messiah. When Baruch asks who shall share in the future blessedness, God answers: 'To those who have believed there will be the blessedness that was spoken of aforetime.' Baruch then (44-47) calls together his first-born son and seven of the elders, tells them of his approaching end, and exhorts them to keep the law, for 'a wise man will not be wanting to Israel, nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.'

7. After a fast of seven days, Baruch in the seventh section (47-77) prays for Israel. The revelations that ensue tell of the coming tribulation. Baruch bewails the evil effects of Adam's fall. In answer to his request, he is instructed as to the nature of the resurrection bodies. Then, in a new *vision* (53-74), he sees a cloud ascending from the sea and covering the whole earth. There was lightning about its summit, and soon it began to discharge first black waters and then clear, and again black waters and then clear, and so on till there had been six black waters and six clear. . . . last it rained black waters, darker than had been all that were before. Thereupon, the lightning on the summit of the cloud flashed forth and healed the earth where the last waters had fallen, and twelve streams came up from the sea and became subject to that lightning. In the following chapters the vision is interpreted. The cloud is the world, and the twelve successive discharges of black waters and clear waters symbolise six evil periods and six good periods of the world's history. The eleventh period, symbolised by the black waters, pointed to the supposed present tribulation of Jerusalem. The rest of the interpretation follows in the future tense. The twelfth clear waters point to the renewed prosperity of Israel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The last black waters that were to flow pointed to troubles, earthquakes, and wars over the whole earth. Such as survived these were to fall by the hands of the Messiah. These blackest of all the waters were to be followed by clear waters, which symbolized the blessedness of the Messianic times. This Messianic period should form the boundary line between corruption and incorruption. 'That time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is incorruptible.' Baruch thanks God for the revelation vouchsafed. He is then informed of his coming departure from the earth, but is bidden first to go and instruct the people. He admonishes them to be faithful (chap. 77), and at their request sends two epistles, one to their brethren in Babylon ('the two and a half tribes') and the other to the tribes ('nine and a half') beyond the Euphrates. The latter is given in chaps. 78-87. It is probable that the lost letter to the two tribes and a half is identical with, or is the source of, the Greek Baruch 3:9-4:29. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 65-67.

9. Kabisch's theory of sources.

From the discovery of the Apocalypse of Baruch in 1866 till 1891, it was regarded by scholars as the work of one author. In the latter year, Kabisch, in an article entitled 'Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs' (*JPT*, 18:11, pp. 66-107), showed beyond the possibility of question that the work was composite and derived from at least three or four authors.

Thus he distinguishes 1-24:1, 30:2-34, 41-52, and 75-87 as the groundwork written after 70 A.D., since these chapters imply the destruction of the temple. He further observes that these parts are marked by a despair which no longer looked for peace and happiness in this world, but fixed its regards on the world of incorruption. In the other pieces of the book there is a strong faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks for the consummation of Messianic bliss in this life; and, as Kabisch rightly remarks, the temple is still standing. These other sections, however, are the work not of one writer but of three, being constituted as follows: a short Apoc. 24:3-29, the Vine and Cedar Vision 36-40, and the Cloud Vision 53-74: 30:1-32:2-4, 35 are due to the final editor.

This theory is certainly in the right direction. It is open, however, to unanswerable objections. There is no unity in the so-called groundwork.

10. Present writer's results.

When submitted to a detailed criticism, it exhibits a mass of conflicting conceptions and statements. The results of such a criticism may be stated briefly as follows (for the details see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 53-67). 1-26 31-35 41-52 75-87 were written after the fall of Jerusalem, and were derived from three or possibly four authors, B_1, B_2, B_3, and possibly S.

B_1: 1-9:1 13-41:7 45 *f.* 77-82 84-86 *f.*, written by a Pharisee who expected Jerusalem to be rebuilt and the dispersion to be brought back from exile.

B_2: 9-12 15-25 30:2-35 41 *f.* 44-8-15 47-52 75 *f.* 83, also by a Pharisee who looked for no national restoration, but only for the recompense of the righteous in heaven.

B_3: 85, written by a Jew in exile.

S: 10:6-12:4, possibly by a Sadducee, but perhaps to be assigned to B_2.

The [illegible] of the Jews, [illegible] the fall of Jerusalem. It consists of an Apocalypse 27-30:1 (= A_1) and the two Visions 36-40 (= A_2) and 53-74 (= A_3) already mentioned. All these different elements were combined by the final editor, to whom we owe also 1:2-26 28-4:1, 32, 4 and possibly some other additions.

Jewish religious thought basied itself, as also is observed, mainly with two subjects, the Messianic hope and the Law, and in proportion as the one became more prominent the other fell into the background. Now, the chapters written before 70 A.D. are mainly Messianic.

11. Critical criteria.

Chaps. 27-30:1 (A_1) and 36-40 (A_2) take account of the Law only indirectly, whereas in those written after that date the whole thought and hopes of the writers centre in the Law as their present mainstay and their source of future bliss. In chaps. 53-74 (A_3) again, the Messianic hope and the Law are equally emphasized. This writing marks the fusion of early Rabbinism and the popular Messianic expectation. (See Charles, *op. cit.*)

In the sections B_1 and B_2, on the other hand written *after* the fall of Jerusalem, we have two distinct outlooks as to the future. In B_1 the writer is still hopeful as to the future of Jerusalem.

It is delivered into the hands of its enemies indeed but only for a time (4:1-6). The consolation of Zion shall yet be accomplished (44:7-8:1-4), and the ten tribes brought back from their captivity (78:7-8:1-10). Moreover, the retribution of the Gentiles was close at hand (82:2-9), and in due time would arrive the judgment, in which God's justice and truth should exact their merited penalty (83:1-5).

In B_2, on the other hand (and if possible still more in B_3 = chap. 85), the writer is full of irremediable despair as to the earthly fortunes of Zion and its people in this world (10:6-11:1).

Destruction awaits this world of corruption (21:10-31:5). The righteous have nought to look for save the new world (44:12), the world that dies not (51:3), the world of incorruption (85:5). Only in the world to come will every man be recompensed in the resurrection according to his works (30:2), when the wicked shall go into torment and the righteous shall be made like unto the angels.

In the sections written before the fall of Jerusalem, the Messianic element, which was wanting in B_1, B_2, and B_3, is predominant. The three Apocalypses 27-30 (A_1) 36-40 (A_2) 53-74 (A_3) have many features in common—such as an optimistic outlook as to Israel's earthly prosperity, the earthly rule of the Messiah till the close of this world, and the material blessings of his kingdom. There are however good grounds for regarding them as of different authorship. The Messianic reign is to close with the final judgment. On the Eschatology of the book see, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 78.

12. Authorship.

All the elements of this book are distinctly Jewish. Its authors, as already observed, were Pharisees, full of confidence in the future glories of their nation, either in this world or in the next, notwithstanding their present humiliations. They entertain the most lofty conceptions as to the divine election and the absolute pre-eminence of their race.

It was on Israel's account that not only the present world (14:19) but also the coming world (15:7) was created. Israel is God's chosen people whose like is not on earth (3:20); the perpetual felicity of Israel lay in the fact that they had not mingled with the nations (48:24). The one law which they had received from the one God (48:24) could help and justify them (51:3); for so far as they kept its ordinances they could not fall (48:19); their works would save them (14:12-51:7). In due time also all nations should serve Israel; but such of them as had injured Israel should be given to the sword (72:6). The carnal sensuous nature of the Messiah and his kingdom (29:5-30:1-40 72-74) is essentially Pharisaic. There was to be a general resurrection (42:12); but apparently only Israel should be saved (51:4).

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1. It is possible to determine approximately the earlier limit of the composition of A, by means of what we might call the Enoch canon. It is this: *No early Jewish work that Enoch could have been written after* 70 A.D., *and the attribution of Enoch's words and achievements in a Jewish work other than Enoch's is a sign that it was written before the Christian preaching of Christianity.* This hostility to Enoch from 70 A.D. onwards (cp. Enoch) is to be traced to the [illegible] among the Christians as a Messianic prophet. For the [illegible] and illustrations of this canon see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 21-[illegible]. Now, in 78:2 of the Apocalypse many of the [illegible] are assigned to Moses. Hence A, was written after 70 A.D.

13. Affinity with 4 Esd. The affinities of Apoc. Bar. with 4 Esdras are so striking and so many that Ewald ascribed the two books to the same author. Though this view has not been accepted in later criticism, it will not be amiss to draw attention to these affinities. (1) The main features of the two books are similar. They have one and the same object—to deplore Israel's present calamities and awaken hope in the coming glories, temporal or spiritual, of their race.

In both the speaker is a notable figure of the time of the Babylonian captivity. In both there is a sevenfold division of the work, and an interval (as a rule, of seven days) between each two divisions; and, whereas in the one Ezra devotes forty days to the restoration of the scriptures, in the other Baruch is bidden to spend forty days in admonishing Israel before his departure from the earth.

(2) They have many doctrinal peculiarities in common. According to both, man is saved by his works (4 Esd. 7 77 8 33 9 7, *Ap. Bar.* 2 2 14 12 etc.); the world was created in behalf of Israel (4 Esd. 6 55 7 11 9 13, *Ap. Bar.* 14 19 15 7 etc.); man came not into the world of his own will (4 Esd. 8 5, *Ap. Bar.* 14 11 48 15); a predetermined number of men must be attained before the end (4 Esd. 4 36 *f.*, *Ap. Bar.* 23 4 5); God will visit his creation (4 Esd. 5 56 6 18 9 2, *Ap. Bar.* 20 2 24 4); Adam's sin was the cause of physical death (4 Esd. 3 7, *Ap. Bar.* 23 4); the souls of the good are kept safe in treasuries till the resurrection (4 Esd. 4 35-37 7 32 80 95, *Ap. Bar.* 30 2).

This list might have been indefinitely added to On the other hand, there are clear points of divergence.

14. Divergence from 4 Esd. In Esdras the Messianic reign is limited to 400 years (7 28 *f.*), whereas in Baruch this period is quite indeterminate. Again, in the former (7 29) the Messiah is to die, and the Messianic reign is to close with the death of all living things; whereas in the latter, according to 30, the Messiah is to return in glory to heaven at the close of his reign, and, according to 73 *f.*, this reign is to be eternal, though it is to belong partly to this world and partly to the next

Again, in Esdras the writer urges that God's people should be punished by God's own hands and not by the hands of their enemies (6 29 *f.*), for these have overthrown the altar and destroyed the temple, and made the holy place a desolation (10 21 *f.*). In Baruch it is described at length how the holy vessels were removed by angels and the walls of Jerusalem demolished by the same agency before the enemy drew nigh (6-8).

On the question of original sin likewise these two books are at variance. Whilst in Esdras the entire stream of physical and ethical death is traced to Adam (3 7 21 *f.* 4 30 7 48), and the guilt of his descendants minimised at the cost of their first parent (yet see 8 55-61), Baruch derives physical death indeed from Adam's transgression (17 3 23 4 54 15), but as to ethical death declares that "each man is the Adam of his own soul" (54 19; yet see 48 42).

It will be clear from the facts set forth above that the relations of these two apocalypses constitute a complex problem.

15. Real relation. If we attempt to deal with this problem on the supposition that each book is derived from a single author, no solution is possible; and the barrenness of criticism hitherto in this direction is due to this supposition of their unity. When, however, we come perforce to recognise their composite nature, we enter at the same time on the road that leads to the desired goal. For a provisional study of the relations between the various constituents of this apocalypse and 4 Esdras, the reader can consult Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 67-76. The results of this study tend to show that, whilst some of the constituents of 4 Esdras are older than the latest of Baruch, other constituents of Baruch are decidedly older than the remaining ones of 4 Esdras.

The points of contact between this apocalypse and the NT are many; but they are for the most part

16. Relation to NT. insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side. The thoughts and expressions in questions are explicable from pre-existing literature or as commonplaces of the time

Such, among many others, are Mt. 3 16, *Ap. Bar.* 22 1, Mt. 26 24, *Ap. Bar.* 10 6, Lk. 21 28, *Ap. Bar.* 28 7, Rom. 8 18, *Ap. Bar.* 15 8.

The following passages are of a different nature and postulate the dependence of our apocalypse on the NT, or possibly, in one or two of the instances, of both on a common source.

With Mt. 16 26, 'For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' cp *Ap. Bar.* 51 15, 'For what then have men lost their life, or for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?' Also with 1 Cor. 15 19, 'If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable,' cp *Apoc. Bar.* 21 13, 'For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.' Also with 1 Cor. 15 35, 'How are the dead raised and with what manner of body do they come?' cp 49 2, 'In what shape will those live who live in that day?' Cp also Lk 14 2 with *Ap. Bar.* 54 10, Jas. 1 2 with 52 6, and Rev. 4 6 with 51 2.

As the Apocalypse of Baruch was written between 50 and 100 A.D it furnishes us with the historical setting

17. Value. and background of many of the NT problems, and thereby enables us to estimate the contributions made in this respect by Christian thought. Thus, whereas, from 49 2-51, we see that the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection in 1 Cor. 15 35-50 was not an innovation but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism, it is clear, on the other hand, from the teaching of this book on Works and Justification, Forgiveness and Original Sin and Freewill (see Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 80-85), what a crying need there was for the Pauline dialectic, and what an immense gulf lay herein between Christian and Rabbinic teaching. No ancient book is so valuable in attesting the Jewish doctrine of that period.

Bibliography.—In addition to the works already mentioned, the reader may consult Langen, *De Apoc. Bar. comm.* ('67); Ew. *GGA* ('67), 1706-17, 1720; *Hist. of Israel*, 8 57 *f.*; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* ('77), 117-132; Kneucker, *Das Buch Bar.* ('79), 190-198; Di. 'Pseudep.' in *PRE*[2], 12 356-358; Deane, *Pseudep.* ('91), 130-162.

II. THE BOOK OF ENOCH.—By the exegesis of later times, the statement that Enoch walked with God (Gen.

18. Jewish view of Enoch. 5 24; see ENOCH) was taken to mean that he enjoyed superhuman privileges of intercourse with God, and in this intercourse received revelations as to the nature of the heavens and the earth, the present lot and the destinies of men and angels. It was natural, therefore, that an apocalyptic literature should seek the shelter and authority of his name in ages when such literature became current. In the *Book of Enoch* preserved in Ethiopic we have large fragments of this literature proceeding from a variety of Jewish writers in Palestine; and in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* preserved in Slavonic we have further portions of it, written originally by Hellenistic Jews in Egypt. To the latter book we shall return.

The Book of Enoch as translated into Ethiopic belongs to the last two centuries B.C. All the writers of

19. Book of Enoch: its fortunes. the NT were familiar with it and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production in the Epistle of Jude (14 *f.*) and as Scripture in that of Barnabas (*Ep.* 4 3 16 5). The authors of the *Secrets of Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Apoc. Bar.* and 4 Esd. laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book; but towards the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries it began to be discredited, and finally it fell under the ban of the Church. The latest references to it are to be found in Syncellus and Cedrenus, who have preserved large fragments of the Greek version. The book was then lost sight of till 1773, when two MSS of the Ethiopic version were discovered by Bruce. From one of these MSS Lawrence made the first modern translation of Enoch in 1821.

Enoch was originally written in Heb. or Aram., not in Greek. On this question the

20. Language. chief Apocalyptic scholars are practically agreed.

In the case of chaps. 1-32 this view is established beyond the reach of controversy; for in 10 6 19 18 8 27 2 28 1 29 1 31 1 of the Greek version we find that the translator transliterated Heb. or

Aram. words that were unintelligible to him. The same view as to the remaining chapters has been amply proved in the *Journ. As.* (67) 352-395 by Halévy, who regards the entire work as derived from a Hebrew original. See also Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 21-22, 325. Recently some Dutch and German scholars have argued for an Aram. original on the ground that three Aram. forms have been preserved in the Gizeh Greek fragment—*viz.* φουρα in 18[1], μανδοβαρα in 2[8] 1, and βαρδηρα in 29[1]. The first is, it is true, an Aram. form of [illegible] and the two latter of [illegible]. This argument, however, is inconclusive. We find αναρα in 2 K. 11[1] [BA] as a transliteration of [illegible], and Αμα in Neh. 2[14] [B8] as a transliteration of [illegible]; and there are other instances of the same peculiarity in [illegible]. Hence the presence of such Aramaisms in a text is not sufficient in itself to establish an Aram. original.

21. Versions Greek. The Heb. original was translated into Greek, and from Greek into Ethiopic and Latin. Of the Greek version chaps. 6[1-4] 8[4]-10[14] 15[3]-16[1] have come down to us through Syncellus (*circ.* 800 A.D.), and 89[42-49] through a Vatican MS.; but the most important fragment of this version—the Gizeh Greek fragment—was discovered only a few years ago by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published in 1892.

M. Lod's critical edition of this fragment, accompanied by a translation, appeared almost simultaneously, and next year it was edited by the present writer, with an exhaustive comparison of the Greek and Ethiopic versions of 1-32, as an Appendix to his work on *Enoch*. The other Greek fragments will be found in the same work. The Gizeh fragment was edited also by Dillmann (*SB.AW* [92], li.-liii. 1013-1034, 1079-1092). The fragments of the Greek Enoch with a critical apparatus are to be published in the 2nd edition of vol. iii. of Swete's Cambridge LXX.

22. Latin. The Latin version is wholly lost with the exception of 1[9], which is found in a treatise of the Pseudo-Cyprian entitled *Ad Novatianum* (see Ziemssen's *Gesch. d. Altchrl. Kanons*, 270-301), and 106[1-18], which owes its discovery to Mr. James, in an eighth-century MS in the British Museum. This fragment is critically edited in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 372-375; James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 146-15[illegible].

The Ethiopic version alone preserves the entire text, and that in a more ancient and trustworthy form than the other versions. It has fewer additions, fewer omissions, and fewer and less serious corruptions.

23. Ethiopic.

I. *The Ethiopic MSS.*—The Ethiopic MSS are comparatively many. There are about twenty scattered throughout the libraries of Europe; half of them are found in the British Museum. The best of all the known MSS is undoubtedly that designated *Orient. 485* in the Brit. Museum.

II. *Editions of the Ethiopic Text.*—Only two editions have appeared—that of Lawrence in 1838 from one MS, and that of Dillmann in 1851 from five MSS. Unhappily, these MSS were late and corrupt. The present writer hopes to issue a text based on the incomparably better MSS now accessible to scholars. Such a text is actually presupposed in his Translation and Commentary of 1893.

III. *Translations and Commentaries.*—Translations accompanied by Commentaries have been issued by Lawrence (21), Hoffmann (33-38), Dillmann (53), Schodde (82), and Charles (93). Of Dillmann's and Schodde's Translations the reader will find a short review in Charles (69).

IV. *Critical Inquiries.*—Some account of these will be found in Schürer, *Hist.* 70-73, and in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 9-21 309-311. Of the many works on this book the following deserve special mention here. Lücke, *Einl. in d. Offenb. des Joh.*[2] (52); Ew. *Abhandl. üb. d. äth. Buches Henokh Entstehung, Sinn, und Zusammensetzung* (55); Köstlin, 'Ueb. die Entsteh. d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, pp. 240-279 379-[illegible]); Hilgenfeld, *Die jüd. Apokalyptik* (57), 91-184; Geb. h. K. 'Die 70 Hirten des Buches Henoch und ihre Deutungen' (Merx's *Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des AT*, 1872, vol. ii. Heft 2 [illegible]); Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (77), 17-73; Lipsius in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* (80), 2 174-128; Schürer *Hist.* 5 54-73; Lawlor, *Journ. Phil.* vol. xxv. pp. 174-225 (97).

The Book of Enoch is a fragmentary survival of an entire literature that once circulated under his name. To this fact the plurality of books assigned to Enoch from the first may in some sense point: as, for instance, the expression 'books' in 104[12]; *Test. xii. Patr.* Jud. 18; Origen, *c. Celsum*, 5[54], and elsewhere. Of this literature five distinct fragments have been preserved in the five books into which the Book of Enoch is divided (1-36 37-71 72-82 83-90 91-108). These books were originally separate treatises; in later times they were collected and edited, but were much mutilated in the course of redaction and incorporation into a single work. In addition to this Enoch literature, the final editor of the book made use of a lost apocalypse, the Book of Noah (mentioned in Jubilees 10[13] 21[10]), from which he drew 6-11 (?) 17-19 30[1 2] 41[8-9] 43 *f.* 54[7] 55[2] 59 *f.* 65 69[26] 106 *f.* Another fragment of the Book of Noah has been embodied in the Book of Jubilees (see below, § 57).

25. Criticism. We have already remarked that in the five books into which the whole work is divided we have the writings of five different authors. Before we proceed to give some of the grounds for this statement, we shall give in merest outline the different constituents found in the work by the chief scholars who have studied the subject.

Lücke in his *Einl.* (see above, § 24) regards the book as consisting of two parts. The first part embraces 1-36 72-108, written at the beginning of the Maccabean revolt, or, according to his later view, in the reign of John Hyrcanus; the second consists of the Similitudes (37-71), and was written in the early days of Herod the Great. In the latter, however, there are some interpolations. Hofmann (J. Chr. K.) ascribes the entire work to a Christian author of the second century. In this view he was followed later by Weisse and Philippi. Hofmann deserves mention in this connection on the ground of his having been the first to give the correct interpretation of the seventy shepherds in 89 *f.* Ew. in his *Abhandl.* (see above, § 24) gives the following scheme:—Book I. (37-71) *circa* 144 B.C.; Book II. (1-16 81 1-4 82 91-105) *circa* 135 B.C.; Book III. (20 36 72-80) 106 *f.*) *circa* 125 B.C.; 108 later. Book IV., the Book of Noah (6 30-8 81-3 97 10 1-3 11 2*ab* 17-19 54 7-55 2 60 1-10 24 25 64-69 10), somewhat later than the preceding. Köstlin in his essay (see above, § 24), a contribution of great worth, arrives at the following analysis: the groundwork (1-16 21 36 72-105) *circa* 110 B.C.; the Similitudes (37-71 and 17-19) before 64 B.C.; Noachic fragments (54 7-55 2 60 65-69 25, possibly also 20 82 9-20 106 *f.*). 108 is an Essene addition. Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.*) regards the groundwork, consisting of 1-16 20-36 72-105, as written before 98 B.C.; and the remaining chapters as coming from the hand of a Christian Gnostic after the time of Saturninus. The interesting study of Tideman (*Thl.* [1875] 261-266), and the works of Lipsius, Schürer, Drummond, enumerated above (§ 24), and Schodde (*The Book of Enoch*, 1882) can only be mentioned here. As Dillmann changed his mind three times, and in each instance for the better, it will be enough to give his final analysis. The groundwork (1-36 72-105), in the time of John Hyrcanus; the Similitudes and 17-19, before 64 B.C.; the Noachic fragments (6 30-8 81-3 97 10 1 11 29 39 1 2*ab* 54 7-55 2 60 65-69 25 106 *f.*); 108 from a later hand.

We shall now proceed to discuss this question directly, and endeavour to carry the criticism of the book one further stage towards finality.

26. Results.

Disregarding the interpolations from the Book of Noah already mentioned as well as the closing chapter, we find that all critics are agreed in ascribing the Similitudes (37-70) to an authorship different from the rest. The remaining chapters (1-36 72-104) have been regarded by all critics except Ewald and Lipsius as proceeding from one and the same author; but these scholars, while differing from each other, have not persuaded any one but themselves as to the justness of their respective analyses. In their contention, however, as to the compositeness of these chapters they were undoubtedly right. This question has been gone into at length in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 55 *f.*, 187-189, 220 *f.*, 260-263, where grounds are given for believing that sections 1-36, 72-82, 83-90, and 91-104 are writings distinct as to authorship, system of thought, and date. We must now proceed to sketch briefly the various independent writings contained in the entire work, assigning to each its most probable date.

27. Chaps. 1-36. Part I., consisting of chaps. 1-36 (for the Noachic interpolations, see § 24), was written at latest before 170 B.C., and mainly from the prophetic standpoint of such chapters as Is. 65. This is, undoubtedly, the oldest part of the book, being anterior to 72-82, 83-90, 91-104, as it is [illegible] by the writers of these sections.

As 83-90 was written not later than 161 B.C., 1-36 must be some years earlier, and, as there is no allusion to the massacres

of Antiochus Epiphanes, the above date, 170, is the latest reasonable limit for its composition.

This book (*i.e.*, 1-36)—is the oldest piece of Jewish literature that teaches the general resurrection of Israel, describes Sheol according to the conception that prevails in the NT as opposed to that of the OT, or represents Gehenna as a final place of punishment (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 63). The problem of the author is to justify the ways of God to men.

The righteous will not suffer always (1 1). Sin is the cause of this suffering, and the sin of man is due to the lust of the angels the Watchers (9 6-9 to 10 8). Hence the Watchers, their companions, and their children, will be destroyed (10 4-10 12). Universal destruction will form the prelude to the first world-judgment, of which the Deluge will form the completion (10 1-3). Sin still prevailed after the Deluge, however, through the influence of the evil spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (16 1). These act with impunity till the final judgment. In the meantime character finds its recompense in some measure immediately after death (22). In the last judgment the Watchers, the demons, and all classes of Israelites with one exception, will receive their final award (1 2-22 13). This judgment is preceded by a general conversion of Israel (22). The wicked are cast into Gehenna (27 2); the earth is cleansed from sin (10 20-22); the Messianic kingdom is established, with Jerusalem as a centre (25 5); and God abides with men (25 7). The Gentiles are converted (10 21). The saints partake of the tree of life (25 4-6) and thereby enjoy immortal natures (5 9). As to what befalls the righteous after the second death there is no hint in this fragmentary section.

28. Chaps 83-90. Part II., consisting of 83-90, was written between 166 and 161 B.C., mainly from the same sources as Daniel. On a variety of grounds we are obliged to discriminate this section from the preceding.

It will be enough to mention that, whereas in this there is a Messiah, in the previous there was none; in this the life of the righteous is apparently bodily, in the other it was finite; in this the scene of the kingdom is the New Jerusalem set up by God, there it was Jerusalem and the entire earth purified by fire; lastly, the picture in 83-90 is developed in a spirit quite different from that in 1-36, more naive, primitive, and sensuous.

The date assigned above is not difficult to fix.

The Hasidim (see ASSIDEANS), symbolised by the lambs that are born to the white sheep (90 6), are already an organised party in the Maccabean revolt. The lambs that become horned are the Maccabean family, and the great horn who is still warring when the author of the section is writing is Judas the Maccabee (90 9), who died 161 B.C.

Chapters 83-90 recount two visions, *i.e.*, dealing with the first world-judgment, 85-90 dealing with the entire history of the world till the final judgment. In the second vision the author considers the question of Israel's undeserved suffering.

Israel has indeed sinned; but the punishment immeasurably transcends its guilt. These undue severities, the author shows, have not come from the hand of God; they are the doing of the seventy shepherds into whose care God committed Israel (89 59). These shepherds or angels have proved faithless to their trust; but not with impunity. An account has been taken of all their deeds (90 21-24), and for them and for their victims there is laid up a due recompense (90 33). Moreover, when the outlook is darkest, a league of the righteous is organised in Israel (90 6). In it there will arise a family from which will come forth the deliverer of Israel, Judas the Maccabee (90 9-16). Every effort of the Gentiles to destroy him will prove vain and God's appearance in person to judge will be the signal for their destruction. The apostates will be cast into Gehenna, and the wicked angels into an abyss of fire (90 20-25). God himself will set up the New Jerusalem (90 28 29); the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Israel (90 30); the righteous dead will be raised to take part in the kingdom; and finally the Messiah will appear among them (90 37). The Messianic kingdom lasts on earth for ever, and its members enjoy everlasting blessedness.

It will be observed that this is the earliest appearance of the Messiah in non-canonical literature (see MESSIAH, § 5; ESCHATOLOGY, § 60). He has, however, no role to play: he has not as yet vindicated for himself a place in the apocalyptic doctrine of the last things.

29. Chaps. 91-104. Part III., consisting of 91-104, was written between 134 and 95 B.C. The well-defined opposition of the Pharisees and the Sadducees depicted in this section cannot have been earlier than the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees (see ISRAEL, § 78; SCRIBES, § 18); hence not earlier than 134 B.C. On the other hand, it cannot have been later than 95 B.C., as the merely passing reference to persecution in 103 15 could hardly be interpreted of Jannæus after his savage massacres of the Pharisees in 95 B.C., which won for him the title, 'the lover of the poors.'

This section was originally, like 83-90, an independent writing. In adopting it to its present environment, the redactor of the entire work broke up its original arrangement. In order to recover this we must read it in the following order: 92 91 1-3 93 1-10 91 12-19 94-104. On a variety of grounds (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 265-267), we must attribute this work to quite another author than that of either of the preceding sections.

In passing from 83-90 to 91-104 we enter on a world of new conceptions (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 64 *f.*). In all previous apocalyptic writings the resurrection and the final judgment have been the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom; whereas in the present writing these great events are relegated to the close of the Messianic kingdom, and not till then do the righteous enter on their reward. This kingdom is temporary (91 12-15); there is no Messiah; the righteous with God's help vindicate their just cause and destroy their oppressors. On the close of the kingdom follow the final judgment (91 15) and the risen spiritual life of blessedness in a new heaven (91 10 92 1). In this view of the future the centre of interest has obviously passed from the material world to the spiritual, and the Messianic kingdom is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their faith finds its satisfaction only in a blessed immortality in heaven itself. This immortality is an immortality of the soul only (103 3-4). As for the wicked, they will descend into the pain of Sheol and abide there everlastingly (98 11 10478). Here (103 7) Sheol appears as Hell for possibly the first time.

30. Similitudes; chaps. 37-70. Part IV. The Similitudes, consisting of 37-70, were written between 94 and 79 B.C., or between 70 and 64 B.C.

'The kings and the mighty,' so often denounced, are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters; the later Maccabean princes, for the blood of the righteous was not shed (as the writer complains, 47 1 2 4) before 95 B.C.; not the Herods, for the Sadducees were not allies of the Herods, and Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers. This last fact necessitates an earlier date than 64 B.C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judæa.

In his attempt to solve the problem of the suffering of the righteous, the author of the Similitudes has no interest save for the moral and spiritual world. His view, too, is strongly apocalyptic, and follows closely in the wake of Daniel.

The origin of sin is traced one stage farther back than in 1-36. The first authors of sin were the Satans (40 7). The Watchers fell through becoming subject to these and leading mankind astray (54 6). Though the Watchers were forthwith confined in a deep abyss, sin still flourishes in the world and sinners deny the name of the Lord of Spirits (38 2) and of his Anointed (48 10), and the kings and the mighty oppress the children of God (62 11). Suddenly there will appear the Head of Days, and with him the Son of Man (46 2 3 4 48 2), to execute judgment upon all alike. To this end there will be a resurrection of all Israel (51 1 61 5), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41 1 69 27), who will judge all according to their deeds (41 1). Sin and wrong-doing will be banished from the earth (49 2), and heaven and earth be transformed (45 4 5), and the righteous will have their mansions in Paradise (39 6 41 2). The Elect One will dwell among them (45 4); they will be clad in garments of life (62 15 16), become angels in heaven (51 4), and continue to grow in knowledge and righteousness (58 3).

It will be observed that the Messianic doctrine in this section is unique, not only as regards the other sections of Enoch but also in Jewish literature as a whole (see, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 66).

The Messiah exists from the beginning (48 3); he sits on the throne of God (45 3 47 3), and possesses universal dominion (62 9); and all judgment is committed unto him (69 27). If we turn to the other sections we find that in 1-36 and 91-104 there is no Messiah at all; whilst in 83-90 the Messiah is evidently human, and has no real rôle to play in the doctrine of the last things.

If the reader will turn to the list of Noachic interpolations (see above, § 24) he will find that many of them are to be found in this section.

They have as a rule been drawn from an already existing Apocalypse of Noah, and adapted by an editor to their present context in Enoch. This he does by borrowing from the Similitudes characteristic terms, such as 'Lord of Spirits,' 'Head of Days,' 'Son of Man,' to which, however, either through ignorance or of set intention, he generally gives a new connotation.

Chapter 71 does not belong to the Similitudes. It shows the same misuse of characteristic phrases as the interpolations just referred to (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 183 *f.*).

31. Celestial Physics (chaps. 72-78, 82, 79).

Part V., the Book of Celestial Physics, consists of 72-78 82 79. This, like the preceding sections, is a work of independent authorship. There are no means of determining its date.

It has suffered from both disarrangements and interpolations at the hands of the editor of the whole work. In the first place, 81 *f.* is a manifest intrusion written from a standpoint quite different from that of the rest. In the next place, 82 does not stand in its original position. The opening words of 79 in fact presuppose 82 as already read. We have found a similar dislocation of the text in Part III.

Part VI., the Noachian and other interpolations. These have been enumerated above (§ 24).

32. Influence of Enoch.

The influence of Enoch on Jewish literature (to exclude for the moment the NT) is seen in *Jubilees* (written about the beginning of the Christian era), in the Slavonic *Enoch* (1-50 A.D.), *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Apoc. Bar.*, and in 4 Esdras.

In Jewish apocalyptic before 40 A.D. Enoch was the chief figure next to Daniel; but his acceptance by the Christians as a Messianic prophet led to his rejection by the Jews. See note on § 10.

In patristic literature, Enoch is twice cited as Scripture in Epp. Barn. (4 3 16 5). It is also quoted with approval, though not always by name, by Justin Martyr, Iren. and Athenag., Tert., Clem. Alex., Orig., Anatolius. Thenceforward it is mentioned with disapproval by Hilary, Chrys., Jer., August., and finally condemned in explicit terms in the *Const. Ap.* 6 16.

Far more important than its influence on Jewish literature, was its influence on NT diction (*a*) and doctrine (*b*).

(*a*) We shall here draw attention only to the indubitable instances. Enoch is quoted directly in Jude 14 *f.* Phrases, clauses, or thoughts derived from it, or of closest kin with it, are found in Jude 4 11 *f.*; Rev. 2 7 3 10 4 6 6 10 9 1 11 20 20 1 *f.*; Rom. 8 18 9 5; Eph. 1 21; Heb. 11 5; Acts 3 14; Jn. 5 22 *f.*; Lk. 9 35 16 9 23 35; Mt. 19 28 25 41 26 24.

(*b*) The doctrines in Enoch that had a share in moulding the analogous NT doctrines, or formed a necessary link in the development of doctrine from the OT to the NT, are those concerning the Messianic kingdom and the Messiah, Sheôl and the resurrection, and demonology, on which reference must be made to the separate articles on these heads and to ESCHATOLOGY. We here content ourselves with remarking, as regards the doctrine of the Messiah, that four titles, afterwards reproduced in the New Testament, are first applied to the personal Messiah in the Similitudes. These titles are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One,' 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' and 'the Son of Man.' The first title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time (48 10 52 4) applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is here associated with supernatural attributes. The second and the third of these titles, found first in Enoch, have passed over into the NT, the former occurring in Acts 3 14 7 52 22 14, the latter in Lk. 9 35 23 35. The last title, that of 'the Son of Man,' is historically the source of the New Testament designation. To the latter it contributes some of its most characteristic contents (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 312-317).

III. THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH.—This book has, as far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience we shall call it 'the Slavonic Enoch,' in contradistinction to the older book, which for the same reason we shall designate 'the Ethiopic Enoch.'

33. Secrets of Enoch: its fortunes.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS, some of which were found in Russia and some in Servia. Although the very knowledge of such a book was lost for probably twelve hundred years, the book was much used by both Christians and heretics in the early centuries.

Citations appear from it, though without [illegible] ment, in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, *Apoc. Moses and Paul* (400-500 A.D.), *Sibylline Oracles*, *Acts Jos.* and *Lives of Jos.* (700-10 A.D.). It is quoted by name in the pseudepigraphic portions of the *Test. of the xii. Patr.* (1-50 A.D.). It was referred to by Orig. and probably by Clem. Alex., and was used by Iren. Some phrases of the NT may be derived from it.

34. The Slavonic MSS.

There are five Slavonic MSS; in two of them the complete text is found, while the remaining three supply only a shortened and incomplete redaction. For the edition published by the present writer the two best of the above MSS (A and B) were translated and put at the service of the editor by Mr. Morfill. The editor had at his disposal also Mr. Morfill's translation of Prof. Sokolov's text, which is founded on these and other MSS. In 1896 Prof. Bonwetsch published his *Das Slavische Henochbuch*, in which he gives a German translation of the MSS A and B side by side, preceded by a short introduction.

35. Language.

(*a*) The main part of the 'Slavonic Enoch' was written in Greek.

This is clear from such statements as (1) 30 14, 'And I gave him a name (*i.e.*, Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is thus derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This derivation was first elaborated in Greek: it is impossible in the Semitic languages. (2) The writer follows the chronology of ℭ. (3) In 50 4 he reproduces the ℭ text of Dt. 32 15 against the Hebrew. (4) He constantly uses Ecclesiasticus, which was current chiefly in Egypt.

(*b*) Certain portions were based on Hebrew originals. Such a hypothesis is necessary to account for the quotations from it or references to it which appear in the *Test. xii. Patr.* The fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author drew upon Hebrew originals in quotations and references.

36. Place.

The book was written in Egypt.

This is deducible from the following facts. (1) The variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and other Hellenistic writers: thus souls were created before the foundation of the world, 23 5 (cp Philo, *De Somno*, 1 22; V. ed. 8 19 *f.*). Again, man had seven natures, 30 9 (cp Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40). (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the OT does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenised Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with most of its books. (3) Such monstrous creatures as appear in chap. 12 are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the creation narrative in 25 *f.* betrays Egyptian elements.

37. Relation to other works.

Materials originally derived from this book are discoverable in Joel and Cedrenus (1050-1200 A.D.), though in these authors the materials are assigned to other names. Two passages of the *Book of Adam and Eve* (see APOCRYPHA, § 10) in 16 and 8 are all but quotations from 29 4 *f.* and 31 2 of our book. Again in the *Apoc. Moses*, 19 (ed. Tisch. 1866), we have a further development of 14 2-4 of our text, just as in *Apoc. Paul.* 64 οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἔνθα . . δένδρον . . ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is a Christian adaptation of 8 3, 'And in the midst (of Paradise is) the tree of life on which God rests when he comes into Paradise.' The section on the derivation of Adam's name in the anonymous *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, is to be traced ultimately to 30 13, and Augustine's speculation, *De Civ.* xxii. 30 5, on the eighth eternal day to 33 2.

Still earlier we find almost a verbal reproduction of 50 5-51 1 in the Sibylline Oracles, 2 75. In Irenæus, *Contra Haer.* v. 28 3, the Jewish speculation of 33 1 *f.* is reproduced, and possibly in Origen (see Lommatzsch ed., vol. xxi. 59). However this may be, there is no doubt as to the direct reference to 24-30 33 8 in the *De Trin.* p. 1 32: 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui esse fecit omnia . . . sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' There are good grounds for believing that in the earlier period (50-100 A.D.) the writers of [illegible] and of *Apoc. Ezra* 4 were acquainted with [illegible] book respectively. In *Lives of Bibl.* [illegible] the diction and diction are dependent on 32 2-33 3 and [illegible] 15.

In the NT the similarity of matter and language is sufficiently great to establish a close connection if not a literary dependence.

With Mt. 5 9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' cp 52 11, 'Blessed is he who establishes peace'; with Mt. 5 34 *ff.* 37, 'Swear not at all,' etc., cp 49 1, 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, [illegible] made. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word,

yea, yea, or nay, nay.' Again, with Mt [illegible] and 2[illegible] 34, cp 62 [illegible] and 1[illegible]; with Jn. 14[illegible] cp 61[illegible]; with Eph. 6[illegible] cp 42[illegible]; with Rev. 9[illegible] and 10[illegible] cp 42[illegible] and 65[illegible]. Still earlier we find this book not only used but quoted by name in the *Test. Dan* 5, where the statement [illegible] is drawn from 18[illegible]. 'These are the Grigori (*i.e.*, 'Ἐγρήγοροι) who were their prince Satanail rejected the holy Lord.' Finally, the references to Enoch in *Test. Naph.* 4, *Test. Sim.* 5, *Test. Ben.* 9, are adaptations of 8[illegible].

The question as to the date has, to a large extent, been

38. Date. [illegible] already. The portions which [illegible] a Hebrew background are at latest pre-Christian.

This follows from the fact of their quotation in the *Test. XII. Patr.* Turning to the rest of the book, we find that the *terminus a quo* is determined by the fact that it frequently [illegible] *Ecclus.* (cp 43[illegible] *f.* 47[illegible] 51[illegible] 61[illegible], etc.; see the writer's edition of the Slavonic Enoch). The Ethiopic Enoch, further, is [illegible] tacitly presupposed to be in the background. Its [illegible] and conceptions are reproduced (7[illegible] *f.* 93[illegible] *f.* 35[illegible], etc.). At times its views are put forward in a developed form (8[illegible] *f.* 40[illegible] 64[illegible]), and occasionally divergent conceptions are enumerated (16[illegible] 18[illegible]). Finally, explanations are claimed to have been given by this writer which, as a matter of fact, are to be found not in his writings but in the *Eth. En.* (see 40[illegible] *f.* 8[illegible]). It is possible that the Book of Wisdom also was used by our author; see 65[illegible].

Since, therefore, Ecclus., the *Eth. Enoch*, and Wisdom (?) were used by this author, his work cannot have been earlier than 30 B.C.

The *terminus ad quem* must be set down as earlier than 70 A.D., [illegible] the temple is still standing. (2) This book was known and used by the writers of *Jub.*, *Bern.*, and *Ass.* [illegible] and probably by some of the writers of the NT. We may with reasonable certainty [illegible] the composition of the book *in Greek* to the period 50 A.D. The author is thus a contemporary of Philo, with whom, accordingly, we find that he has [illegible] in common. Much of the book, however, goes back to a Hebrew background of an earlier date.

The author was thus an orthodox Hellenistic Jew who lived in Egypt. He believed in the value of [illegible]

39. Authorship. (42[illegible] 59[illegible] 66[illegible])—though he is careful to enforce enlightened views with regard to them (45[illegible] *f.* 61[illegible] *f.*)—in the law (52[illegible] *f.*), and in a blessed immortality (50[illegible] 65[illegible] *f.*), in which the righteous will wear 'the raiment of God's glory' (22[illegible]). In questions affecting the origin of the earth, of sin, and of death, he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows from every quarter. Thus Platonic (30[illegible]), Egyptian (25[illegible]), and Zend (58[illegible]) elements are incorporated in his system. The result is highly syncretistic.

The book opens with a short account of Enoch as 'a very wise man' whom 'God loved and received so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the

40. Contents. wise, great, and never-changing God.' In chap. 1 two angels appear to Enoch and bid him make ready to ascend with them into heaven. In chap. 2 he admonishes his sons and directs them not to seek for him till he is brought back to them. Thereupon (3-6) he is carried up through the air into the first heaven, where he beholds a great sea and the elders, the rulers of the orders of the stars, and the treasuries of the snow and ice and clouds and dew, and the angels who guard them. Then the angels bear him to the second heaven (7), where he sees the angels who had rebelled against God, imprisoned and suffering torments. These angels ask Enoch to intercede for them. Next, he ascends to the third heaven (8), where is Paradise, with all manner of beautiful fruits and 'the tree of life on which God rests when he comes into the garden,' and the four streams of honey, milk, oil, and wine, that water the garden, and go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. The angels inform Enoch that 'this place is prepared for the righteous who are [illegible] their eyes from unrighteousness, and [illegible] judgment, and give bread to the hungry, and [illegible] the Elect [illegible] and wait without [illegible] the face of the Lord.' Enoch is then taken to the fourth region of this heaven (10), and sees an 'exceedingly terrible place' of savage darkness and impenetrable gloom, with [illegible] cold, and ice. He is told that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance for those who commit evil deeds in earth, sorcery, witchcraft [illegible] who oppress the poor, who are guilty of stealing, lying, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder, who worship gods without [illegible]'.

Thence Enoch is conducted to the fourth heaven, where he is shown the courses of the sun and moon (11), and the phenomena, and the chalkadri' (12; cp [illegible]), and the eastern and western gates of the sun (13-16), and 'an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and trumpets' (17).

In 18 he is taken up to the fifth heaven, where he sees the Watchers who had [illegible] their brethren were already [illegible] in the second heaven. There he perceives [illegible] God's wisdom, the angels who regulate the powers of nature and [illegible] the stars, and where dwell the souls of [illegible]. Finally, he is raised to the seventh heaven (19-21), where he sees God sitting on his throne, and the heavenly host in four companies [illegible] the steps of the throne, and the Seraphim singing the trisagion. He falls down and worships (22). At God's command, Michael takes from Enoch his earthly robe and anoints him with the fragrant oil of life, from which he is raised to God's glory. Thus Enoch becomes like one of the angels, [illegible] the mysteries and Victor Chapman the writer of Genesis, to forty days and forty nights, all about things in heaven and earth, and about the souls of men created for eternity, and [illegible] coming judgment.

In 23-25 God teaches Enoch how he created the heavens out of the void, how he commanded Adiel (possibly an adaptation of [illegible]) to recede as night [illegible] and Arsiel (possibly from [illegible] or Arsiel, [illegible] earth), to come forth and [illegible] and so the light on high and the world below were prepared. And God divided the light and the darkness (24[illegible]) [illegible] and caused the waters [illegible] into one place and made the earth to appear (25). Such were the creations of the first day. And [illegible] second day God created the heavens, stars (26[illegible]). And [illegible] of the atmosphere (Satanail) [illegible], and God cast him down (27[illegible]). He [illegible] on the third day God created the earth, to produce trees and herbs, and planted Paradise. On the fourth day God created the lights, [illegible] the sun to govern the heavens, [illegible] Venus, Mars, the Sun, Jupiter, Mercury, the Moon. On the fifth day (29) he created the fish of the sea and the fowl of heaven, and every thing that moveth on the earth, and on the sixth day [illegible] man, and called him Adam, and showed him the two ways. While Adam was in Paradise he did see the angels in heaven (30), but Satan envied him and deceived Eve. And God established the city, Hebron (31), and the tree concerning which nine sins [illegible] more. The corruption of the earth and the deluge [illegible] followed, and the preservation of Noah (32). God then [illegible] Enoch to return to the earth for thirty days and teach his sons during that time (33-36). In chapters 37-[illegible] and instructs his sons. Then what he has seen and gives instruction [illegible] (37-[illegible]). He expresses on them the necessity of [illegible] man's nature is greater than he who fears God [illegible] the personal [illegible], and to perform [illegible]. At dawn [illegible] to pray, but [illegible] subject to sin [illegible] (41-44). He gives [illegible] (45), [illegible] (46), and [illegible] them in mercy [illegible] punish the [illegible] and be [illegible] in need (48[illegible]). Again [illegible] seven heavenlies and the woes with which they are [illegible] (52). The departed saints, he says, do not intercede for [illegible] (53[illegible]). At the close of the appointed time (55-59) [illegible] again [illegible] his sons. He declares that no soul shall perish till the final judgment, and that the souls of [illegible] against the men who ill-treated them. Further instruction follows as to sacrifice and man's duty to the needy, and warnings against contempt and lying (60-63). The people assemble in Akhazan to take leave of Enoch, who addresses them on various topics and exhorts them to faithfulness. He is then carried up to the highest heaven. His sons build an altar in Akhazan and hold high festival, rejoicing and praising God (64-65).

The value of the book, in elucidating contemporary

41. Value. and subsequent religious thought, may be exemplified by the fresh evidence it contributes on the following beliefs.

1. *The millennium.*—This Jewish conception is first found in 32[illegible]-33[illegible]. From this its origin is clear. The account in Genesis of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded not only as a history of the past, but also as a sketch of the future of the world. Thus, as the world was created in six days, its history was to last 6000 years; for 1000 years with God are as one day (Ps. 90[illegible]; Jub. 4[illegible]; 2 Pet. 3[illegible]); and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of 6000 years there should be a rest of 1000 years *i.e.*, the millennium.

2. *The seven heavens.*—The detailed account of the seven heavens in this book has served to explain difficulties in the NT conceptions of the heavens, and has shown beyond the reach of controversy that the sevenfold division of the heavens was believed by Paul, by the author of Hebrews, and probably by the author of Revelation. On the Secrets of Enoch see also ESCHATOLOGY, § 75.

IV. THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.—This apocryph has come down to us in its entirety only in the Ethiopic version. It is a composite work, as we shall see, and two if not three of its constituents existed independently before their incorporation in the present work. Of these the oldest is undoubtedly 2:1-3:12 and 5:1b-14 which contains an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (cp ISAIAH 1, § 1, end). From this section, which is of Jewish authorship, seem to have been derived such statements as: 'they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, . . . they went about in sheepskins . . . being destitute . . . wandering in deserts and mountains' (Heb 11:37 *f.*; cp 2:10-12, 5:1b).

42. Ascens. Isa.; its fortunes.

The next probable reference is in Justin Martyr (*c. Tryph.* 120), where he says: 'ye sawed (Isaiah) in twain with a wooden saw.' So we find it in 5:1. In Jerom. (*Ep. ad Paul. antio.* 14) the reference is unmistakable, while in Origen the book or its matter is discussed: it is there called ἀποκρυφον Ἠσαΐου, or simply ἀπόκρυφον (*Ep. ad Africanum*, 9; *Ad Matt.* 13:57, 23:37; *In Jesaiam homil.* 1:4). The first reference to the second part (6-11) is in Epiph. (*Haer.* 40 and 67:4), where we are told that certain heretics made use of this work, which he calls τὸ ἀναβατικὸν Ἠσαΐου, to support their opinions. Jerom. speaks of an *Ascensio Isaiae*, and in the list of the Canon edited by Montfaucon and others it is called Ἠσαΐου ὅρασις.

The various constituents of the book were written originally in Greek. Thus, in 4:19, 21, 08 ὁ is followed where it differs from the Hebrew. Of the Greek the greater part has come down to us in a MS found in the National Library in Paris, and edited by Gebhardt in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* (1878), though it is not the original work, but a free recast and rearrangement of it (see below).

43. Language.

Translations from the Greek were made into Latin, Ethiopic, and Slavonic. Of the *Latin* version, 6-11 were extant in the sixteenth century and were printed at Venice in 1522, but had long been lost to view when Gieseler re-edited them in 1832. Two other fragments, 2:4-3:11 and 7:1-9, were discovered and published in 1828 by Mai, though that editor was not aware that they belonged to this apocryph. Happily, as remarked above, the entire work has been preserved in *Ethiopic*, and on the whole faithfully, as we can infer from the Greek and the Latin fragments.

44. Versions.

The sources of its corruptions are often immediately recognisable by retranslation into Greek. Thus in 9:18 the Ethiopic 'qâ'e ... al te advertit,' the Latin—'præcipiens.' The original of both is ἐπιτρέπων, as we find in the Greek; but the Ethiopic translator has followed an inappropriate meaning. That followed by the Latin translator is admissible; but the context requires the ordinary sense of ἐπιτρέπων—'permitting.'

The Ethiopic version was first edited by Laurence in 1819 from one MS, and afterwards in 1877 by Dillmann from three MSS. To the latter edition are appended the Latin fragments. Next year, as we have already noticed, Gebhardt edited the Greek text. Although a free recast of our apocryph, it is very valuable for critical purposes, and in many respects confirms the critical acumen of Dillmann. Still there is need of a work which will give a text emended and corrected with the help of this Greek MS as well as of the Slavonic version and will deal more exhaustively with the different elements from which the apocryph is composed. This need Charles has tried to meet in his forthcoming work, *The Ascension of Isaiah*.

Ewald was the first to recognise the composite structure of this book, finding in it the works of three distinct authors. Subsequent criticisms, however, have only in part confirmed his analysis, and the best work as yet done in this direction is that of Dillmann. Dillmann's hypothesis is as follows: There were originally two independent works; one, an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (2:1-3:12, 5:2-14), of Jewish origin; the other, the vision of Isaiah (6-11:23-40), of Christian authorship. These two works were next combined into one volume by a Christian, who supplied them with a prologue and an epilogue (1:1 *f.* 4b-13, 11:42 *f.*). Finally, when the book had assumed this shape, another editor inserted 1:4a, 3:11-5:15 *f.*, 11:2-22, 41. This will do as a provisional hypothesis, but it is not final, and Gebhardt, Schürer, and Delane are wrong in saying that it is borne out by external testimony, averring that in the Greek work there is no trace of the sections 3:13-5, 11:12-22. By a minute examination of the Greek certain phrases which imply the author's acquaintance with 3:13-17, 4:8, 11:10 are discoverable (see Charles, *op. cit.*). Thus the final editing was completed before the composition of the Greek legend. Further, since 3:13 is found in one of the Latin fragments published by Mai, this section (*i.e.*, 3:13-5:1) was already present before the Latin version was made. Too much stress must not be laid on the fact that 11:2-22 is represented in the Latin version by only a few lines; for it is characteristic of this version to abridge the text it is translating.

45. Composite-ness.

The following is an outline of the contents of the book.

In the twenty-sixth year of his reign Hezekiah summons Manasseh in order to entrust to him certain writings touching the future (1:1-6). Isaiah foretells to Hezekiah his martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh (1:7-13). On the death of Hezekiah Manasseh abandons the service of God for that of Satan; and thus, owing to the evils perpetrated in Jerusalem, Isaiah and other prophets withdraw into the wilderness (2). Thereupon Balkira, a Samaritan, accuses Isaiah and the prophets of prophesying evil things against the king and the people. As Belkira is in possession of the king's heart, the king orders the death of Isaiah (3:1-12). There is a sudden break in the narrative here (the conclusion of the martyrdom of Isaiah follows in 5:1b-14), to explain the reason of Berial's anger, viz., Isaiah's vision and the revelation in which he had laid bare the [illegible] and destruction of Sammael, as well as the coming incarnation by Christ. In fact, we have the history of the Christian Church summarised briefly from the coming of Christ to the Neronian persecution and the last judgment (8:1-9:1). In this short apocalypse we have the account of an eye-witness of the condition of the early Church, 80-90 A.D. Church organisation is [illegible] in its infancy, the [illegible] are called 'prophets and pastors,' bishops are nowhere mentioned. There are disputes as to the second Advent; prophecy has not yet disappeared; the vice and greed of the Christian teachers are unsparingly dealt with. The writer feels that the end is at hand. On 5:2-14, see above.

With 6 begins the vision which Isaiah saw in the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah; he discloses it to his successor Jeroboam, Jeroboam his son. In this vision Isaiah is conducted by an angel through the firmament and the six lower heavens, and is shown the chief wonders in each (7:1). Next he is raised to the seventh heaven, where he sees all the righteous from Adam downwards. He is then told of the coming advent of the Beloved into the world, and of his crucifixion and resurrection. Finally, he sees the Beloved in the form of an angel, and likewise the Holy Spirit in the same form, and 'the Great Glory,' *i.e.*, God, worshipped by the Beloved and the Spirit (9). In 10, Isaiah hears God commissioning his Son to descend into the world, and thereupon follows an account of this descent. In the concluding chapter are revealed the birth of Jesus and the history of his life on earth down to his crucifixion and resurrection and ascension through the seven heavens to his seat at the right hand of God.

46. Contents.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah proper (2:1-3:12, 5:14) which is of Jewish authorship, was written some time in the first century of our era; the Vision (6-11) probably about its close; and the apocalyptic section (3:13-5:1) *circa* 50-80 A.D.

For additional bibliography on this book, see Schürer, *Hist.* 5:145-146; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*.

V. THE BOOK OF JUBILEES. The Book of Jubilees, which is really a haggadic commentary on Genesis, is important as being the chief monument (or rather the sole monument) of legalistic Pharisaism belonging to the century immediately preceding the Christian era. Just as we have the other side of Pharisaism, its apocalyptic and mystical side, represented in the Book of Enoch, so here we have its natural complement in the hard and inexorable legalism to whose yoke, according to the author, creation was subject from the beginning and must be subject for evermore.

48. Book of Jubilees, its value.

Jubilees is not only indispensable to students of the NT and of the history of the Pharisaic movement: it is likewise of first-rate importance as a witness to the readings of the Hebrew text of Genesis about the

beginning of the Christian era. In this respect it comes next in worth to **𝔊** and the Samaritan text, and presents us with much earlier readings than are to be found in the Syr. or Lat. versions, or in Targ. Onk. In the matter of determining the respective values of the Samaritan, **𝔊**, and Massoretic chronologies its evidence will be practically of decisive weight.

49. Name. This book has been variously named at different stages of its career. Its original name seems to have been 'Jubilees,' and not the 'Book of Jubilees.' So we find it in the Syriac fragment, and likewise in Epiphanius, where it is designated τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι.

It is also called ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις in Epiphanius, Syncellus, and others—a title pointing back to בראשית ועמא. This name was given to it not because of its smaller bulk—for it is greater than that of the canonical Genesis—but on the ground of its inferior authority. Other variations of this title are Μικρογένεσις and τὰ Λεπτὰ Γενέσεως. In the Abyssinian Church it is named the 'Book of the Division,' from the first words of the inscription at the beginning; and we find still other designations. Thus, in the decree of Gelasius, according to Rönsch's emendation, we find 'Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis.' This name, as Ceriani observed, was given to the book because it contains the names of all the Patriarchs' wives and assigns them a prominent rôle in the course of events—a view that is confirmed by the Syriac fragment. Again, it seems to be identified by Syncellus with 'the so-called Life of Adam' ὁ λεγόμενος βίος Ἀδάμ; for he cites as from that book three passages that occur in Jubilees. This *Life of Adam* may have been identical with a part of Jubilees, or a later enlargement of a portion of it. Jubilees is once described as the 'Testament of Moses,' and once as the 'Apocalypse of Moses,' but only by very late writers.

50. Language. Such being the origin of Jubilees and the conditions under which it was produced, it was naturally written in the sacred language of Palestine. Of this we have direct testimony in Jer. *Ep.* 78, *ad Fabiolam, mansione* 18, where he discusses a Hebrew word for which he could cite no authority save that of this book. The entire cast and the idiom of the book confirm the statement of Jerome.

We have further testimony to the same effect in the title of the Syriac fragment, in which the present book is designated 'The Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It is, further, impossible to deal with the textual corruptions unless we deal with them on this presupposition. In the case of many of these it is only necessary to retranslate them into Hebrew in order to discover the original misconception or misreading of the Greek translator. Some interesting transliterations of Hebrew words, moreover, still survive in the text.

Finally, fragments of the Hebrew original have come down to us embedded in the Midrashim. In these at times an entire sentence survives, preserving not only the words, but even their original order, as we can infer from the evidence of the versions.

51. Versions. There were probably four versions of Jubilees—Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Latin. The first two were made from the original Hebrew. Of the *Greek* only some fragments have come down to us in Epiphanius and through such annalists as Syncellus and Cedrenus. Of the *Syriac* only a small fragment, containing the names of the Patriarchs' wives and a few other facts, survives.

52. Ethiopic. The Ethiopic and the Latin versions were made from the Greek version, not from the original text. The former survives almost in its entirety, and from an exhaustive comparison of the best attainable text with all existing materials we find that it is most accurate and trustworthy. It is, indeed, as a rule, servilely literal.

It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incidental to transmission through MSS; but it is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis must have been great. Only in about a dozen instances did the temptation prove too great, with the result that changes were introduced into the text in subservience to that version.

53. Latin. Of the Latin version (made, as we have seen, from the Greek) more than a fourth has been preserved.

First published in 1861 by Ceriani (*Mon. sacra et prof.* tom. 1, fasc. 1, pp. 15-62), it was next edited with great learning by Rönsch in 1874 (*Das Buch der Jub. unt. Zugrundelegung d. vulgärlat. Textes der . . . lat. Fragmente*). It needed emended the text in many passages; but as he was not aware that it had been corrected in conformity both with **𝔊** and with the Vg., and as, further, he had only a late representative of the Ethiopic version before him, his work is defective and far from final. A critically revised text of these fragments is given in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text.

54. Text of Jubilees. The Ethiopic MSS, of which there are four, belong respectively to the National Library in Paris (A), the British Museum (B), the University Library in Tübingen (C), and to M. d'Abbadie (D). B is by far the most valuable; next in value comes A; C and D are late and very corrupt. In addition to these MSS, however, there is a vast wealth of materials for the criticism and reconstruction of the text in the Mas. and Sam. Texts, and in the Gr., Syr., Aram., and Lat. versions of Genesis; in the fragments of the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions of Jubilees mentioned above; and in abundant other documents of a less directly serviceable nature. (a) *The Ethiopic Text* has been edited twice—first by Di. in 1859 from two MSS (C, D), and next, by the present writer from A, B, C, D.[1] Though Di. made no use of the critical materials just enumerated in the formation of his text, and it was, accordingly, in no sense a critical edition, it was a great boon to scholars at the time. (b) Three *translations* have appeared: the first by Di. in 1850 from one MS (*i.e.*, C); the second by Schodde (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1888) from Di.'s edition of the text; and the third by the present writer (*QR*, 1894, 1895) from the text published in 1895 referred to above.

55. Date. Jubilees cannot have been written later than 70 A.D.; for the temple is throughout supposed to be standing. As the book repeatedly uses Enoch (1-36, 72-104), it cannot have been written much before 60 B.C. Though there is some evidence that would place it nearer the earlier than the later date, we shall leave the date undefined for the present.

56. Author. The author was a Palestinian Jew and a Pharisee.

Frankel's view (*MGWJ*, 1856, pp. 311-316, 380-400) that it was written by a Hellenistic Jew belonging to Egypt is rendered untenable by the fact that it was written originally in Hebrew. Nor can the writer have been a Samaritan, as Beer supposes (*Das Buch der Jub.*, 1856; *Noch ein Wort üb. d. Buch der Jub.*, 1857); for, whereas the text agrees in turn with MT, **𝔊**, Syr. Vg., with Onkelos, and even with the Ar. against all the rest, it never, strange to say, agrees thus with the Samaritan. This evidence is conclusive in itself; but we might further observe that, in speaking of the four places most favoured of God in all the earth, the author enumerates Eden, Sinai, Zion, and the mountain in the East, but not Gerizim. Again, that he is not a Sadducee is proved by the fact that he believes in angels and in the immortality of the soul. Nor, finally, was he an Essene; for, though some characteristics (a highly-developed angelology, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul without the resurrection of the body, the exaggerated reverence for the Sabbath and the number seven) would seem to argue an Essene origin, such an origin is absolutely precluded by the enforcement of animal sacrifice and the absolute silence as to the washings and purifications that were of such importance among the Essenes. Thus, though in some legal questions of less moment (Beer, *Das Buch der Jub.*) the author's views are at variance with traditional Pharisaism, in all essentials he is emphatically a Pharisee of the Pharisees.

That Palestine was the home of the author is deducible in the first instance from the language in which he wrote. A Hellenistic Jew would not have written in Hebrew. Again (not to press other details), the duty of absolute separation from the heathen, which is repeatedly enforced, would have been impossible of fulfilment for any Jew outside Palestine.

57. Integrity. There are several lacunæ in the book; but as far as evidence is forthcoming, these seem to be slight. It appears, on the other hand, to be free from interpolations.

A curious phenomenon, however, presents itself in chap. 7. Verses 20-39 seem to be an extract from the Book or Apocalypse of Noah, beginning in an indirect form with *v.* 20 and changing into the direct with *v.* 26, whence to the end Noah admonishes his sons in the first person. These verses are similar to the Noachic interpolations in the Book of Enoch (see above, § 24).

58. Contents and character. The contents of Jubilees may be briefly described as a haggadic commentary on the biblical text, from the creation of the world to the institution of the Passover, in the spirit, and from the point of view, of later Judaism. Its aim is to prove the everlasting validity of the law. The work assumes the form of a revelation to Moses, made on Mt. Sinai by the 'angel of the presence' in the first year

[1] *The Ethiopic Text of the Heb. Book of Jubilees*, ed. from four MSS. R. H. Charles, M.A., 1895. Clar. Press, Oxford.

of the Exodus. The author thereby seeks to secure a divine sanction for the additions he makes to the biblical narrative. Among these the most important novelty is his chronological system.

In this system the basis of reckoning is the jubilee period of forty-nine years. This jubilee period is subdivided into seven year-weeks of seven years each. Hence, in order to date any event exactly, the author determines it as occurring on a certain day of a certain month of a certain year in a certain year-week of a certain jubilee period. Fifty of these jubilee periods are assumed as the interval between the creation and the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan. His year strangely consists of fifty-two weeks (*i.e.*, 364 days), and, in opposition to the Pharisaism of his time, he claims that the year should be regulated by the movements of the sun without reference to those of the moon. The dates assigned to the various events, though presenting many difficulties, favour in the main the Samaritan chronology.

Another object of the author is to carry the Jewish cultus back into the patriarchal or even pre-Adamite period.

Thus we are given to understand that the angels observed the rite of circumcision; while, as regards the great annual festivals, the Feast of Weeks was observed by Noah and Abram, the Feast of Tabernacles was first celebrated by Abram about the time of the birth of Isaac, and the Day of Atonement was established by Jacob in memory of the loss of Joseph. Again, the law regarding the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. 12) is traced to the fact that Adam was created in the first week and Eve in the second; to this is due the command 'Seven days for a man-child and two weeks for a maid-child.

Certain variations from the prescribed ritual are observable in relation to the festivals. Thus, the injunction of fasting on the Day of Atonement and the exclusion of the uncircumcised from the Passover are omitted; while in the case of the Feast of Tabernacles there is no reference to the custom of drawing water from the pool of Siloam and pouring it out upon the altar. Though in the last instance the author agrees with the Sadducees, it must be admitted that the practice was a Pharisaic innovation and that the Sadducees had the law on their side.

Another notable characteristic of the work is the increased rigour of many of the Levitical ordinances.

Thus, the man who eats blood is to be utterly destroyed, and the father who gives his daughter, or the brother who gives his sister, in marriage to a heathen, is to be stoned to death, and the woman to be burned. Death is to be the universal penalty for breaking the Sabbath; and the Sabbath is broken by buying or selling, by lighting a fire, by drawing water, by talking of an intended journey, or by lying with one's wife.

Another no less interesting characteristic is the care either to leave unrecorded or to palliate the faults of the Patriarchs as well as to multiply their virtues.

Thus, from the first they were scrupulous observers of the ritual and ceremonial law before its authoritative promulgation on Sinai. There is no mention made of Abram's deceit at the court of Pharaoh; Jacob's answer to Isaac's question 'Art thou my very son Esau?' is cleared from verbal falsehood by representing him as answering 'I am thy son.' This quibble is found likewise in the Talmud, and may therefore have been a stock interpretation of Jewish exegesis. Again, whereas in Genesis Levi is cursed for his share in the destruction of Shechem, in Jubilees he is highly honoured for the same action and his posterity elected to an everlasting priesthood. We find the same view taken by Philo (*De Ebriitate*, 23).

Akin to the aim just described is the attempt to justify from the standpoint of a later age the severities practised by Israel in their conquest of Canaan.

It is a Jewish prototype of Rousseau's Social Contract. Thus it is represented that, in the presence of an angel, Noah divided the earth by lot among st his three sons, and bound them and their successors by the most sacred oaths to observe the arrangement. Destruction was invoked on the head of him who transgressed it. According to the sequel, Canaan seized upon Shem's inheritance; and thus our author justifies the extermination of his descendants by Israel.

As has already been pointed out, though the immortality of the soul is taught, there is no resurrection of the body. In the restored theocracy that is foreshadowed there may be a Messiah. See, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 72.

For the literature of this book see Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jub.* 420-439; Schürer *in loc.*; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*.

59. Assumpt. Mos.: its fortunes.

VI. THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—Of this book, which from the twelfth century was regarded as lost, a large fragment was rediscovered by Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library in Milan and published by him in 1861 (*Mon.* tom. i. fasc. i. pp. 55-64). This fragment was part of an old Latin version, and is written on a palimpsest of the sixth century—the same MS that contains the Latin version of Jubilees—which originally belonged to the monastery of Bobbio.

Before this discovery, however, we were, from various sources, in some degree acquainted with the contents of the book.

Thus, the account of the strife between the archangel Michael and Satan about the body of Moses was drawn, as we know (Origen, *De Princip.* 3 2 1), from the apocryphal book entitled the *Ascensio Mosis*—*i.e.*, ἀναλήψις Μωυσέως. Many other writers testify to the existence of this apocryph. Besides the reference already noticed in Origen, there are other references or citations in Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 1 23 153; 6 15 132); in Origen (*In Josuam homil.* 2 1), Didymus Alex. (*In ep. Jud. enarrat.* in Gallandi, *Biblioth. Patr.* 6 407), in Evodius, Apollinaris, the Stichometries, and in the *Acta Synodi Nicaenae*, 2 18. This last reference must be given in full as the passage quoted is found in Ceriani's fragment,—Μελλων ὁ προφητης Μωυσης ἐξιεναι τον βιον, ὡς γεγραπται ἐν βιβλῳ Ἀναληψεως Μωυσεως, προσκαλεσαμενος Ἰησουν υἱον Ναυη και διαλεγομενος προς αὐτον ἐφη· και προεθεασατο με ὁ θεος προ καταβολης κοσμου εἶναι με της διαθηκης αὐτου μεσιτην. The words quoted are thus rendered in the Latin fragment (1 14): Itaque excogitavit et invenit me, qui ab initio orbis terrarum praeparatus sum, ut sim arbiter testamenti illius. The rest of the quotations are in the main from the part of this book which is lost.

60. Latin based on Greek.

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question. Thus Greek words are transliterated; as *chedrio* from κεδρόω 1 17, *heremus* from ἔρημος 3 11, *dibsis* from θλῖψις 3 7, and *acrobistia* from ἀκροβυστία 8 3. Again, we are not infrequently obliged to adopt not the Latin text but the Greek it presupposes, which has been misrendered by the translator. Thus 'ab oriente usque ad occidentem,' which means 'from the east to the west,' is derived from ἀφ' ἡλιου ἀνατολ ν λοντος μέχρι δυομένου, which means also 'from sunrise to sunset'—the meaning required by our context. For similar instances see 11 11 18. Finally, retranslation into Greek makes it evident that in the case of some corruptions in the Latin the error arose through the confusion of different though similar forms of words; cp 2 7 3 4 5 6 11 10. In 4 1 we have the Greek article rendered by *hic*.

61. Hebrew original.

The derivation of our text from a Semitic original was stoutly denied by Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and others. This position, however, can no longer be persevered in. A Semitic original must now be conceded. It remains a matter of debate whether the balance of evidence is in favour of an Aramaic or of a Hebrew source. Rosenthal decides for the latter; Schmidt-Merx, Colani, and Carriere for the former. Notwithstanding all that has been advanced by these three scholars, however, in support of their contention, the evidence points decidedly in the direction of a Hebrew original.

Rosenthal restores three or four passages by means of retranslation into Hebrew. In Charles's *Assumption of Moses* (1897) the necessity of such an hypothesis is shown alike in the Hebrew character of the Latin version and in the possibility of removing most of its corruptions by means of retranslation into Hebrew. Thus in 6 36 we must follow the Hebrew presupposed by the Latin; next, in 6 4 there is a play upon words possible only in the Hebrew; again, there are Hebrew phrases and constructions reproduced in 1 18 2 4 7 3 11 2 6 1 10. Finally, it is only through retranslation into Hebrew that we can understand the text or get rid of its corruptions in 4 9 5 5 10 9 to 10 12 7.

62. Real name Test. Moses.

Schürer has already pointed out (*Hist.* 3 95) that the Latin version we possess is in reality a 'Testament of Moses,' although quoted in the Acts of the Council of Nicæa as the 'Ἀναλήψις Μωυσέως, and has conjectured that 'these designations were the titles of two separate divisions of one and the same work, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second.' The present writer's studies tend in some degree to support this conjecture.

Thus in the Latin version (1 15 and 10 14) Moses speaks of his death as an ordinary one, and the same fact undoubtedly was stated in 10 12 before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one book. Thus in 10 12 the text is: 'erunt enim a mortis receptione (mea) usque ad adventum Illius tempora CCL.' Schmidt-Merx omit 'morte,' and Hilgenfeld omits 'receptione,' the former failing to see that 'receptione' was introduced by the final

editor into the text of the 'Testament' which recounted nothing of Moses' Assumption, in order to prepare the reader for the main subject of the added work, the 'Assumption of Moses.'

Schürer apparently assumes that both the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption' were from one and the same author; but the facts stated above are against this supposition. The Latin fragment is the Διαθήκη Μωυσέως mentioned in the Stichometry of Nicephorus. It is there said to consist of 1100 lines. Of these about half have survived. Some writers have sought to identify this 'Testament' with the Book of Jubilees. This is impossible. Since 4300 lines are assigned to Genesis in Nicephorus' Stichometry, this 'Testament of Moses' would have above 5000 or 6000 if it were the Book of Jubilees, for the latter is much longer than Genesis.

63. Lost portion. About one-half of the original Testament has been preserved by our Latin Version.[1] It is possible that the latter half dealt with certain revelations about creation made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight.

We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 121-122). 'Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi *de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam*, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit, ubi cadaver conderetur.' On the 'bright cloud' see also Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 49.

64. Date. On the question of the date of the Assumption of Moses the opinions of critics oscillate between the death of Herod the Great and the death of Bar-Cochba. The later date is impossible. Ewald, Wieseler, Drummond, Dillmann, and Schürer assign it to the first decade after Herod's death; Hilgenfeld assigns it to 44-45 A.D.; Merx to 54-64 A.D., and so also Fritzsche; Baldensperger to 50-70 A.D. On various grounds all these determinations are unsatisfactory. The real date appears to lie between 4 B.C. and 30 A.D. It cannot be later than 30 A.D. Towards the close of chap. 6 it is stated that the sons of Herod should reign for a shorter period (*breviora tempora*) than their father—a statement that could have been made only while they were still living, since it is true of Archelaus alone; for Antipas reigned forty-three years, Philip thirty-seven, and Herod himself only thirty-four. The book must, therefore, have been written at the latest less than thirty-four years after Herod's death (4 B.C.)—*i.e.*, earlier, at all events, than 30 A.D. The limits may, however, be defined more closely; for the prediction that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father, may owe its origin to the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority, but still more to the actual deposition of Archelaus in 6 A.D.—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgment and suggest to him the prediction that appears in the text as to the impending fate of Philip and Antipas. Hence the earliest limit of composition is 7 A.D.

65. Author. As for the author, he was not a Sadducee; for according to chap. 10 he looks forward to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom by God in person. Nor is it possible, with Wieseler and Schürer, to regard him as a Zealot; for (1) there is not a single incentive held forth to encourage men to take arms in behalf of the theocracy; (2) the actual advent of the kingdom is brought about, not by any action of the righteous in Israel, but by the archangel Michael (10 1-2) and God himself (10 3-7); (3) the author's ideal of duty as regards preparation for the Messianic kingdom is that depicted in 9—*i.e.*, absolute obedience to the law and non-resistance. The faithful Israelite was quietly to do his duty and await God's will. The writer, accordingly, glorifies the old ideals cherished and pursued by the Hasid and Early Pharisaic party, which the Pharisaism of the first century B.C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. See § 81. God would in his own good time interpose in person (10); at all events, he would avenge the death of his servants (9 7). Our author pours the most scathing invective on his religious and political opponents, the Sadducees, whom in 7 he describes in terms that frequently recall the anti-Sadducean Pss. of Solomon. (Through some inexplicable misapprehension, Schürer and others have regarded this chapter as a description of the Pharisees.) The author, therefore, was a Pharisee, and a Pharisee who was the antithesis of the Zealot exactly in those respects in which Pharisaism differed from Zealotism. His book was designed as a protection against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party through its adoption of political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. To guard against the possible suggestion of an Essene author, we may remark that such a derivation is absolutely precluded by the recognition of animal sacrifices, by the declaration of the speedy coming of the Messianic or Theocratic kingdom, and by the strong sense of national life, unity, and triumph. See Charles's *The Assumption of Moses*, pp. 51-54; and cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 73.

66. Contents. The following is an outline of the contents of Ass. Moses 1 1-9: Introduction. 10-17 Moses tells Joshua that he is about to die, and commits certain books of prophecies to his safe keeping. In 2 *f.* the subsequent history of Israel down to the captivity is briefly but clearly outlined. In their captivity the tribes remember that all that had befallen them had already been foretold by Moses. In 4, owing to the prayers of one who is over them (Daniel), God will take pity on them and raise up a king (Cyrus) who will restore some fragments of their tribes to their own land. These will mourn because of their inability to sacrifice to the God of their fathers. Judgment (5 1) will overtake their oppressors (the Seleucid kings). Yet they themselves (the Sadducees and the Hasidʿ) will be divided as to what is true, and the altar and temple will be defiled by men who are not priests (as Menelaus, who was a Benjamite), but slaves born of slaves (5 2-4) (the paganising high-priests who were nominees of the Seleucidæ), and many of them (the Sadducean priesthood and aristocracy), moreover, will be respecters of persons and unjust, and their country will be filled with unrighteousness (5 5-6). Then (8 1-5) a fresh vengeance will alight upon them, in which the king of kings (Antiochus) will crucify those who confess to their circumcision, and force them to bear on their shoulders impure idols, and to blaspheme the word. A man of the tribe of Levi (9 1-7), whose name is Taxo (*i.e.*, Eleazar [2 Mac. 6 19]; for, as Burkitt has discovered, Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc = ταξωα = תכסוק which by gemetria = אליעזר), will say to his seven sons: 'Let us fast three days, and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in the field and die, rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers.' In 6 1-7 we are told of the assumption of royal power by the Maccabees, and of Herod as their successor who is to reign for thirty-four years. He will beget sons, who will reign as his successors, but for shorter periods. Then follows (6 8 *f.*) the capture of Jerusalem by a king of the west (Varus). Soon after, Judæa becomes a Roman province. The author next launches out into a scathing denunciation of the Sadducees, of whose injustice, greed, and gluttony we have an account in 7. Thereupon (10 1-10) the times are fulfilled, and God appears to judge the enemies of Israel (10). Moses is then represented as exhorting Joshua to guard these words and this book (10 11). When Joshua deplores his inability to lead Israel (11), Moses bids him not to depreciate himself and not to despair of the future of his people (12). Here the fragment ends.

67. Bibliography. Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr.* vol. i. fasc. 1 (1861); Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judæorum* (1869), 435-468, cp *Prol.* 7 -7, and *Clem. Rom. Epist.*[2] (1876), 107-125; Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt* (1867); Schmidt and Merx (*Archiv f. wiss. Erforschung des AT's*, I. ii. 111-152, 1868); Fritzsche, *Libri Apoc. VT* (1871), 700-730; cp Prol. 32-36; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), 74-84; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* (1888), 23-31, 114-118; Deane, *Pseudepigr.* (1891), 95-130; Schürer, *Hist.* 5 71-8; Charles, *The Ass. of Mos.* (1897). For complete bibliography, see the two works last mentioned.

[1] It is to be remarked that we have in this Latin Fragment a clear instance of dislocation of the text. The perception of this fact removes some of the main difficulties in the way of interpretation. In order to recover the original order, we have to restore 8 *f.* to their original position, before 6. For the grounds of this restoration of the text, see the present writer's edition of the book.

68. Test. xii. Patr.; its fortunes.

VII. THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS.—The earliest reference to this book by name is in Origen in his *Hom. in Josuam*, 156 (Ed. Lommatzsch 11 143): 'in aliquo quodam libello qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam sensum invenimus, quod per singulos peccantes singuli satanae intelligi debeant' (cp Reuben 3). It is possible, indeed, that in the preceding century the ideas of *Fragment* 17 in Stieren's edition of Irenaeus (1 5,6-837) are derived from this book—*ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς προετυπώθη καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσήφ προετυπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγεννήθη· διὰ δὲ τοῦ Συμεὼν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐπεγνώσθη . . . διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν, τοῦ Παύλου, εἰς παντὰ τὸν κοσμον κηρυχθεὶς ἐδοξάσθη.* This conjunction of Simeon and Levi is found in Sim. 7; Lev. 2 8; Dan 5; Gad 8; Jos. 19; Benj. 11. Since, however, it is now demonstrable that the Christian elements in the Testaments are due to interpolation, it is not possible at the present stage of criticism to determine the relative chronology of these elements and the writings of Irenaeus.

The passages in Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5 1, *Scorpiace* 13, which most critics from Grabe onwards have regarded as based on Benj. 11, are due, as Schürer has already recognised, simply to the patristic interpretation of Gen. 49 27. This eleventh chap. of Benj., which contains the striking account of Paul, is not found in the Armenian version, and is for the most part wanting in the Greek MS R. On these and on other grounds we may safely regard it as one of the latest of the Christian interpolations.

There is possibly an allusion to this book in the contemptuous words of Jerome, *Adv. Vigilant.* 6. The Testaments are next mentioned in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, in the *Synopsis Athanasii* as well as in the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Petra, and others. In these lists the book is simply called Πατριάρχαι. After this date the Testaments are lost to knowledge till their reappearance in the thirteenth century, when Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, translated them from Greek into Latin. The MS from which the translation was made is the tenth century Cambridge MS of this book (Sinker). This Latin version was the parent of almost all the European versions.

69. Title.

The work consists, as its present title indicates, of the dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children. Each Testament deals with a fresh and special side of the ethical life, with some virtue or vice which finds apt illustration in the life of the particular patriarch. Thus, according to the titles in Sinker's text, Simeon deals with the vice of envy, Zebulun with compassion and mercy, Dan with anger and lying, Gad with hatred, Joseph with chastity, and Benjamin with a pure mind. These titles are appropriate; but in manuscripts O and R all mention of the virtues and vices is omitted; in P they are generally wanting, and when they are given they differ in all but two instances from Sinker's text, while in the Armenian version they are wanting in Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; for 'concerning chastity' in the title of the Test. Joseph we have 'concerning envy'; they differ in the case of Levi, Gad, and Asher; only in the case of Judah do they give a divided support to the Cambridge MS, which Sinker follows. We may, therefore, regard the title of each Testament as originally consisting of the word Διαθηκη, followed by the name of the patriarch to whom it was attributed. It is possible, moreover, that the title was originally still shorter—*i.e.*, as we find it in the Oxford MS, merely the name of the patriarch. The fact that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus and in the Synopsis Athanasii, as well as in the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Petra, and others, this book as a whole is designated simply Πατριάρχαι points in the same direction; and this evidence is the more weighty since the adjoining books in these lists have their full titles given. This supposition receives further support from the initial words of the Testaments themselves. In the case of seven of the Testaments the contents are simply described as the λογοι of the Patriarchs, which they spake or ordained (λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, or διατίθεσθαι) before they died. It is only in the case of the remaining five that each is described as a διαθήκη which the patriarch spake, enjoined, or ordained (λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, ἐντέλλεσθαι, διατίθεσθαι). It is probable, therefore, that the original title of the entire book was 'The Twelve Patriarchs.

70. Contents.

In the next place, it is noteworthy that in each of the Testaments three elements are distinguishable. (1) In each instance the patriarch gives a brief or detailed account of his life, in which his particular virtues or vices are vigorously emphasised. The biblical notices of his life are expanded and enriched after the manner of haggadic Midrash. In a few instances their place is taken by materials that conflict directly with the biblical narrative. (2) The patriarch next proceeds to press upon his children a series of exhortations based upon and naturally suggested by the virtues or the vices conspicuous in his own career; they are to imitate the one and to shun the other. (3) Finally, the patriarch gives utterance to certain predictions which bear upon the future of his descendants, and the evils of overthrow and captivity which they will entail upon themselves by their sins and apostasies, and their breach with the tribes of Levi and Judah. These predictions are generally (*a*) of purely Jewish authorship; but many are (*b*) distinctively Christian.

71. Compositeness.

To account for the difficulties which confront us in this work, Grabe (*Spicileg. Patrum*[2] [1714], 1 129-144 335-374) was the first to suggest that the book was written by a Jew and subsequently interpolated by a Christian. This hypothesis was for the time so successfully combated by Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, 2 101-110) that most subsequent writers, such as Nitzsch, Lücke, Ritschl, Vorstman, Hilgenfeld, Dillmann, and Sinker, have practically ignored the question of the integrity of the book and confined themselves mainly to the discussion of the religious and national affinities of the author.

Nitzsch (*De Test. xii. Patriarch. libro V T pseud.*, Wittenberg, 1810) describes the author as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria who had imbibed many of the Essene doctrines that were then current. Ritschl (*Entsteh. der altkathol. Kirche*, 1. Aufl. 322 *ff.*) assigns the book to a Gentile Christian, appealing principally to Benj. 11 (a chapter really due to Christian interpolation: see § 68). Ritschl's view was vigorously assailed by Kayser ('Die Test. d. Zwölf Patr.' in Reuss and Cunitz's *Beitr. zu den theol. Wissenschaften* [1851], 107-140), who on several grounds derives the book from Ebionitic circles, reviving on a large scale Grabe's theory of interpolation in order to arrive at this result. Kayser's treatise was in turn examined by Vorstman (*De Test. xii. Patriarcharum origine et pretio*, 1857), who, after a detailed criticism of Kayser's arguments, concluded that the Testaments present no trace of Ebionism, but were the work of a Gentile Christian. Hardly had Vorstman thus vindicated the view of Ritschl when a second edition of this scholar's work (see above) appeared, in which his former contention (pp. 172-177) was abandoned as impossible, and the theory of a Nazarene authorship was advocated. Ritschl's first view, however, has received the continued support of Hilgenfeld (*ZWT* [1858], 395 *ff.* [1871] 402 *ff.*), whilst Langen (*Das Judenthum in Pal. zur Zeit Christi*, 140-157) and Sinker (*The Test. xii. Patr.* [1869], 16-34; art. 'Test. xii. Patr.' in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian biography*, 4 865-874) hold fast to the theory of a Jewish Christian authorship.

If there were no other methods of determining the questions of authorship and date than those pursued by Nitzsch and his successors, finality or even progress in such matters would be a sheer impossibility. To Schnapp (*Die Test. der xii. Patr. untersucht*, Halle, 1884), however, is due the credit of lifting the criticism of this book out of the arena of fruitless logomachies by returning to Grabe's hypothesis of Christian interpolation of an originally Jewish work. Schnapp's theory is that in its original form the book consisted of biographical details respecting each of the patriarchs and of exhortations suggested by these details. Thus the work com-

prised only two of the three elements mentioned in the preceding section (§ 70). Subsequently, however, the book was worked over by a Jewish writer, who inserted, generally towards the end of each Testament, sections dealing with the future fortunes of the tribes and other matter of an apocalyptic nature. Finally, at a later period still, the book thus enlarged was revised by a Christian, who in some passages merely modified the text by slight changes, but in others made large interpolations. Thus we have three writers concerned in the Testaments: the original Jewish author, the Jewish interpolator, and the Christian interpolator. It is not difficult to prove that in the main this theory is true.

Thus in the Testament of Joseph we have two partially conflicting accounts derived from different authors—*i.e.*, 1-10*a*, and 10*b*-18. As early as 1869, indeed, Sinker suggested a composite authorship as the solution of certain difficulties in the narrative; but he made no attempt to verify this hypothesis, and so it was reserved for Schnapp to establish beyond question the dual origin of this Testament and the other Testaments. The same compositeness is observable on a smaller scale in Benj. 2, where 2*b* conflicts with 2*a* and with every other reference to the same subject in the rest of the Testaments. Again, in Levi 2 ὡς δὲ ἐποιμαίνομεν . . . ὁ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου we have a large addition which conflicts with the words before and after. Levi 8 *f.* ἤλθομεν εἰς Βεθηλ is open to the same criticism. Again, in Dan 5, in adjoining sentences, Levi is commended as the guide and stay of Israel and denounced as the leader in Israel's apostasy. It is needless to multiply such instances further. The presence of additions to the list from a Jewish interpolator is unquestionable.[1]

It is, however, no less certain that all the Christian passages have been inserted in the text not, as Schnapp supposed, by a single Christian interpolator, but by a succession of such interpolators.

The grounds for this conclusion will be found in Conybeare's valuable article 'On the Jewish authorship of the Twelve Patriarchs' (*JQR* 1893, 375-398). By collating the Armenian version with the Greek text of Sinker, this scholar has shown that most of the Christian passages in the latter are not to be found in the former. Thus when the Greek MS used in making the Armenian version was written, the process of Christian interpolation had advanced only a short way in the direction in which later it progressed so far. In the Armenian version we have thus a striking confirmation of the critical sagacity of the scholars who saw in the Testaments a Jewish work interpolated later from Christian sources. With the fresh materials at our disposal, there is a splendid opportunity for a critical edition of the text, and a scientific edition of the work in which the various elements will be duly discriminated, their dates as far as possible determined, and their bearing on history elucidated.

We have now arrived at a stage when we are in a position to consider the question of the original language of the Testaments. Apart from Grabe, no notable critic has advocated a Hebrew or Aramaic original. This is only what might be expected, since nearly all the students of this book believed in its integrity and Christian authorship. However, now that by means of external and internal evidence we have come to see that the book was originally Jewish, the question as to its original language can no longer be evaded. On two grounds the present writer is inclined to advocate a Hebrew original. Space does not suffice for dealing with the first here. Let it merely be observed that fragments have been found in the Testaments which are not explicable on the assumption of a date later than 100 B.C. This and other kindred questions will be dealt with at length in the present writer's forthcoming edition of the Testaments. The second reason for supposing a Semitic origin is to be found in the language. Dr. Gaster ('The Hebrew text of one of the 'Test. xii. Patr.' *PSBA*, Dec. 1893, Feb. 1894) gives some evidence which points in this direction

72. Language.

In the article just referred to, indeed, he publishes what he claims to be the 'actual Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphtali' entitled צוואת נפתלי. 'In this text,' he writes, 'we have undoubtedly the original version of the Testament, free from any interpolation.' He adds: 'The Greek counterpart of the Hebrew makes no sense and has no meaning at all: while the Hebrew is rounded off and complete, and perfectly clear.' It is not necessary to traverse these statements at any length.

[1] Most of Schnapp's conclusions have [illegible] Schürer (*Hist.* [illegible] 114-124).

First of all, the style of the Hebrew is not earlier, as Dr. Neubauer informs us, than the 7th or the 8th century A.D. In the next place, even if it were early, it can lay no claim to being the original of the Greek 'Testament.' All that could be urged is that the two texts possess some material in common. Their aim and their spirit are as antagonistic as possible. This Hebrew Naphtali, in fact, is a strong polemic against Joseph, whereas in the Greek Test. xii. Patr. as well as in Jubilees, Joseph is universally extolled for his goodness and virtue, and the various patriarchs are punished in proportion as they are hostile to Joseph. By the name of Joseph in this polemical treatise we are probably to understand the ten tribes and their successors the Samaritans. Though this treatise was probably composed long after the Christian era, it is based on old materials, some of which are common to it and the Greek Test. Naph.; and thus Gaster is probably right in observing that in chap. 6 the text must be corrupt where the ship that comes sailing by is said to be μεστὸν ταριχων, ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνήτου. The μεστὸν ταρίχων—'full of salt fish'—cannot be correct. It was probably due to a corrupt dittography of בְּרֹא קֶלֶח, as כִּרֹא קֶלֶח, for in the Hebrew 'Testament' the text runs והנה אניה הולכת בלב ים כרא כרח וכרא איש.

Subjoined are some of the arguments for a Hebrew original.

(1) Hebrew constructions and expressions are frequent. Thus, συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (Reub. 3) = בן בתורה; ἐναυ τῷ ἐξελέξατο (6) = בחר ב; παντας αὐτους (Jud. 1) = כלם, βαρύς (*ib.*) large—*i.e.*, כבד: βέθ (9) transliteration of בת: ποιεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν (Joseph. 12) = עשה משפט עם, etc. (2) Paronomasiæ, which are lost in the Greek but can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew, are frequent. Thus in Sim. 2 ἡ μήτηρ μου ἐκάλεσέ με Συμεώνα ὅτι ἤκουσε κύριος τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῆς = ותקרא אמי את שמי שמעון כי שמע אל תפלתה. In Levi 11 ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Γηρσάμ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν πάροικοι ἦμεν = ותקרא את שמו גרשם; כי גרים היינו בארצנו. ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Μεραρί ὁ ἐστι πικρία μου = ותקרא את שמו מררי הוא מרדי; 'Ιωχαβέδ . . . ἐτέχθη ἐν Αἰγυπτῳ· ἔνδοξος γὰρ ἦμην = יכבד נולדה במ"מ כי נכבד אני. In Zab. 1 ἐγὼ εἰμι Ζαβουλών, ἔδοσις ἀγαθὴ τοῖς γονεύσί μου = זבולן הוא זבד מתן טוב. In Naph. 1 ἐν πανουργίᾳ ἐποιησε Ῥαχηλ . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθην Νεφθαλείμ = נפתלי רחל . . . לכן נקראתי נפתלי. In the closing words of this same chapter we have two paronomasiæ on the name Bilhah. ἔτεκε τὴν Βάλλαν, λέγων· καινόσπουδός μου ἡ θυγάτηρ· εὐθὺς γὰρ τεχθεῖσα ἔσπευδε θηλάζειν = ילד את בלהה לאמר בהלה בתורתי כי . . . בהרה הינק. In Issach. i. διὰ τὸν μισθὸν ἐκλήθην Ἰσάχαρ = בשכר נקראתי יששכר. The Hebraisms given in no. 1 might occur, it is true, in an Hellenistic Greek original; but it is otherwise with regard to the 'linguistic' phenomena just dealt with. These undoubtedly postulate a Hebrew original. (3) A third and final argument enforces the same postulate. There are certain passages, obscure or unintelligible in the Greek, which become clear on retranslation into Hebrew. Thus in Zab. 4 ἔβαλον ἐσθίειν is unintelligible Greek. This is the text of *C* and O. R and P correct the text, the former giving ἐκάθισαν ἐσθίειν, and the latter ἤρξαντο ἐσθίειν, both of which yield an excellent sense. They are, however, merely late emendations, and we must therefore start from the best attested text ἔβαλον ἐσθίειν = ישיקו לאכל = 'they served up food.' It is possible, indeed, that the idea of R is right, and that ישיקו is corrupt for ישבו. Hence 'they sat down to eat.' In Gad 4 it is obvious from the contrast instituted between ὀλιγοψυχία and μακροθυμία that we must take the former not in its natural meaning as 'faintheartedness' but as 'impatience.' Hence we have here a mistranslation of קצר רוח. Exactly the same contrast appears in Prov. 25 15, and the same false rendering in ℭ. Again, in Gad 7, ἀφαιρεῖται αὐτὰ ἐν κακοῖς must mean 'He taketh them (*i.e.*, riches) away from the wicked,' or 'when [men] are wicked.' Thus ἐν κακοῖς seems due to confusing מרשעים and ברשעים, and should be ἐν κακοῖς.

Before leaving the question of a Hebrew original it will be well to notice some of the arguments advanced by Mr. Sinker in favour of the original being Greek.

(1) He urges that the very title αἱ διαθῆκαι κ.τ.λ. is against the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. But it is probable that the title was merely οἱ ιβ' πατριάρχαι; see § 69, end. (2) He argues that such paronomasiæ as ἀθετεῖν, νουθετεῖν (Benj. 4); ἀναίρεσις, ἀφαίρεσις (Judah 23); ἐν τάξει, ἄτακτον; and τάξις, ἀταξία (Nap. 23) imply a Greek original. As regards the first pair, they are late interpolations, since the passage in which they occur is wanting in the Armenian version and in O R. As regards the second pair, P reads ἀναίρεσις in both cases, R omits ἀφαίρεσις, and the Armenian version omits ἀναίρεσις. It is probable, therefore, that there was no paronomasia in the early Greek version. There is no weight attaching to the other paronomasiæ cited. (3) Again, Mr. Sinker speaks of the use of certain philosophical terms as favouring a Greek original. But these are found also in ℭ. (4) Again, the use of ℭ in Judah 24, which he presses in favour of a Greek original, is no longer a valid argument, since we find from the Armenian version that the passage in which it occurs is a Christian interpolation.

We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the groundwork of the Testaments was originally written

in Hebrew. The additions of the Jewish interpolator were, as far as I have examined them, in the same language. Christian interpolations were introduced at the close of the first century of the Christian era, and some probably as late as the third or the fourth.

73. Versions. The earliest versions were the Greek, the Syriac, and the Armenian. Of the *Syriac* version only a fragment survives, preserved in the British Museum (*Cat. of Syriac MSS* Cod. 861-20). Of the *Armenian* version six MSS, varying in date from 1220 to 1656, are in Venice (in the Library of the Mechitarists of San Lazzaro); one, of 1388, in Vienna; another, of the fourteenth century, in the library of Lord de la Zouche; and a ninth, in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society. An edition of the Armenian version by the Mechitarist Fathers is soon to issue from the press. No trace has as yet been discovered of a *Latin* version anterior to that of Grosseteste in the thirteenth century. This version and the later European versions are of no critical worth. There is also an old *Slavonic* version published by Tichonrawow in the *Denkm. der altruss. Apocri. Lit.*, St. Petersburg, 1863.

74. The Greek MSS. Four[1] of these MSS have already been made known to the public: the Cambridge MS of the tenth century, and the Oxford MS of the fourteenth, through Sinker's edition of the Greek text; the Vatican MS of the thirteenth and the Patmos MS of the sixteenth, through the Appendix he published in 1879. These four MSS are designated by their editor respectively as C O R P, and this notation has been followed in the present article.

75. Date. It has already been observed that the process of Christian interpolation probably extended from the close of the first century A.D. to the fourth. As regards the apocalyptic sections (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 61), which are due to a Jewish interpolator, we have no means at present of determining their date with any exactness. Some of them are the oldest portions in the book, and were probably written in the second century B.C.; but some of them are very much later, since they contain citations from the Ethiopic and the Slavonic Enoch. As far as the present writer has examined them, he is inclined to regard them as all springing from a Hebrew original. The date, therefore, of these interpolations may possibly extend from the second century B.C. to 30 A.D. It may be added, partly on the evidence of the Armenian version and partly from the context, that it is clear that in Levi 15, Judith 23, and Dan 5, there are no references to the Roman destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. The groundwork may have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. We can hardly suppose it to be based upon Jubilees, for it never mentions it; yet, since it possesses in common with it a vast mass of biographical details as well as the same chronological system, it is natural to regard both works as almost contemporary and as emanating from the same school of thought.

76. Christology. No attempt has been made to give a systematic statement of the Christology, since the passages relating to this subject are derived not from one writer or period, but from a variety of scribes and times. The value, therefore, of the Christological portions in this book is slight.

77. Pss. Sol.; its fortunes. VIII. THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Very little is known of the early history of these psalms. Only six direct and undubited references to them are found in early literature.

Four of these occur in catalogues of canonical and uncanonical books—viz., in the *Synopsis Athanasii*, the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the 'Sixty Books,' and the table of contents in the Alexandrian MS. The fifth reference is found in the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea, which ordains ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανονίστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης. The sixth belongs to the twelfth century, and consists merely of a note on this canon. With doubtful references we have here no concern.

It is obvious, therefore, that the book never attained a large circulation. On the other hand, as Ryle and James point out, 'where it was read' it was 'read with respect'; for 'it is the solitary instance of an OT book which, from being merely ἀντιλεγόμενον, became ἀπόκριφον.' As belonging to the former it appears in the first two lists above mentioned; as an ἀπόκριφον it is enrolled in the 'Sixty Books.'

78. Extent. It is notable in the next place that, whereas these psalms are designated in the first two lists as ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ (Fabricius ᾠδαὶ) Σολομῶντος and ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ (*variae lectiones*)[1] Σολομῶντος, στίχοι, ,βρ', in the next two they are described simply as ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, with the addition of ιή in the case of A. The book, therefore, circulated as early as the fifth century in two forms: one consisting simply of the eighteen 'Psalms of Solomon,' the other of these together with certain Odes. The first form is the older. The second probably originated in an attempt to supplement a defective edition of the first by certain odes or songs, partly of Jewish, partly of Christian authorship, that were current under Solomon's name. For if we accept the number of στίχοι assigned to the psalms in the MSS (*i.e.*, 1000), we must regard the present psalms as deficient to the extent of 300. On the other hand, as the Stichometry of Nicephorus assigns 2100 στίχοι to the psalms and the odes combined, the odes themselves must have been about the same length as the psalms. Of the [illegible] only five have been preserved. These are edited in an appendix to the edition of Ryle and James.

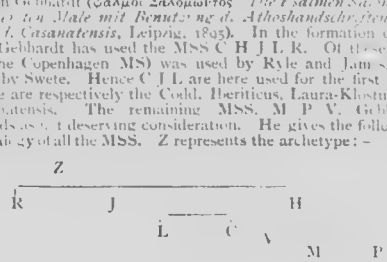
79. Text. Up to the present, five MSS of this book have been found; but of these the Augsburg MS has long been lost, though we possess a record of its readings in de la Cerda's edition, which was based upon it. The second codex is that of Vienna (= V). This MS was collated by Haupt for Hilgenfeld's two editions (*ZW Th.*, [illegible], 133-168, and *Messias Judaeorum*, 1869, pp. xi-xviii [illegible]); but the collation has been recently shown to be most inaccurate. The next edition is that of Geiger, *Der Psalt. Salomo's herausg. u. erkl.* (1871), based on the same critical materials as Hilgenfeld's. Though agreeing with Hilgenfeld as to the date and situation, Geiger maintains, in opposition to him, the Hebrew original. Fritzsche's edition was published in the same year (*Libri apocr. VT graece*, 560-89); and that of Pick in 1883 (*Presb. Rev.* 775-813). The third codex is the Copenhagen one (= H), to which attention was first called by Graux in the *Rev. Crit.* (1877), 291-293. The Moscow (= M) and Paris (= P) MSS were discovered and collated by Gebhardt. All these authorities have been used in the edition of Ryle and James (Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, *The Psalms of the Pharisees*, 1891). In this edition, eminently for its learning and for its critical insight, the reader will find everything worth knowing on the subject.[2] For the remaining literature on these psalms we must refer the student to this work (*Introd.* 13-21), and to Schür. (*in loc.*); but we must not forget two of the most fruitful studies that have yet been made—namely, an article by Movers in Herder's *Kirchen-Lexicon* (1847), and an Appendix to Weber's *Die Phar. u. Sadd.* (1874), which contains the translation with notes.

The date must be determined by the references to

[1] Mr. Sinker has since discovered two other Greek MSS; and these six MSS, with the other versions, be [illegible] as the foundation of a new Greek Text which, we hope, will see the light soon.

[1] Ryle and James make it clear that in both cases 'we should read the plural, against the best MSS.'

[2] Since the above account was written two new editions of the text have appeared. The first is that of Swete (*The OT in Greek*, 3 762-787). This editor has made a valuable contribution to the criticism of the text by means of a hitherto uncollated MS (which Gebhardt designates R) belonging to the Vatican. According to Gebhardt, however, his collation of this MS is deficient in point of accuracy. The second edition is that of O. von Gebhardt (Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος *Die Psalmen Salomo's zum erstenmal Nach mit Benutzung d. Athoshandschriften und d. C. H. Casanatensis*, Leipzig, 1895). In the formation of his text Gebhardt has used the MSS C H J L R. Of these only H (the Copenhagen MS) was used by Ryle and James, and H R by Swete. Hence C J L are here used for the first time. These are respectively the Codd. Heriticus, Laura-Klostu, and Casanatensis. The remaining MSS. M P V, Gebhardt regards as [illegible] deserving consideration. He gives the following genealogy of all the MSS. Z represents the archetype:—



contemporary events; and, as these are many and varied, there will be little difficulty in assigning a definite period to the activities of the authors.

80. Date.

The book opens with the alarms of war (1 2, 8 1) in the midst of a period of great material prosperity (1 3 *f.* 8 7); but the prosperity is only seeming: from their ruler to the vilest of the people they are altogether sinful (17 21 *f.*). The king, too, belongs to the family that has usurped the throne of David (17 6 9). A righteous judgment, however, speedily comes upon them. A hostile army advances against them, led by a 'mighty striker,' who came from the ends of the earth (8 16). The princes of the land go forth to meet him with joy, and greet him with the words, 'Blessed is thy path; come ye, enter in with peace' (8 18). When he has established himself within the city he seizes its strongholds (8 21); he casts down its fenced walls with the battering ram (2 1). Then the Gentiles tread Jerusalem under foot (2 29), yea, they pollute even the altar with their presence (2 2). Its princes and wise counsellors are put to the sword, and the blood of its inhabitants flows like water (8 23); its sons and daughters are carried away captive to the West (8 24 17 14) to serve in bondage (2 6), and its princes to grace the triumph of their conqueror (17 14). But the dragon who has conquered Jerusalem (2 29), aimed at lordship of land and sea, and thought himself to be more than man, at last meets with shameful death on the shores of Egypt, and there is none to bury him (2 30 *f.*).

There can be little doubt now as to the interpretation of these facts. The family that had usurped the throne of David are the Asmonæans, who, since 105 B.C., had assumed the regal name. The 'mighty striker' who comes 'from the ends of the earth' is Pompey. The princes who welcomed his approach are Aristobūlus II. and Hyrcanus II. When the followers of the latter opened the gates to Pompey, the party of Aristobulus shut themselves up within the temple, where they were besieged by Pompey and their defences battered down with battering-rams. The massacre that follows, and the carrying away captive *to the West* of princes and people, agree only with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey. Finally, the circumstances attending the death of the conqueror on the shores of Egypt recall the death of Pompey in a manner that cannot be misconceived.

We conclude, therefore, that the second psalm was written very soon after the death of Pompey in 48 B.C., and that 1, 8, 17 were composed between 63 and 48, as they presuppose Pompey's capture of Jerusalem but show no knowledge of his death. Psalms 5, 7, 9, 13, and 15 seem to allude to the same sequence of events as 1, 8, and 17, and therefore to belong to the same period. In 4 and 12, on the other hand, 'the sinners' are denounced; but as yet no visitation by the Gentiles is spoken of, nor any interposition of the Gentiles in Jewish affairs foretold. Hence these psalms are probably anterior to 64 B.C. Psalms 3, 4, 11, 14, and 16 betray no distinctly historical colouring; but there is nothing in them which requires us to assume different authorship and date from those of the other psalms. We may, therefore, with Ryle and James, safely assign 70-40 B.C. as the limits within which the psalms were written.

It may be added that Movers, Del. and Keim have identified the invader of Palestine with Herod; but this is impossible on many grounds; and just as many difficulties are against Ew.'s identification of this personage with Antiochus Epiphanes. In fact, all modern critics support the view advocated above.

The authors were clearly Pharisees. Thus they divide their countrymen into 'righteous' (δίκαιοι; 2 38 *f.* 3 5-8 *f.* 14 4 9 etc.) and 'sinners' (ἁμαρτωλοί; 2 38 3 13 4 9 13 5 6 7 10), 'saints' (ὅσιοι; 3 10 4 7 8 40 etc.) and 'transgressors' (παράνομοι; 4 11 13 21 27 12 1-4 17 27), of whom the former were the Pharisees and the latter the Sadducees. They assail the 'sinners' for having usurped the throne of David (17 5) and laid violent hands on the high-priesthood (17 6). This assault on the Asmonæan house evidently emanates from a Pharisee.

81. Authorship.

The authors further denounce the priests for polluting the holy things by their uncleanness and their neglect of the true observances (2 3 5 8 13 26), and likewise for outdoing the heathen in their abominations (1 8 9). Their attitude, moreover, to the law, their conception of the theocracy, their ideal of the bearing of a righteous man in the case of Gentile oppression, all alike mark them out as belonging to the Pharisaic school. To the same school appertains the doctrine taught regarding future retribution and the Messiah. In regard to the last, Ryle and James observe with justice that the Messianic conception in these psalms 'marks the revolution which had passed over Pharisaic thought since the time, not a century before, when Israel's mission in the world was identified only with the fulfilment and dissemination of the law. . . . The heroic deeds of Judas Maccabæus and his brothers had rekindled the ardour of the people for a Jewish dynasty and a Jewish kingdom; and the Pharisaic supporters of a theocracy were powerless so long as their teaching showed no sympathy with this patriotic enthusiasm.' But as it was hopeless to look for Israel's redemption to the helpless and hated later Asmonæans, so it is just at this crisis that the author of these psalms 'combines the recognition of the failure of the Asmonæan house with the popular enthusiasm for a Jewish monarchy' (p. 57). Thus the Pharisees 'appealed to the patriotic feelings of those who had no power to appreciate the abstract beauty of the old legalism. By its hope for a "son of David" it proclaimed the downfall of the Levitical Asmonæan house. By its ideal reign of "wisdom and righteousness," it asserted the fundamental Pharisaic position that the law was supreme.' Thus 'the Messianic representation of our seventeenth psalm marks the stage at which Pharisaic thought passed beyond the narrow limits of its earlier teaching, and availed itself of the popular aspiration for an earthly kingdom.' This step, however, 'entailed upon the theocratic party no policy beyond the exercise of patience till God should raise up the king, and until then the minute observance of this law' (p. 58). Against the attitude adopted by the writers of this book the *Assumption of Moses* is a protest from beginning to end (see above, § 65).

We give below (§ 85) some grounds for assuming that pss. 1-16 and 17-18 are due to different writers.

82. Place.

As the main interests of the psalms centre in Jerusalem, the writer probably lived in that city.

It is 'the City of the Sanctuary' (8 4); in it shall the song of triumph be sung when God brings back its children from the east and from the west (11 1-4). Though Jerusalem has now been trodden under foot by the Gentiles (2 2), the Messiah will cleanse it from all such pollution (17 25 33), and thither all the nations of the earth will go up to see the Messiah's glory (17 34). The psalmist's indictment of the Sadducean members of the Sanhedrim (4 1), and his account of their vices and abominations, are best understood as coming from a contemporary inhabitant of Jerusalem. To the writer of psalms 2, 8, and 17 that city is the centre of all the world, and the history of other nations or world-empires is of moment only in as far as it connects itself with 'the Holy City.'

83. Language.

The circumstances connected with these psalms point undoubtedly to a Hebrew original—*i.e.*, their composition, *circa* 70-40 B.C., by a Pharisee residing in Jerusalem;—and, notwithstanding Hilgenfeld's strong advocacy of a Greek original, all modern scholars admit that the psalms were composed in Hebrew.

This fact was first established by Geiger in opposition to Hilgenfeld's view. It has further been substantiated by Ryle and James with a fulness and insight that cannot fail to win conviction (*Introd.* pp. 77-87).

84. Greek version.

As for the Greek translation, we may provisionally accept the date assigned by the editors just named, who, by a hypothetical train of reasoning, show that it 'is not later than the middle of the first century A.D.'

We will now sketch in a few words some of the teaching of these psalms regarding the Messiah and the resurrection.

85. Eschatology.

First, in regard to the Messiah, the writer of psalm 17 returns to the conception of the prophets and describes him as 'the son of David' (17 23). He calls him also 'the Anointed One' (*v.* 36, cp 18 6 8)—a title that had been applied a few years before to the ideal Messianic king in association with supernatural attributes (Enoch 48 10 52 4). Here, however, the Messiah is a man and nothing more.

He is to be raised up by God himself (17 23, cp 18 6). He is to destroy the supremacy of the Gentiles (the Romans) and drive them forth from the borders of Israel (17 25 27 31). The 'proud sinners' (the Sadducees) will be expelled from the heritage of God which they had unlawfully seized (*vv.* 26 *f.* 41 51). The Messiah will purge Jerusalem from all impurity and make it his capital (*vv.* 33-35); he will bring back to Palestine the dispersed tribes (*vv.* 28 34 50); the Gentiles will become tributary and be converted to the faith of Israel (*vv.* 31 *f.* 34). He shall himself be free from sin (*v.* 41), and all his people will be holy (*v.* 36). Further, he will not conquer by force of arms (*v.* 37), but will smite the earth with the word of his mouth (*v.* 39). Finally, his rule is temporary (*v.* 42): 'He shall not taint all his days.' Only the surviving righteous share in his kingdom (17 50); the departed righteous are not raised to participate in it.

As these hopes of the Messiah are confined to pss. 17 *f.*, and as not even the remotest hint of such hopes can be discovered in the preceding sixteen psalms, it appears necessary to assume for them a difference of authorship.

In these, we should observe, there is not a hint that redress for present evils is to be looked for from the Messiah. In every instance the Psalmist expresses his faith that wrong will be set right, either by God's present judgments, by which his righteousness is or shall be justified (2 36 149 87 93), or by his final judgment of the world, which the righteous shall rise to eternal life (3 16 14 15), and by which destruction and darkness shall be the heritage of transgressors (14 5 15 14). This final judgment is spoken of as a 'visitation' of God upon the righteous and the wicked (3 14-16 14 7), it is likewise called in respect of the righteous 'the day of redemption' for the righteous' (14 6 18 6), whereas in respect of the wicked it is named 'the day of the judgment of the Lord' (15 11).

Since there is in pss. 1-16 only a resurrection of the righteous, Sheol was conceived as the perpetual abode of the wicked, 16 2. Into Sheol, thus conceived as hell, the wicked enter immediately on death (16 2 compared with 14 6 15 11). The intermediate abode of the righteous is probably to be regarded as the 'treasuries' to which we find the first reference in Eth. En. 100 5. See also ESCHATOLOGY, § 67.

IX. THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES. — The Sibylline literature belongs to a class of productions highly characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism.

86. Propagandist Literature. 'These,' as Schürer aptly remarks, 'were Jewish works under a heathen mask.' However divergent the outward form assumed, they all exhibited one characteristic in common: they addressed themselves to heathen readers, under cloak of some name that was influential in the heathen world, and in the form most natural to their alleged origin. Indirectly or directly, their aim was the propagation of Judaism among the Gentiles. Whilst the works ascribed to Hecataeus and Aristeas belong to the former category (indirect propaganda), the Sibyllines are distinctly of the latter.

The Sibyl was regarded in the ancient world as an inspired prophetess. She belonged to no prophetic

87. Sibyls. order or priestly caste, but held a position free and uncontrolled as a superhumanly gifted organ of the will and counsels of the gods.

The number of such Sibyls is variously stated at different times. Heraclitus in Plutarch (*De Pythiae orac.* 6), Aristophanes (*Pax*, 1095), and Plato (*Phaedr.* 22), speak of only one. Tacitus (*Ann.* 6 12) is doubtful whether there were more than one. Pausanias (*Descr. Graec.* 10 12) mentions four, while Varro (in Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* 1 6) specifies ten. For further information on this subject the reader should consult Alexandre, *Orac. Sibyl.* (1st ed.), 1856, 21-101; Maass, *de Sibyllarum Indicibus* (1870), and the arts. on the subject in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr.*, and the *Ency. Brit.*[9].

Written accounts of the oracles delivered by the Sibyls obtained in Greece and Asia Minor only a

88. Sibylline Oracles. private circulation. Still though they were not preserved by the State or publicly consulted, we must not underrate their importance in the life and thought of the Eastern classical world. In Rome, however, they acquired quite a unique position. It is not necessary to treat here of the very ancient collection of these oracles, said to have been purchased by King Tarquin, or to record the frequent occasions on which they were consulted by the state before their destruction in the fire that consumed the Capitol in B.C. 83. (Alexandre [2 198] has traced sixty such occasions.) Their place was soon afterwards taken (75 B.C.) by a collection, amounting in all to about 1000 verses, made in Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, and Italy, by order of the Senate. (After being revised under Augustus, it seems finally to have been burnt by the order of Stilicho in 404 A.D.)

Inasmuch as such oracles enjoyed high authority and a wide circulation in the East,—inasmuch, likewise, as they were anonymous in origin, free from authoritative revision, and capable of modification or enlargement at pleasure by those in whose hands they were for the time being,—they offered to the missionary spirit of Hellenistic Judaism a form of literature which would readily admit the disguised expression of its highest beliefs, and at the same time provide for them a hearing in Gentile circles. It is not unlikely, too, that the prolonged search of Roman officials for Sibylline oracles in the East may have further stimulated the inventive faculties of the Alexandrian Jews, and led to the composition of many of the verses in our present collection. In this method of propaganda the Christians proved themselves later to be apt pupils of the Jews. So common, indeed, had become in early Christian times the invention of such oracles that Celsus (Orig. *contr. Cels.* 5 61) terms Christians Σιβυλλισταί, believers in sibyls, or sibyl mongers.

This charge of Celsus was not unmerited; for with the exception of a citation about the tower of Babel made by Alexander Polyhistor, 80-40 B.C. (see Eus. *Chron.* 1 21), and found likewise in Josephus (*Ant.* 1 4 3), it is to Christian writers that we are indebted, not only for all other references, but also for the preservation of the entire collection that has come down to us.

Hermas (*Vis.* 2 4) mentions the Sibyl, but not her verses; but quotations are frequent in Clement of Alex. and Lactantius. A collection of the Patristic quotations from the Sibyllines will be found in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinorum quae apud Lactantium reperiuntur*: 1817), in Verwerst (*De Carminibus Sibyllinis apud sanctos Patres disceptatio*, Paris, 1844), in Besançon (*De l'emploi que les Pères de l'église ont fait des oracles sibyllins*: Montauban, 1851), and in Alexandre (2 254-311).

The Sibylline Oracles, as we now have them, are a chaotic medley. They consist of twelve books—there

89. Surviving collection. were originally fourteen—of various authorship, date, and religious conception. This arrangement, which is due to an unknown editor of the sixth century (Alexandre), does not in itself determine identity of authorship, or of time, or of religious belief, for many of the books are merely arbitrary groupings of unrelated fragments. As the editor, moreover, was guided by caprice as often as by any discernible principle of editing, it is not strange that the same passage frequently recurs in different contexts.

The first printed edition of these Oracles was published at Basel, in 1545, from an Augsburg (now a Munich) MS, and

90. Editions. consisted of eight books. A metrical Latin translation of these books by Sebastian Castalio appeared in the following year, and an emended Greek text from the same scholar in 1555. The most valuable of the early editions is that of Opsopœus (*i.e.*, Koch), Paris, 1599, in which fresh MS evidence is brought to bear upon the text. These were followed by that of Gallæus, Amsterdam, 1689; but his work is of no critical worth. These eight Sibylline books were likewise reprinted in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Vett. Patr.* (Venice, 1788). Book 14 was first edited by Mai in 1817 from a Milan MS and Books 11-14 from two Vatican MSS in 1828 by the same scholar. Books 9 and 10 have not been recovered. All these editions have been superseded by the first edition of Alexandre's *Oracula Sibyllina* (2 vols, Paris, 1841-1856), and his second edition of 1869, in which the valuable excursuses of the first are omitted; and by the edition of Friedlieb (Leipzig, 1852). The latter has a useful introduction, and is accompanied by a translation into German hexameters; but the text is untrustworthy.

By far the best text that has yet appeared is that of Rzach, *Oracula Sibyllina* (Vienna, 1891). For the formation of this text fourteen MSS have been used; the text has been further emended by an exhaustive collation of quotations in the Fathers. Our citations will be made from this text.

For further literature on the subject, see Alexandre's work (1st ed. 271-82; 2nd ed. 418-419); Schürer (*Hist.* 3 238-292). English readers will find the subject well treated in the work of Schürer just mentioned; *Edinb. Rev.* (July 1877, pp. 31-67); and Deane (*Pseudepigr.* 1891, pp. 276-344).

The relation of the Jewish and the Christian Sibyllines to the ancient heathen ones it is practically impossible

91. Rel. to heathen Sibyl. to determine. 1. They assumed, of course, the outward form of the older Oracles, being written in Homeric hexameter verse; but they transgress every rule of prosody. Short syllables are lengthened through the in-

fluence of the accent, or even without it, owing to the exigencies of the verse; and long syllables are likewise shortened.

For peculiarities of metre and syntax, see Alexandre, *l.c.* xxxvi. ff. It must be acknowledged, however, that many of these disappear in the better text of Rzach. Of acrostic verses, which, according to Dionys. Hal. (462) and Cicero (*De Div.*, 2 54), was the form of the most ancient Sibyllines, only one specimen is still preserved—viz., in 8 217-250, the initials of which are **ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ**. It should be observed, further, that without the last word[1] the initials of the title compose the word **ΙΧΘΥΣ**—'a fish'—a frequent symbol of the Christian faith on early monuments.

2. As regards the matter, it is more than probable that the later Sibyls used much of the older material lying ready to hand.

Thus, in 3 414-418 (the passage about Helen), 'the Erinnys from Sparta,' is from a heathen source; so likewise the punning couplet in 4 99-100, which frequently recurs:

> καὶ Σάμον ἅμμος ἅπασαν ὑπ' ἠιόνεσσι καλύψει
> Δῆλος δ' οὐκ ἔτι δῆλος, δῆλα δὲ πάντα τὰ Δήλου.

Another notable instance is 8 361, where a line from an ancient Delphic oracle is given verbatim. See Herod. I 47.

We must turn from such questions to discuss the various elements of which the work is composed.

92. Composite character. These, as we have already observed, are both Jewish and Christian, and the latter largely preponderate. Owing, however, to the character of the work, it is not always possible to distinguish between the two. It is therefore only on some of the smaller portions that we can arrive at any certainty. Much is of a neutral character, and, as far therefore as internal evidence goes, may equally well have proceeded from either class of writers. There is a great lack of external evidence. We shall now deal with the various elements of the work in their chronological order as far as that is possible. Our space does not admit of an analysis of all the books; we shall, however, give a short survey of the more important.

93. Prooemium. The first and oldest part is 3 97-829[2] and probably the Prooemium. The latter is not found in our MSS; it is taken from the *Ad Autolycum* of Theophilus (180 A.D.). It consists of two fragments, of thirty-five and forty-nine lines respectively. Rzach (pp. 232-238) and Alexandre link them together by another short fragment of three lines. On very inadequate grounds the latter editor assigns them to Christian authorship; but they contain nothing of an essentially Christian cast (on their contents, see ESCHATOLOGY, § 58).

94. 3 97-829. With regard to 3 97-829 opinions are conflicting. Bleek regards verses 97-807—with the exception of 3 350-380, a later Christian interpolation—as the work of an Alexandrian Jew 170-100 B.C.; Hilgenfeld thinks that the whole of 97-817 was written about 140 B.C.; Ewald brings down the date to 124 B.C. Alexandre assigns 3 97-294, 489-828, to 168, but 295-488 to the age of the Antonines. The strongest evidence in favour of Alexandre's view is to be found in the difficulty of interpreting adequately such passages as 3 464-473 as applying to the civil war and the dissensions of Marius and Sulla (Friedlieb, p. 33).

3 97-818 falls naturally into three groups: (*a*) 97-294; (*b*) 295-488; (*c*) 489-818. The first (*a*) opens abruptly with the building and the destruction of Babel (97-104). Then the earth is peopled and its rule is divided between Cronos, Titan, and Iapetos (105-110). In the strife that subsequently arose between the Cronides and the Titans these races were destroyed, and there follows in succession the great kingdoms of the earth—those of Egypt, Persia, Media, Æthiopia, Assyria, Macedonia, again of Egypt, and of Rome (118-161). This closes the retrospect of the Sibyl; now begins her prophecy (162-166). First, she predicts the rise of the Jewish (under Solomon), the Macedonian, and the Roman kingdoms; during the reign of the seventh king of Egypt, of Hellenic race, the people of God will again become powerful (167-194). Then are recounted the judgments of God on the kingdoms of the world and on the Jews (196-212). Next, the Sibyl takes as her theme the praise of the Jewish nation, their virtues, and the salient points in their history from their departure from Egypt down to Cyrus (218-294). The second group (*b*) is mainly concerned with judgments against Babylon, Egypt, Gog and Magog, Libya (295-333), and likewise against individual cities (341-366). Then follows the promise of Messianic prosperity and peace (367-380), and this group closes with oracles regarding Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors, and various countries, towns, and islands (381-488). In 414-488 we have the celebrated diatribe against Homer. The third group (*c*) opens with oracles against Phœnicia, Crete, Thrace, Gog and Magog, and the Hellenes (489-572). Then Israel is praised for its worship of the true God (573-600). Thereupon ensues a second prophecy of judgment and a call to conversion, and an account of the evils that were to befall the ungodly (601-651). Then the Sibyl foretells the coming of the Messianic king, who would take vengeance on his adversaries; next comes a detailed account of the period of Messianic prosperity (652-731), and, finally, the signs that are to herald the end of all things (796-808). The Sibyl declares that she is neither the Erythræan Sibyl nor yet the Cumæan (809 818).

3. Though it is obvious from the above epitome that 3 97-818 is not a single and homogeneous composition but rather an aggregate of separate oracles, we are safe (with Schürer) in regarding the three groups as derived in the main from one author, and as dating from the same period, the reign of the seventh Ptolemy, which is referred to in all three groups (192-193, 316-318, 608-610).

Ptolemy VII. Physcon reigned first in conjunction with his brother Ptolemy VI. Philometor (170-164 B.C.). He was then banished, but recovered the throne in 145 and reigned as sole king till 117 B.C. That the composition dates from the latter period is clear (520-572) from the prophecy of the complete subjugation of all Hellas. As Hilgenfeld, Schürer, and Drummond point out, this cannot have been written before the fall of Corinth (146 B.C.). The doom of Corinth is actually referred to (487), and possibly that of Carthage (492-503). Verses 388-400, which deal with the Seleucid kings, were written (according to Hilgenfeld's interpretation) about 140 B.C. Therefore, since the author represents the Messianic kingdom as beginning during the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, we may safely take 97-818 to have been written in the second half of the second century B.C. The Prooemium, with which we have already dealt (see above § 93), most probably formed the introduction to these verses, and Schürer adduces external evidence from Lactantius (iv. 6 5) to that effect.

Before proceeding to discuss 3 1-96, we should add that Friedlieb and others reject 810-828 as a later addition, as these verses are at variance with 809-811.

95. 3 1-92. With regard, however, to 3 1-92 all previous critics seem to have gone wrong in connecting 63-92 with the preceding verses. In 63-92 the end of all things is to come during the sway of Rome over the world (75-80). In 1-62, on the other hand, only the partial judgments that are to take effect on the coming of the Messianic king in 49 *f.* are recounted. The Sibyl then promises in 61 *f.* to enumerate the cities that are to suffer; but here the account breaks off, and not a word more is said in 63-92 in fulfilment of her promise. Hence these two sections are of different authorship. 63-92 is certainly late and Christian. On 3 1-62, see also ESCHATOLOGY, § 68.

In 63-74 we have a reproduction of the myth concerning Nero, according to which Beliar was to return in the form of that emperor and work many mighty signs. This idea recurs in 2 167-170 (a distinctly Christian product), and in the Asc. Isa. 3 13-51 (cp ANTICHRIST, § 15).

As regards 3 1-62, it may be derived from one author, and vv. 52 may refer to the triumvirate of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus. In that case this section was written before 31 B.C.

96. Book 4. Book 4 is, with Friedlieb, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Alexandre, and Schürer, to be regarded as of Jewish authorship, and was written about 80 A.D. or somewhat later. This date is determined by two allusions: the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) in 115-127, and the eruption of Vesuvius (79 A.D.) in 130-135. The latter was to be the immediate precursor of the vengeance that was to be wreaked on Rome by Nero, returning with many myriads from the East (137-139). There are no grounds for assigning this book, with Ew. and Hilgenfeld, to Essene authorship; for, with the exception of the reference to ablutions in 163-165, there is no mention of anything characteristic of the Essenes, and the words in question are most naturally taken as referring to proselyte baptism (Schürer). The teaching enforced in 179-192 shows that the author cannot have been a Jew of Alexandria, but probably belonged to Palestine; for the eschatology is very naive. From the bones and ashes of men's bodies God

[1] A Latin rendering with the last seven verses omitted is given in Augustine's *De Civ. Dei* xviii. 23.

[2] Where Friedlieb and Alexandre give 828, Rzach gives 829 verses.

[3] In the detailed analysis that follows, certain verses, unimportant for the present purpose, are (for the sake of brevity) left unaccounted for.

will [illegible] anew the bodies in which they will rise to judgment. The [illegible] will then proceed according to their deeds. The wicked will [illegible] die, but the righteous live again on earth. The details [illegible]

97. Book 5. Book 5 professes to be the work of an Egyptian Sibyl, the sister of Isis ([illegible]). It is mainly Jewish; but there may be Christian elements. There is a marked absence of [illegible] characteristic of Judaism or Christianity, and [illegible] internal connection. Friedlieb attributes the book to an Egyptian Jew in the time of Hadrian; Alexandre to a Christian Jew of Alexandria in the age of the Antonines. The first fifty-one lines are in effect a chronological oracle ending with Hadrian. As the rest of the book deals with Egyptian affairs, it is probably of different authorship and date, and we may, with Ewald, Hilgenfeld, and Schürer, accept 80 A.D. as an approximate date for 52-531. Some passages are decidedly Jewish: 77-, 260-285 (announcement of woes upon the idolatrous Gentiles; but of blessing on Israel), 77-, 397-413 (the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem), 77-, 414-433, 492-511 (the building of a new temple in Egypt which is to take the place of that already destroyed at Leontopolis), there are others also. The one passage that seems to be certainly Christian is 256-259:

εἰς δέ τις ἔσται αὖτις ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἔξοχος ἀνὴρ,
οὗ παλάμας ἥπλωσεν ἐπὶ ξύλου ἁγλαοκάρπου
Ἑβραίων οὐχ ἁριστος, ὃς ἠέλιον ποτε στήσειν
ψευσησας ῥήσει τε καλῇ καὶ χείλεσιν ἁγνοῖς

Book 6 is the work of a Gnostic (?) Christian. Jesus, the natural son of Joseph, is united with Christ at baptism. The book describes certain incidents at the baptism somewhat after the manner of the apocryphal gospels.

98. Books 6-8 11-14 1 *f.*

Book 7 is of like authorship, and is not earlier than the third (see [illegible] § 91, 1) century A.D. Book 8, in which the famous acrostic occurs, is of Christian origin but of divided authorship. 1-4 belongs to the second century; 430-501 to the third. As to Books 1 *f.* and 11-14, there is a great variety of opinion. Alexandre assigns the former to a Christian author of the third century, and the latter to an Alexandrian Jew of about the year 267. Friedlieb places 1 *f.* at the close of the second century; 11-14 he ascribes to Jewish writers of the second and third centuries A.D. respectively; 12 *f.* to Christian writers of the third century.

Some of these judgments are simply hypotheses; there is still room for indefinite study on these questions. E. H. C.

APOCRYPHA

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It is proposed in the present article to give, in the first place, a general survey of the very miscellaneous collection of books known as 'the Apocrypha' (details being reserved for special articles), and then to proceed to an enumeration and classification of the larger literature which lies beyond the limits of that collection. Fuller treatment of the subdivision 'Apocalyptic,' however, will be reserved for a special article (see above, APOCALYPTIC), where will be found an account of the following nine works:—Apoc. of Baruch, Ethiopic Book of Enoch, Slavonic Book of Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses, Test. xii. Patr., Psalms of Solomon, Sibylline Oracles. The later Christian literature will be excluded, only those writings being considered which contain portions assignable, at latest, to the early years of the second century.

1. Aim of article.

The name Apocrypha (nom. pl. neut. of Gk. adj. ἀπόκρυφος, *hidden*) is used to denote a large body of Jewish and Christian literature, consisting of writings which either their authors or their admirers have sought to include among canonical scriptures, but which have ultimately failed to secure such a position in the estimation of the Church at large.

2. Name.

This special usage of the word is derived from the practice common among sects, religious or philosophic, of embodying their special tenets or formulæ in books withheld from public use, and communicated to an inner circle of believers. Such books, generally bearing the name of some patriarch, prophet, or apostle, were called by their possessors apocryphal, the designation implying that they were hidden from the outer world, and even from the ordinary members of the sect itself; in such cases the epithet apocryphal was used in a laudatory sense. Since, however, the books were forgeries, the epithet gradually came to take colour from that fact, and in process of time it was employed to indicate other writings that had been forged. In the common parlance of to-day, it denotes any story or document which is false or spurious.

One of the earliest instances—and certainly a typical instance—of the use of the word *apocryphal* in its laudatory sense, occurs in a magical book of Moses edited from a Leyden papyrus of the third or fourth century by Leeman and by Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 109). The book may be as old as the first century A.D. Its title is **Μωυσέως ἱερὰ βίβλος ἀπόκρυφος ἐπικαλουμένη ὀγδόη ἡ ἁγία**, 'A Holy and Secret Book of Moses, called the Eighth, or the Holy.' For the earliest use of the word *in malam partem*, on the other hand, we have to turn probably to Cyril of Alexandria (348 A.D.); and for a more frequent and clear employment of the adjective in a disparaging sense, to Jerome, whose constant use of it is probably responsible for our employment of it at the present day as the equivalent of 'non-canonical.'

Finally the name Apocrypha has come to be applied, and is now applied, by the reformed communions to a particular collection of writings. While some of these are genuine and authentic treatises, others legendary histories, and the rest apocryphal in the disparaging sense of bearing names to which they have no right, all come under the definition proposed above, for each of them has at one time or another been treated as canonical.[1]

I. The Apocrypha Proper.

3. Apocrypha proper: classification.

This collection of books may be classified in several ways. We might classify them critically thus:—

1. *Additions to canonical books*:—
   1 Esdras (interpolated form of Ezra): see below, § 4, ii.
   Additions to Esther: see below, § 5, 1.
   Additions to Daniel: see below, § 5, 2.
   Prayer of Manasses: see below, § 6, 3.
2. *Pseudepigraphical writings*:—
   4 Esdras: see below, § 7.
   Wisdom of Solomon: see below, § 8, 2.
   Baruch: see below, § 6, 1.
   Epistle of Jeremy: see below, § 6, 2.
3. *Legendary or Haggadic writings*:
   Tobit: see below, § 5, 3.
   Judith: see below, § 5, 4.
4. *Genuine and authentic treatises*:—
   Ecclesiasticus: see below, § 8, 1.
   1, 2 Maccabees: see below, § 4, i.

Probably the most natural and convenient division

[1] It does not seem necessary to devote space here to commenting upon the use of the word Deutero-canonical, as applied to these books by the Church of Rome; for it is expressly so[illegible] by the authorities of that Church that no distinction of authority is implied in the term.

will be one depending upon the kind of literature which each book represents, as thus

I. Narrative: (*a*) Historical; (*b*) Legendary (or Haggadic).
II. (*a*) Prophetical; or (*b*) Apocalyptic.
III. Didactic.

I. (*a*) HISTORICAL. i. *The Books of Maccabees.* 1 *Maccabees.*—An important and generally trustworthy history, extant in Greek. It was translated from a Hebrew original, which survived as late as the time of Jerome. On this and the following see MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.

4. Historical.

2 *Maccabees.*—Extant in Greek; an abridgment of a work in five books by Jason of Cyrene (see 2 21). Prefixed to it are two letters, from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt, commonly held to be spurious (see, however, MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7).

3 *Maccabees.*—Greek. A fragmentary history of an attempted massacre of the Jews under Ptolemy Philopator, and of their miraculous deliverance. This book and the following are not included by the Roman Church in its Canon, and do not appear in the Vg. though found in 𝔊.

4 *Maccabees.*—Greek. A philosophical discourse, illustrating the triumph of Reason over Matter, by the story of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the 'Seven Maccabees' and their mother. The work was traditionally attributed to Josephus. An edition of the Syriac version with kindred documents, prepared by the late Prof. Bensly, has been printed under the supervision of W. E. Barnes.

ii. 1 *Esdras.*[1] Greek. A recasting of the canonical Ezra, to which is added the legendary tale of the Dispute of the Three Courtiers (known to Josephus). This book appears in Vg. as an appendix to the NT; but no authority is attributed to it by the Church of Rome. See ESDRAS, BOOKS OF, First and Second.

(*b*) LEGENDARY. 1. *Additions to Esther.*—Greek. They consist of a number of letters, prayers, visions, and the like, which are found intercalated into the canonical book of Esther in 𝔊. See ESTHER, § 10.

5. Legendary.

2. *Additions to Daniel.*—Greek. These are three in number:

(i.) The Story of Susanna, prefixed to the book.
(ii.) The Song of the Three Children inserted in ch. 3.
(iii.) The Story of Bel and the Dragon, following ch. 12 and attributed to Habakkuk.

They are found both in the 𝔊 Version and in that of Theodotion. What is said to be the Hebrew original of part of the Song of the Three Children has been recently found by Dr. M. Gaster in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel, and printed by him in *TSB.1*, 1894. Cp DANIEL, § 5.

3. *Tobit.*—Greek and 'Chaldee.' A romantic narrative of the period of the Captivity, written not later than the first century A.D. at latest, and perhaps in Egypt. The book has a literary connection with the story of Ahikar (see ACHIACHARUS). The date cannot at present be considered at all certain. The 'Chaldee' or Aramaic version (on the name see ARAMAIC, § 4 end), published by Dr. Neubauer in 1878, is probably not the earliest form of the book. Of the Greek there are three recensions, and there are three old Latin recensions besides Jerome's Vg. version. There are also two Hebrew texts, one derived from 𝔊, and the other from the Aramaic. Dr. Gaster has printed some fresh Hebrew texts of the story in *TSBA*, 1896. See TOBIT.

4. *Judith.* Greek. A romance which, in its present form, may date from the first century B.C. It tells the story of the deliverance of the city Bethulia from the Assyrians under Holofernes, through the bravery of Judith, a Hebrew widow. No miraculous element appears in the story. See JUDITH.

[1] So called in EV and 𝔊 (*e.g.* Swete [B]). In 𝔊A (subscr.) it is called ὁ ἱερεύς; in Lag.'s Luc. it is Ἐζδρας Β', and in Vg. it is Esdras.

II. (*a*) PROPHETICAL. 1. *Baruch.*—Greek. A pseudepigraphical book (*i.e.* one written under a false name), ascribed to Baruch son of Neriah, amanuensis of Jeremiah. It consists of two parts: (1) 1-38, which may date from the times of the Persian supremacy, possibly has a Hebrew original, and certainly shows close affinities with Dan. 9; (2) 39-59 (end), originally written in Greek, probably after 70 A.D.; chap. 5 is modelled on the 11th Psalm of Solomon. Edited most fully by Kneucker. Appended to this book is

6. Prophetical.

2 *The Epistle of Jeremy* (Baruch 6 in our Apocrypha).—Greek, also pseudepigraphic, purporting to be a letter of Jeremiah addressed to the Jews at Babylon, inveighing against the worship of idols.

3. *The Prayer of Manasses.*—Greek. This is attributed to Manasseh, king of Judah, when in prison. It is very likely an extract from a legendary history of Manasseh, of which other portions appear to be quoted (in connection with the prayer) in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (2 22); or possibly it was written with a view to insertion into the text of 2 Chron. 33. It is not in the Roman canon, but is appended thereto.

(*b*) APOCALYPTIC.—Of this large and important class of writings only one specimen is contained in our Apocrypha, namely:

7. Apocalyptic.

4 *Esdras.*[1]—Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian. The original Greek is lost. Only chaps. 3-14 appear in any Version save the Latin; chaps. 1 *f.* 15 *f.* are later accretions, probably of two different dates, 1 *f.* being perhaps of second century, and 15 *f.* of third century. 3-14 are a Jewish apocalypse, probably written about 97 A.D.; 1 *f.* are Christian, 15 *f.* most likely Jewish. Rejected by the Roman Church, it is printed as an appendix to the Vg. See ESDRAS, BOOKS OF and APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 13-15.

III. DIDACTIC. 1. *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, commonly called Ecclesiasticus.*—Greek, avowedly translated from the Hebrew of which a considerable portion has lately been recovered. A genuine authentic treatise, in parts of high literary excellence. The author was a Palestinian Jew of the second century B.C. See ECCLESIASTICUS.

8. Didactic.

2. *Wisdom of Solomon.* Greek. Written under the name of Solomon perhaps by Philo (according to an early tradition), certainly by a Jew of Alexandria in the first century. It is of great merit in parts; but the tone deteriorates towards the end. The book seems, moreover, to be incomplete. See WISDOM, BOOK OF.

II. Other Apocryphal Literature.

Our survey of the remaining literature is a much more difficult matter. The idea of classifying the books upon chronological principles must be set aside at once as impracticable; the data are in a majority of cases far too vague. The simplest division that can be made is between those books which have to do with the OT and those which associate themselves with the New. Within those the classification will be made, as in the case of the apocrypha already described, according to kinds of literature represented; writings which unite more than one element will be arranged according to their most prominent feature. In the case of the OT literature, slightly modifying our previous classification, we can include all the documents we possess under the following headings:—i. Legendary or Haggadic Narratives. ii. Prophetical and Apocalyptic books. iii. Poetical. iv. Didactic.

9. Other literature.

[1] Called 2 Esdras in EV, but oftener, as here, 4 Esdras—*i.e.*, 4th after 1st Esdras, the Heb. Ezra, and Nehemiah. It is called 3 Esd. when Ezra-Neh. are counted one book, as in 𝔊. In an Amiens MS chaps. 1 *f.* 3-14 15 *f.* are called 3rd, 4th, and 5th Esd. respectively.

A. *Old Testament* (§§ 10-25)

I. Legendary or Haggadic Narratives (§§ 10-18)

10. Adam and Eve, etc.

1. *Testament* (or *Apocalypse*, or *Penitence*) *of Adam*; *Book of the Death of Adam and Eve.*—Extant partially in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic [and Coptic].

These versions represent variously developed forms or fragments of a Jewish romance dealing with the life of Adam and Eve after the Fall, and with their death and burial. We no longer possess the romance in its original form.

The remains of it must be sought in the following documents:—(α) Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*, more properly Διήγησις περὶ Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὔας. Edited by Tischendorf (*Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 1866) and, in a fragmentary text, from the best MS, by Certani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, 5.2). It is principally concerned with the death of Adam and Eve, and includes an important narrative of the Fall. It is essentially Jewish.

(β) Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*: extant in many MSS, printed by Wilh. Meyer in *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.*, Philos.-philol. Kl. 14, 1878. It covers the same ground as (α) and introduces elements which occur in (γ) and (δ).

(γ) Arabic and Ethiopic *Book of Adam and Eve or Conflict of Adam and Eve.* A long romance, Christianized throughout, dealing with the sufferings and temptations of Adam and Eve after the Fall. The history is continued to the birth of Christ, and has close affinities with the *Cave of Treasures* (ed. Bezold; *Schatzhöhle*). It is derived in large part from the lost Jewish romance. First translated by Dillmann (*Das Christl. Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, 1853): Ethiopic text by Trumpp in *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.* 15, 1879-81: English Version by S. C. Malan (*Book of Adam and Eve*, 1882). See too the article 'Adam, Books of,' by Hort, in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*

(δ) Greek, Syriac, and Arabic fragments of the *Testament of Adam.* Prophetic and apocalyptic in character: some are extracts from the old romance in its original form; others are Christianized. Edited by Renan in *Journ. As.* (1853, pp. 427-471); the Greek by M. R. James (*Apocrypha Anecdota*: *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3 [18]).

(ε) Coptic. A leaf from a Moses-Adam apocalypse, gnostic-ized. Edited by Schmidt and Harnack in *Sitzungsber. d. k. pr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1891, p. 1045. It is now recognised by Harnack to be part of the late Coptic *Apocalypse of Bartholomew.*

2. *Book of Jubilees, Little Genesis* (*Leptogenesis*), *Apocalypse* (or *Testament*) *of Moses.*—A 'haggadic commentary upon Genesis.' The book is in the form of a revelation made to Moses on Mount Sinai by the angel of the Presence. Hence it has been called the *Apocalypse of Moses.* The narrative communicated by the angel begins with the Creation, and extends to the giving of the law, and the whole time is reckoned in periods of Jubilees: hence the name *Book of Jubilees.* The events narrated in Genesis are for the most part sketched slightly with the addition of details of a legendary character: hence the name *Leptogenesis*, 'a detailed treatment of Genesis' (see, however, Eschatology, §49). These details include the names of the wives of the patriarchs, the wars of Jacob and Esau, the last words of Abraham and Isaac. Much of the legendary element in *Test. xii. Patr.* (see below) is derived from this book: see Apocalyptic, §§ 48-58.

3. *Testaments of the Three Patriarchs* (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob). Referred to in the *Apost. Const.* (6.16).

11. Patriarchs. Books under these names, combining the legendary, apocalyptic, and didactic elements Christianized, are found in Greek, Slavonic, and Roumanian (*Testament* [or *Apocalypse*] *of Abraham*), and in Arabic and Ethiopic (*Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*). They narrate the circumstances attending the deaths of the three patriarchs. Their early date is maintained by the present writer (one is quoted by Origen), but is not universally allowed. Dr. Kohler (*JQR*, 1895) assigns an Essene origin to the *Test. of Abraham.*

Edited by M. R. James ('Test. of Abraham': *Texts and Studies*, ii. 2.2) and by Dr. Gaster (Romanian version of Abraham, *PSBA*, 1893). The Greek version is printed from one MS by Vassiliev (*Anecdota Graecolyzantina*, 1893).

4. *Apocalypse of Abraham.*—Slavonic, from Greek. An interesting Jewish book with Christian insertions. The first part is haggadic, and gives the story of Abraham's conversion: the second is an expansion of the vision narrated in Gen. 15: edited by N. Bonwetsch in *Studien zur Geschichte d. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1897.

5. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*—A book, combining the three elements of legendary, apocalyptic, and didactic matter in twelve sections, each of which gives the last dying speech of one of the sons of Jacob: see Apocalyptic, §§ 68-70.

6. *Life* (or *Confession*) *of Asneth.*—A Jewish legend of early date: Christianized. Extant in Greek and Syriac (and Latin).

12. Asneth. It is connected with the *Test. xii. Patr.*, and narrates the circumstances attending the marriage of Asneth with Joseph. There is much beauty in the story. The Latin version was, according to the present writer's belief, made by or for Grosseteste, at the same time as that of the *Testaments.*

The Greek and Latin are edited by P. Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, 1889. The Syriac will be found in Land, *Anecd. Syriaca*, and Oppenheim, *Fabula Ioseph et Asnethae*, 1886. See Hort's article in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*

7. *Testament of Job.*—A Midrash on Job, containing a mythical story of his life. Christianized to a very limited extent. It is ascribed to his brother

13. Job. Νηρεὺς (Nahor). Job's wife is called Σιτὶς (Dinah) and is represented as inspired by Satan. The story is worth reading.

It exists in Greek and seems to be quoted in the *Apos. Paul.* Printed from a Vatican MS by Mai (*Script. Vet. Nova Coll.*, 7.1.5); a French translation in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, edited last from two MSS by M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. 1897.

8. *Testament of Solomon.*—Greek. Practically a magical book, though interspersed with large haggadic

14. Solomon, etc. sections. It is mainly Jewish, though Christian touches have been introduced. It narrates the circumstances under which Solomon attained power over the world of spirits, details his interviews with the demons, and ends with an account of his fall and loss of power.

Ed. first by F. E. Fleck in *Wissenschaftl. Reise*; reprinted in Migne's *Cedrenus*, vol. ii., as an appendix to Psellus's writings. A German translation by Bornemann in *Illustr. Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1843.

9. *Contradictio Salomonis.*—A work under this name is condemned in the 'Gelasian' Decree *de recipiendis et non recipiendis libris.* It was in all likelihood an account of Solomon's contest in wisdom with Hiram, and was the groundwork of the romance still extant in many forms and under many names—*e.g.*, Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn (Anglo-Saxon), Solomon and Kitovras (*i.e.* Kentauros, Slavonic), Solomon and Marcolph (Latin, etc.). Josephus mentions the Hiram-legend.

See on all these books J. M. Kemble's Introduction to the *Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, Ælfric Society, 1848, and compare Achiacharos.

10. *Ascension of Isaiah.*—Partly haggadic, but chiefly important as an apocalypse—under which heading it will be treated. See Apocalyptic, §§ 42-47.

11. Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum Biblicarum.*—Latin, from Greek, and that from Hebrew. Printed

15. Pseudo-Philo. thrice in the 16th century (in 1527, in 1550, and in 1599), this book had practically escaped the knowledge of all modern scholars (except Cardinal Pitra) until Mr. Leopold Cohn reintroduced it to the world in an article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1898. It is a haggadic summary of Bible history from Adam to the death of Saul, full of most interesting visions, prophecies, and legends.

The Latin version, the only form in which the book is known, very much resembles the version of 4 Esd. Four fragments published by the present writer (Prayer of Moses, Vision of Kenaz, Lament of Seila, and Song of David: *Apocr. Anecd.* i.) turn out to be extracts from this work of Pseudo-Philo. It is apparently pre-Christian and merits careful study.

12. *Book of Jasher.*—A haggadic commentary upon the Hexateuch, containing ancient elements, but pre-

16. Jasher. served in a mediæval form. There is a French translation by Drach in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, vol. ii.

[illegible] Haggadic and apocalyptic frag[illegible] This work are incorporated in the Book of [illegible].

17. Noah. [illegible] there is also a Hebrew Midrash under this name printed by Jellinek in [illegible] *Midrash*, 3 [illegible] partly based on the *Book of Enoch*. [illegible] See Rönsch and Charles, and cp. APOCALYPTIC, §§ 24-[illegible] 57.

14. *Book of Lamech.* The title 'Lamech' occurs in Greek lists of apocryphal books. A story of Lamech

18. Lost Books. which is found separately in Slavonic may or may not be identical with this. There can be little doubt that the old book treated (as the Slavonic one does) of the accidental slaying of Cain by Lamech.

15. *Book of Og.*—In the Gelasian Decree a book is mentioned as 'The Book of Og the giant, whom the heretics feign to have fought with a dragon after the Flood.' It was, according to the present writer's belief, identical with a book Πραγματεια τῶν Γιγαντων or *Treatise of the Giants*, which is mentioned in a list of Manichæan apocrypha by Timotheus of Constantinople (Fabricius, *Cod. apoc. NT* I 100). It was no doubt a Jewish haggada, containing, to judge from the title, some stirring incidents. Possibly it may have given a Jewish form of the ancient Dragon-myth of Babylonia, on which see Gunkel (*US* [illegible]).

16. *Penitence of Jannes and Mambres.*—Mentioned also in the Gelasian Decree, and perhaps, like the *Pantomia Cypriani*, a confession of the wicked magical arts of the two Egyptian wizards. See an article by Isebn in Hilgenfeld's *ZWT*, 1894. There is a fragment (in Latin and Anglo-Saxon) apparently belonging to this book in the Cotton MS Tib. B.V.; but it has not yet been printed.

17. *Esther.*—Origen on Romans (9 2: p. 646) has the following passage, which clearly refers to a romance about Esther: 'We have found it written in a certain book of an apocryphal nature (*in scriptore*) that there is an angel of grace who takes his name from grace. For he is called Ananchel (5 1 Anahel), which being interpreted means *the grace of God*. Now in this writing it was said that this angel was sent by the Lord to Esther to give her grace in the sight of the king.'

There are, besides, many haggadic histories [illegible] of David, Jonah, the Captivity, and (see *Rev. Sém.* 1898) the Rechabites—in Syriac, Carshuni, Arabic, and Ethiopic, which are still unpublished; they are to be found in MS at Paris and elsewhere.

See Zotenberg's *Cat. des MSS Syriaques* and *Cat. des MSS Éth. [illegible] de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, and Wright's Catalogues of Ethiopic and of Syriac MSS in the British Museum. Much Slavonic apocryphal literature also remains unknown to critics, though most of it has been printed. See Kozak's list of Slavonic apocryphal literature in *IPT* xviii., and Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Altchrist. Lit.* 912-917.

II. APOCALYPTIC. 1. *Book of Enoch*; and 2. *Secrets of Enoch*.—See APOCA-

19. Apocalyptic: Enoch, etc. LYPTIC, §§ 18-32 and 33-41 respectively.

3. *Sibylline Oracles.*—Greek hexameter verse, in fourteen books of various dates. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 86-98.

4. *Assumption of Moses.*—Quoted in the epistle of Jude, as well as by later Christian writers; extant in Latin, incomplete. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 59-67.

5. *Apocalypse of Baruch.*—A long and important apocalypse closely resembling 4 Esdras in style and

20. Baruch, Jeremiah, etc. thought. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 5-17, and also below under *Zoroaster* (§ 23, no. 12).

6. Other *Apocalypses of Baruch* (1), (2), (3). As far as is known at present (2) is contained in only a single Greek MS (Brit. Mus. Add. 10,073): edited by M. R. James, *Apocr. Anecd.* ii., with a translation of the Slavonic version by W. R. Morfill: Bonwetsch also has published a German translation of the Slavonic. The Greek text has two Christian passages. In the main it may very well be Jewish and of early date. It contains revelations about the course of the sun and moon, the history of the Tower of Babel, the Vision of Christ (Christian), and the offering of the prayers of men to God by Michael. (3) An Ethiopic [illegible] preserved in a British Museum MS (1 [illegible] in [illegible]) [illegible] is apparently the production, in part at least, of an Abyssinian Christian. This or another, is mentioned in Wright's *Catalogue* (No. 27 [illegible]). A quotation from Baruch not found in any existing book of his, is in the *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* (*Text. u. Untersuch.*, [illegible]), and a larger one [illegible] MSS of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, 3 29. It is noticed by Dr. J. Rendel Harris in *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 10.

7. *Reliquiæ verborum Baruchi* (*The Rest of the Words of Baruch*), or *Paralipomena Jeremiæ*. Greek and Ethiopic. There is hardly anything really apocalyptic in this book, which is a Christian appendix to the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, haggadic in character. It narrates the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, the miraculous rescue of Ebed-melech, and the martyrdom of Jeremiah.

Printed first in Ethiopic by Di. (*Chrestomathia Æthiopica*) in Greek by Ceriani (*Mon. sacra et prof.*), and lastly in Greek by Dr. J. Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, 1889). Harris regards it as an *encomion* addressed by the church of Jerusalem to the synagogue after the Bar-Cochba rebellion. It was often printed in variously abridged forms in the Greek *Menæa*.

8. A short *Prophecy of Jeremiah* is uniformly attached to the *Epistle of Jeremiah* in Ethiopic MSS of the Old Testament. It consists of only a few lines, and is written to justify the quotation from 'Jeremy the prophet' in Mt 27 9. It is addressed to Pashur. Jerome had seen a Hebrew volume in which a similar passage occurred. Dillmann printed it in his *Chrestomathia Æthiopica*, 1866 (p. viii n. 2).

9. *Ascension of Isaiah.*—See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 42-47.

10. *Apocalypse of Elias*, and

11. *Apocalypse of Zephaniah.*

The first of these was supposed to be the source of Paul's quotation in 1 Cor. 2 9, 'Eye hath not seen,' etc.

21. Elias, Zephaniah, etc. The second is quoted by Clement of Alexandria. They both survive in two dialects of Coptic. Fragments of 10 and 11 were published by Bouriant in the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique au Caire*. Stern translated them into German in *ZÄ*, 1886. The whole, with additional fragments, has been edited by Steindorff in Harnack and Gebhardt's *Texte u. Untersuch.* The Apocalypse of Elias is fairly complete: the editor assigns only one leaf to the Apocalypse of Zephaniah and a large fragment to an unknown Apocalypse. It is the present writer's belief that this last is from an Apocalypse of Zephaniah. Both are seemingly Christianized forms of Jewish books, containing sections descriptive of heaven and hell, and prophecies of Antichrist, and his conflict with Tabitha and the two witnesses. There is an Apocalypse of Elias in Hebrew and one was printed in Jellinek's *Bet-ha-Midrasch* and edited in 1897 by Buttenwieser. A passage from a Gnostic Vision of Elias is quoted by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 26 13).

12. *A Revelation of Moses*, containing a visit to the unseen world, has been translated from Hebrew by Dr. Gaster (*JRAS*, 1893).

13. *An Apocalypse of Esdras*, extant in Syriac, edited by Baethgen from a late MS, and published

22. Esdras, etc. with a translation in *ZATW* (6 199-210 ['86]), is by some thought to be an old Jewish apocalypse which was remodelled in Mohammedan times. There is an Ethiopic *Apoc. of Esd.* in the British Museum (see Wright's *Catalogue*).

14. The same remark applies to a Persian *History of Daniel* edited and translated by Zotenberg in *Mém. Acad.* (1886), which in its present form is certainly mediæval. The Armenian, the Coptic, and the Greek Visions of Daniel,[1] which are printed respectively by

[1] It may be noticed in this connection that in 𝔅A of Theodotion's Daniel the whole book is divided into twelve Visions (ὁράσεις).

Kalendar, by Wade, by Klostermann, and by Vassiliev (*Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, 1893), are also very late, but contain ancient elements. See on these books W. Bousset's recent work, *Der Antichrist*, and compare ANTICHRIST. It is thought by Zahn that Hi[illegible] Apocalypse of David as well as on the canonical Apocalypse (*Forschungen*, 5[illegible]).

23. Lost Apocalypses.

15. *Books of Zoroaster.*—Zoroaster, as we learn from the Clementines (*Recog.* 1[illegible], *Hom.* 9[illegible]), was identified w[illegible] Ham, son of Noah; and mystical pr[illegible]ecies most likely of Jewish origin, were current under both names. Clement of Alexandria quotes a prophecy of Ham (*Strom.* 6[illegible]), and there are oracles of Zoroaster in Greek verse (with commentaries by Gemistus Pletho and Michael Psellus) printed, *e.g.*, in Opsopœus's *Sibylline*, 1607. Zoroaster was also identified by Eastern scholars with Baruch. Solomon of Bassora in the Book of the Bee cites a prophecy of his concerning the Star of the Epiphany (ed. Budge, *circa* 37). The prophecy is, of course, Christian.

16. *Books of Seth.*—The Sethians possessed writings called Books of Seth and others under the name of the *Allogenes* (ἀλλογενής), a term which meant the son of Seth. Hippolytus (*Ref. Haer.*) quotes much from a Sethian book, *Paraphrases* of this kind, however, to which might be added the prophecies of Parchor (Clem. Alex.), the Gospel of Eve (Epiphanius), and Justin the Gnostic's Book of Baruch (Hippolytus, *Ref. H.*[illegible]) are hardly to be reckoned among apocryphal literature, since there seems to have been in them little or no attempt at verisimilitude of attribution.

17. *Prayer of Joseph.*—Quoted by Origen and Procopius (*in Genesim*). It represented Jacob as an incarnation of a pre-existent angel Israel; in the fragments we possess, Jacob is the speaker. The book extended to 1100 στίχοι, being of about the same length as the Wisdom of Solomon.

18. *Eldad and Medad.*—A prophecy attributed to these two elders (for whom see Nu. 11) is quoted in the Shepherd of Hermas (*Vis.* 2 14). It consisted of 400 στίχοι (about twice the length of the Song of Solomon).

III. POETICAL. 1. *Psalms of Solomon.*—Greek, from Hebrew (lost). A collection of eighteen (or nineteen) Psalms. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 77-85.

24. Poetical.

2. *Additions to the Psalter.* (*a*) Ps. 151, on David's victory over Goliath, is appended to the 𝔊 Version of the Psalter. It is a very simple composition, of some merit. (*b*) Three apocryphal psalms in Syriac, edited by W. Wright (*PSBA*, 1887, p. 257), viz. a prayer of Hezekiah, a psalm on the Return, and two thanksgivings by David on his victory over the lion and the 'wolf.' They are probably Jewish, and of considerable antiquity.

3. *A Lamentation of Job's Wife*, inserted in the 𝔊 text of Job 2, is closely connected with the Testament of Job.

IV. DIDACTIC. The three main members of this class, the Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy, have been already noticed (§ 8, 2; § 6, 1; and § 6, 2 respectively). *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (see APOCALYPTIC, §§ 68-76) have a large didactic element. Besides these there is little to note, save perhaps certain

25. Didactic.

Magical Books of Moses.—Extant in Greek papyri found in Egypt; they have been printed by Leemans and Dieterich (in *Abraxas*). They are not purely Jewish; Jewish names are employed, but there is a large Orphic element. The story of Achiacharus (see ACHIACHARUS) also ought to be mentioned in this place.

Besides the many extant books and titles, there were probably others of which we know nothing; yet it is the belief of the present writer that many more apocryphal books at least have been produced by recent criticism (*e.g.*, Spitta on the Johannine Apocalypse, and Bousset on the apocalypses of Isaiah and of Baruch) than the probability of the case will warrant.

B. NEW TESTAMENT (§§ 26-31).

Under this head [illegible] of the most prominent NT apocrypha [illegible] mentioned; much of the literature is excluded by [illegible] date.

I. GOSPELS.[1] 1. *Gospel According to the Hebrews.*—The relation of this book to the canonical Gospel of Matthew cannot be discussed here (see GOSPELS). The facts known about the book are that it was in Aramaic, that Jerome translated it into Greek and into Latin, and that in his time it was in use among the Nazarenes of Syria. Jerome's versions have perished, but he repeatedly quotes from the Latin one. The fragments preserved by him, by Origen and Eusebius, and by Codex Leschendorf III. of ninth century (506 in Gregory) number about twenty-two. They will be found in Hilgenfeld's *NT extra Canonem receptum*, 4, in the monographs of Nicholson, and Handmann (*Texte u. Untersuch.*), in Westcott's *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, and in Zahn's *Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons*, 2[illegible], etc. The fragments quoted contain additions both to the narrative and to the sayings of Jesus. Some of the sayings differ only in form from similar sayings in the canonical gospels; others are independent. The [illegible]ent of the baptism is distinctly Ebionitic. The [illegible]est continuous passage describes the appearance of Jesus to James the Just after the resurrection.

26. Gospels, fragmentary or lost.

2. *Gospel of the Ebionites* or *Gospel of the Twelve.*—Epiphanius is the only writer who has preserved us any fragments of this gospel (*Haer.* 30), and from these it is plain that the book was a 'tendency-writing' put into the mouths of the Twelve Apostles (who describe their call, using the first person), and related to the *Greek* Matthew. It was naturally strongly Ebionitic and it began with the baptism.

3. *Gospel according to the Egyptians.*—Probably the earliest Gnostic gospel. A passage is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who tells us that one Julius Cassianus, a Docetic teacher, used the same words; they also appear in the so-called second epistle of Clement (of Rome). The passage quoted is Encratite in its bearing.

4. *Gospel according to Peter.*—Of this book we have knowledge from the following sources: (1) A fragment of a letter of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 1[illegible]-203), addressed to the church of Rhossus, condemning the gospel (after perusal) as Docetic (Eus. *HE* 6 12). (2) A statement by Origen (*In Matth.* tom. 17 10) that the book represented the brethren of Jesus as sons of Joseph by a former marriage. (3) A long and important fragment, containing an account of the Passion and Resurrection, found by the French Archæological Mission in a tomb at Akhmim in 1885, published first in their *Memoires* (1892), and repeatedly since then. Among German editions must be mentioned those of Harnack, of Schubert, and of Zahn; among English ones, those of Robinson and of Swete. The literature is very considerable. The conclusions upon which critics seem agreed at this moment are: that the fragment is Docetic and anti-Jewish, though saturated with allusions to the Old Testament; and that it shows a knowledge of all four canonical gospels. Its use by Justin Martyr is held probable by most, but denied by Swete (p. xxxiv *f.*).

5. *The Fayum gospel fragment.*—Contained in a tiny fragment of papyrus among the Rainer papyri at Vienna, discovered by Bickell. It gives the words of Christ to Peter at the Last Supper in a form which diverges largely by omissions from any in the canonical gospels. Hort contended for the view that it was a fragment of a patristic homily and merely a loose quotation. Ed. Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuch.* 5 4, etc.

6. The *Logia.*—This is the name given by the first editors, Grenfell and Hunt, to the contents of a

[1] On these see also GOSPELS (index).

single leaf of a papyrus book found by them at Oxyrhynchus. It contains a small number of sayings of Jesus which in part agree with sayings contained in the canonical gospels and in part differ from them. Harnack believes them to be extracted from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*; but it is as yet not possible to express a final opinion on their character.

7. *Gospel of Matthias.* Probably identical with the *Traditions of Matthias*, from which we have quotations. It was most likely a Basilidian work, for the Basilidians professed to regard Matthias as their special authority among the apostles. See Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, ii. 2 751.

8. Γέννα Μαρίας (the Descent of Mary), quoted by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26 12), was a Gnostic anti-Jewish romance representing Zacharias as having been killed by the Jews because he had seen the God of the Jews in the temple in the form of an ass.

9. *Zacharias, the father of John Baptist.*—A. Berendts in *Studien zur Zacharias-apokryphen u. Zach.-legende* gives a translation of a Slavonic legend of Zacharias which may be taken from an early book, subsequently incorporated into the *Book of James*.

Almost every one of the apostles had a gospel fathered upon him by one early sect or another, if we may judge from the list of books condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree, and from other patristic allusions.

Of a gospel of Philip we have fragments, descriptive of the progress of the soul through the next world, showing it to have been a Gnostic composition; it was probably very much like the *Pistis Sophia* (a long Gnostic treatise in Coptic), in which Philip plays a prominent *rôle*. The *Questions of Mary* (Great and Little) was the title of two Gnostic books of the most revolting type, quoted by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26 8).

A Coptic papyrus volume recently acquired by Berlin contains texts as yet unpublished of two Gnostic books connected with the names of the Virgin and John, and also a portion of some early Acts of Peter.

For the most part, however, these heretical pseudepigrapha, where we know anything of their contents, must be assigned to a period later than that contemplated by our present scope. Of extant apocryphal gospels two must be mentioned:

27. Extant Gospels.

1. *Book of James*, commonly called *Protevangelium* (this name being due to Guillaume Postel, who first noticed the book, in the sixteenth century). Extant in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, etc. A narrative extending from the Conception of the Virgin to the death of Zacharias. The James meant is perhaps James the Just. In one place, where Joseph is speaking, the narrative suddenly adopts the first person. Origen, and perhaps Justin, knew the book. A Hebrew original has been postulated for it. It is undoubtedly very ancient, and may possibly fall within the first century. From it we ultimately derive the traditional names of the Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne. The work has been edited by Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*).

2. *Acts of Pilate*, often called the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.—Greek, Latin, Coptic, etc. In two parts: (1) an account of the Passion and Resurrection; (2) a narrative of the Descent into Hell. Part I. may be alluded to by Justin Martyr, who more than once appeals to Acts of Christ's Passion. It is possible, however, that he may be referring to another apocryphal document which exists in many forms: the *Anaphora Pilati* or official Report of Pilate to Tiberius. In any case, the *Acta Pilati* (Part I.) in some form probably date from early in the second century. Edited by Tischendorf (*l.c.*); see also Lipsius, *Die Pilatusakten*, and Schubert on the Gospel of Peter.

II. ACTS. 1. *Acts of James* (Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου), only mentioned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 30).—An Ebionite and anti-Pauline book of which we most likely have an abstract in the end of the first book of the *Clementine Recognitions*. It contained

28. Acts.

addresses delivered by James the Just in the Temple. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 330, 367.

2. *Acts of Paul and Thecla.*—Greek, Syriac, etc. Tertullian tells us that this romance was composed in honour of Paul by a presbyter of Asia, who afterwards confessed the forgery (*De Baptismo*, 17); and Jerome, quoting Tertullian (probably from the Greek text of the same treatise), adds the detail that the exposure took place in the presence of John. In the present writer's opinion, this may be a false reading: 'apud Iconium' may have been corrupted into 'apud Joannem.' Undoubtedly the romance is the earliest of the kind which we possess. It details the adventures and trials of a virgin, Thecla of Iconium, who was converted by Paul. Ed. Lipsius (*Acta Petri et Pauli*). Professor Ramsay contends for the historical accuracy of much of the local detail. It is now clear that this episode formed part of the *Acts of Paul* which has just been discovered by Carl Schmidt in a fragmentary form in Coptic. Until the text is published, however, little can be said.

The Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, and Philip have all survived in part. They may be referred to some time in the second century. The author of all of them, save the first and last, was most likely one Leucius. The Passions and Acts of the remaining apostles are all later.

III. EPISTLES. 1. *The Abgarus Letters.*—A letter from Abgar Uchama, king of Edessa, to our Lord, begging him to visit Edessa and take up his abode there, and an answer from our Lord, promising to send an apostle to Abgarus, are given by Eusebius (*HE* 1 13), who translates them from Syriac, and derives them from the archives of Edessa. They are very early, and are intimately connected with the legend of the apostolate of Addai or Thaddaeus at Edessa. A fragment of a fourth century papyrus text of the letters (which are very short) is in the Bodleian. They are found also in Syriac.

29. Epistles.

2. *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.*—Latin. It was founded upon Col. 4 16, and is a short cento of Pauline phrases. An Epistle to the Laodiceans is mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. See Lightfoot's *Colossians*, 347 *ff.*, and Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kan.* ii. 2 566; also COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS, § 14.

3. *Epistle of Paul to the Alexandrines.*—Also mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, and nowhere else. Zahn (*l.c.* 58) has printed, from the Bobbio Sacramentary and Lectionary, a lesson purporting to be taken from the Epistle to the Colossians, which he assigns to the Epistle to the Alexandrines, or to some similar Pauline apocryph.

4. *Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (and letter from Corinth to Paul).*—Armenian and Latin (and Coptic). These are now known to have formed part of the *Acta Pauli*.

There are but few other spurious epistles, and these are all of a distinctly later character.

IV. APOCALYPSES. 1. *Apocalypse of Peter.*—Greek. Quoted by Clement of Alexandria and by the heathen antagonist of Macarius Magnes (who is possibly Porphyry), and mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. We have now a considerable fragment of it which was discovered in the same MS as was the excerpt from the Gospel of Peter (see § 26 no. 4). This contains the end of a prophecy of Jesus about the last times, and a vision of the state of the blessed, followed by a much longer description of the torments of various classes of sinners. It was probably written rather early in the second century, and has had an enormous influence on later Christian visions of heaven and hell. Dieterich, in his *Nekyia*, has pointed out the strong influence which the Orphic literature has had on the writer. A trace of the influence of this apocalypse on Latin documents has been recently pointed out by Harnack in the Pseudo-Cyprianic tract *De Laude Martyrii*, and earlier by Robinson in the

30. Apocalypses.

Passion of St. Perpetua, and there is a possible trace in the earlier tract *De Aleatoribus*. The Arabic and the Ethiopic *Revelation of Peter* or *Books of Clement* (see an article by Bratke in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1893) seem not to contain the old book embedded in them; but as yet they are not very well known. Ed. Dieterich, Harnack, James.

2. *Prophecy of Hystaspes.* Lost. There are quotations from it in the *Preaching of Paul* (quoted by Clem. Alex.), in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 20, 44), and in Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 7 15 18). In every case it is coupled with the Sibylline Oracles, with which it is clearly to be associated, as a Christian forgery in pagan form. Ammianus Marcellinus (23 6) calls Hystaspes a 'very wise king, father of Darius,' Lactantius, 'a very ancient king of the Medes, who has handed down to posterity a most wonderful dream as interpreted by a prophesying boy (sub interpretatione vaticinantis pueri).' The same author represents Hystaspes as saying that the Roman name was to be wiped out, and, further, that in the last days the righteous would cry to God and God would hear them. Justin says that he prophesied the destruction of all things by fire, and the quotation in Clement makes him declare that the kings of the earth should hate and persecute the Son of God—the Christ—and his followers. It is this last passage which fixes the book as Christian rather than Jewish.

V. DIDACTIC. 1. *Teaching of the Apostles* (Didachē)—Greek. The literature of this manual of ethics and church discipline is enormous, and the history of its various forms cannot be attempted here. It was discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in a MS of 1056 at Constantinople, and printed first in the year 1883. It consists of two distinct parts: the first an ethical manual which may be founded on a Jewish document, and reappears in the Epistle of Barnabas; the second relating to church matters, containing disciplinary rules and liturgical *formulæ*. Opinions as to its date differ widely. Harnack would assign it in its present form (which is probably not primitive) to 130-160. It forms the groundwork of the 7th Book of the Apostolic Constitutions.

31. Didactic.

2. *Preaching of Peter.*—Apparently an orthodox second-century book, of which Heracleon and Clem. Alex. have preserved important fragments containing warnings against Judaism and polytheism, and words of Jesus to the apostles. Another set of fragments, which there is no sufficient reason for repudiating, contains a lament of Peter for his denial, and various ethical maxims. There are strong similarities between the first set of fragments and the *Apology of Aristides*. Dobschütz (in a monograph in *Texte u. Unters.*) rejects the second set. The relation of the book (*a*) to a supposed *Preaching of Paul*, the existence of which is very doubtful, and (*b*) to the Pseudo-Clementine literature, is by no means clear. A Syriac *Preaching of Simon Cephas*, published by Cureton, has none of the matter appearing in the quotations from the Greek book.

32. Bibliography. For the books noticed above, and the later documents not named (which are many), the student must consult:

J. A. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepig. Vet. Test.* Hamburg, 1713 and 1722; *Codex Apocryphus NT*, *ib.* 1719, 1743 (ed. 2); O. F. Fritzsche, *Libri N. T. pseudepigraphi selecti*; A. Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judæorum*; E. Schürer, *GJV*; Strack and Zöckler, *Apokryphen d. NT*; Wace and Salmon, *Speaker's Comm. Apocrypha*; J. C. Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*; Tischendorf, *Evangg. Apocr.* (ed. 2, 1876); *Acta Ap. Apocr.*; *Apocr. Apost.*; Lipsius, *Die Apokr., Apostelgeschichten, u. Apostellegenden*; Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.*; James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, i. ii.; Vassiliev, *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*; Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocr.* i. ii.

Editions of individual writings have been specified under their proper headings. M. R. J.

APOLLONIA (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ [Ti. WH]). A town on the Egnatian Road, in that part of Macedonia which had the name Mygdonia and lay between the rivers Strymon and Axius. It was near Lake Bolbe (*Betchik Göl*); but its exact site is not yet known. From the *Itin. Ant.* we learn that it was 30 R. m. from Amphipolis, and 37 from Thessalonica. Leake places it to the S. of the lake, at the modern village *Poinna*; and this is probably right, though others are inclined to look for it more to the W. at the post-station of Klisali, which is seven hours from Thessalonica. Apollonia was at any rate on the main road between Amphipolis and Thessalonica by the Aulon, or pass of Arethusa. Paul and Silas, therefore, 'passed through' the town on their way to Thessalonica (Acts 17 1).† W. J. W.

APOLLONIUS (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ [VA]; APOLLONIUS; ܐܦܠܘܢܝܘܣ).

1. (Son) of THRASEAS [q.v.]; the governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia who, according to 2 Macc. (3 5-14), induced Seleucus IV to plunder the rich temple treasury of Jerusalem (see HELIODORUS). He may possibly be the same as

2. The governor of Cœlesyria under Alexander Balas, who came to the help of Alexander's rival, Demetrius II. (Nikator), who made him chief of the army. This is more explicable if, as in Polyb. xxxi. 21 2, Apollonius was the foster brother (σύντροφος) of Demetrius I. He was besieged at Joppa, and was entirely defeated by Jonathan near Azotus (Ashdod) in 147 B.C. (1 Macc. 10 69 *ff.*). Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 4 1) calls him Δαος (or rather Ταός, Niese) *i.e.*, one of the Dai (the classical Dahæ) on the E. of the Caspian Sea—and erroneously represents him as fighting on the side of Alexander Balas.

3. General of Samaria, one of the officers of Antiochus Epiphanes, beaten and slain by Judas the Maccabee, 166 B.C. (1 Macc. 3 10 *ff.*). He is probably the chief tax-commissioner (ἄρχων φορολογίας), who previously (168-167 B.C.) had been sent to hellenise Jerusalem, and by taking advantage of the sabbath had routed the Jews and occupied a fort there (1 Macc. 1 29 *ff.*, 2 Macc. 5 24 *ff.*). He may perhaps be identified with

4. The son of Menestheus sent by Antiochus Epiphanes to congratulate Ptolemy VI. Philometor on his accession (διὰ τὰ πρωτοκλήσια; 2 Macc. 4 21).

5. Son of GENNEUS (ὁ τοῦ Γενναίου); a Syrian general under Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Macc. 12 2).

APOLLOPHANES (ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣ [VA]; Syr. has ܐܦܠܘܦܢܝܣ, Apollonius?), a Syrian slain by the men of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 10 37).

APOLLOS (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΣ[1] [Ti. WH]), according to 1 Cor., our most important source, was a missionary and teacher who continued Paul's work in Corinth after the first visit of the latter (3 6), and was afterwards his companion in Ephesus, though not perhaps at the time the Epistle was being written (see ἦν in 16 12). Shortly before the writing of the First Epistle four parties had arisen in Corinth (1 10-12), one of which claimed to be 'of Paul,' and another 'of Apollos'; it argues, therefore, delicacy of feeling in Apollos that he did not comply with Paul's invitation to revisit Corinth again. The invitation itself, on the other hand, makes it plain that there were no very fundamental differences between the two men, least of all as to doctrine. Yet neither is it conceivable that the party-division turned upon nothing more than the personal attachment of their individual converts to the two men respectively. On that supposition there would be nothing so blameworthy about it; and it would be impossible to explain the existence, alongside of them, of the party of Christ, and still more of that of Peter. Our earliest authority for Peter's ever having been in Corinth at all is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth about 170 (Eus. *HE* ii. 25 8), who, contrary to all the known facts of history, will have it that Peter

1. In 1 Cor.

[1] Pyrrhus (variation) rather abbreviation, like Ζηνᾶς from Ζηνόδωρος, Ἀμύντας (cf. n. Ἀμύνταδρος, and so on (cp NAMES, § 80, end). The longer form is more probably Ἀπολλώνιος than Ἀπολλόδωρος, of which the usual contractions were Ἀπολλᾶς, Ἀπελλᾶς, or Ἀπελλῆς. The reading Ἀπολλώνιος is actually given by D in Acts 18 24. By analogy the accentuation Ἀπολλῶς ought to be preferred to the currently adopted Ἀπολλώς.

came both to Corinth and to Italy simultaneously with Paul. Thus the formation of an Apollos party, as distinguished from the party of Paul, can have been due only to the individuality and manner of teaching of Apollos. Paul finds it necessary to defend himself against the charge that 'wisdom' is absent from his teaching. His answer (1 17-34) is that in substance 'wisdom' is really contained in the simple preaching of the Cross, but that in form he offers it only to Christians of mature growth, and (this not being the Corinthians' case) that he has purposely kept it in the background in his dealings with them. The teachers who offered 'wisdom,' and thus excelled Paul in the eyes of many of the Corinthians, however, were assuredly not the Judaisers among whom the parties of Christ and of Peter found their supporters. Apollos, therefore, must be meant. Paul actually says that on the foundation laid by himself in Corinth, besides the gold, silver, and precious stones, wood, hay, and stubble have been built (3 12). But the energy with which he pronounces his judgment in 1 19 *f.* 29 2 5 can be explained only by the fact that the adherents of Apollos overvalued their teacher and subordinated substance to form.

2. In Acts.

With this agrees the notice in Acts 18 24-28 (our secondary source; see ACTS),[1] that Apollos was an eloquent man, mighty in the Scriptures, and an Alexandrian Jew. We may accordingly assume that the distinguishing quality in Apollos' teaching of 'wisdom' showed itself in an allegorising interpretation of the OT, such as we see in Philo or in the Epistle of Barnabas. But the fact that he was a Christian and taught the doctrine of Jesus 'exactly' (ἀκριβῶς: 18 25*a b*) contradicts the statements (on the one hand) that he knew only the baptism of John (18 25*c*) and (on the other) that he had to be instructed more perfectly in Christianity by Priscilla and Aquila (18 26*b c*). Whilst, therefore, it is possible for us to regard 18 24 25*a b* as derived from a written source which the compiler had before him, 18 25*c* 26*b c* would seem to be later accretions. The effect of these last expressions (even if they are traditional) is to represent Apollos as subordinate to Paul; for, according to 19 1-7, the rest of the disciples of John must receive the gift of the Holy Ghost for the first time at the hands of Paul. As to the rest, the fact that in 19 1-3 mention is made of these as of something new goes to show that originally in 18 25 there was no reference to a disciple of John. Further, Acts 18 28 is not easily reconcilable with what is said in 1 Cor. 3 6: that the mission of Apollos was directed to the same persons as that of Paul, and that the church of Corinth consisted almost entirely of Gentile Christians (1 Cor. 12 2 compared with 7 18). In that case Acts 18 26*a* may be attributed to the same author to whom 18 28 (and 18 25*c* 26*b c*?) must be ascribed.

Of the most recent attempts to deny the existence of the contradictions indicated above none can be pronounced successful. Blass (*Exp. Times*, 7, 1895-96, pp. 241*ff.*, 564, and *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898, p. 30 *f.*) supposes Apollos to have derived his knowledge of Christianity from a book where, as in the second canonical gospel, the baptismal precept was wanting. Arthur Wright (*Exp. Times*, 9, 1897-98, pp. 8-12, 437 *f.*) replies, with reason (as it seems to us), that such use of a book could not have been intended by the word κατηχεῖσθαι. It is only of ἀκούειν that Blass has been able to show that in some few cases it is practically equivalent to 'learning by reading' (see the examples, in Stephanus, *Thes.* I., Paris, 1831, p. 1265 A and B. They are not, however, all of them quite certain. Nor is Jn. 12 34 a case in point; the meaning is 'Our teachers have read in the law, and have told us by word of mouth that the Christ abideth for ever'). No single instance can be adduced in which κατηχεῖσθαι denotes acquisition of knowledge without intervention of a teacher. In particular, in Rom. 2 17 *f.* the meaning is, 'thou bearest the name of a Jew and . . . provest the things that differ, being instructed out of the law' [by frequenting the synagogue, or the instruction of the scribes]; and even in those cases where ἀκούειν has practically the sense of 'read,' the underlying idea is always that the book is read not by the 'hearer' himself, but by some other person, as, for example, a slave, so that the primary sense of the word has never entirely disappeared. In the case of Apollos, however, the idea that he used a Christian book, not however reading it himself but getting it read to him by some other person, is too far-fetched to be brought into requisition here. To the suggestion (referred to by Blass, *Acta Apostolorum, ed. philol.* 1895, *ad loc.*) that Apollos may have been orally instructed by a man whose knowledge of Christianity, in its turn was limited to the contents of a book from which the baptismal command was absent, it has to be replied that the supposition is irreconcilable with the ἀκριβῶς of Acts 17 25.[1] Wright himself, however, contributes nothing new to the solution of the question except the emendation of ἐλάλει into ἀπελάλει (so D), the verb being then taken as meaning 'to repeat by rote' or at least 'to glibly recite.' Even if such a meaning could be established for the word, it would not nearly suffice to remove the difficulties of the passage. Lastly, Baldensperger (*Der Prolog des 4 Evangeliums*, 1898, pp. 93-99) is constrained to take refuge in the view that what Apollos taught ἀκριβῶς consisted only of Messianic matters as enumerated in such passages as Heb. 6 1 *f.*; that the editor of the source of Acts here employed says τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ only from a point of view of his own, meaning all the while not the historical Jesus but simply the Messiah in the larger sense, in whose coming the disciples of John also believed. If this be so, he could not possibly have expressed his meaning in a less appropriate and more misleading way.

3. Other points.

Tit. 3 13, the only other NT passage in which Apollos is named, cannot be used as a historical source; and there is no ground for the conjecture that what constituted the difference between Apollos and Paul lay in the value attached by the former to the administration of baptism with his own hands (1 Cor. 1 13-17), and that thereby he gave an impulse to the practice of baptism for the dead (1 Cor. 15 29). Paul, indeed, regards the church of Corinth, although he has personally baptized hardly any of its members, as wholly his own (1 Cor. 4 15 and often). On the other hand, the hypothesis put forward by Luther (as having already been suggested somewhere) that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews is, at all events, preferable to any other that ventures to condescend on a name.

In the lists of 'the Seventy' (Lk. 10 1), dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, Apollos is enumerated, and has the diocese of Cæsarea assigned to him (*Chron. Pasc.* Bonn ed., i. 442, ii. 126).

P. W. S.

APOLLYON (ΑΠΟΛΛΥΩΝ [Ti. WH], Rev. 9 11. See ABADDON.

1. 'The Twelve.'

APOSTLE (ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, 'a messenger')[2] was the title conferred by Jesus on the twelve disciples whom he sent forth, on a certain occasion, to preach and heal the sick. In the earliest Gospel tradition the disciples appear to be spoken of as apostles only in reference to this special mission (Mk. 3 14 [NB] = Lk. 6 13, cp Mt. 10 2; and Mk. 6 30 = Lk. 9 10); but the name soon became a customary designation, and is so employed in Lk. (17 5 24 10) and Acts (1 2, etc.). The number twelve was symbolical, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel; and when Judas fell from his 'apostolate' (Acts 1 25) the number was restored by the election of Matthias.[3] It is used in this symbolical and representative sense in Rev. 21 14.

Lists of the Twelve.—In the four lists (Mt. 10 2 Mk. 3 16 Lk. 6 14 Acts 1 13) the names fall into three groups of four names, the first name in each group being constant, while the order of the rest changes. Thus:

I. Mk.	Peter	James	John	Andrew.
Mt. Lk.	Peter	Andrew	James	John.
Acts	Peter	John	James	Andrew.
II. Mk. Lk.	Philip	Bartholomew	Matthew	Thomas.
Mt.	Philip	Bartholomew	Thomas	Matthew.
Acts	Philip	Thomas	Bartholomew	Matthew.
III. Mk. Mt.	James of Alphæus	Thaddæus	Simon the Canaanæan	Judas Iscariot.
Lk. (Acts)	James of Alphæus	Simon Zelotes	Judas of James	Judas Iscariot.

Mark's order of the first group recurs in Mk. 13 3. It puts first the three who were selected as witnesses of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mk. 5 37), of the Transfiguration (9 2), and of the Agony (14 33). Their importance is further marked by surnames given by Jesus, Peter (= Cephas) and Boanerges. Mt. and Lk.

[1] The reference to Acts 18 24-28 occurs in § 11.

[1] Blass now (*Phil. of Gospels*) expressly rejects the idea.

[2] ἀπόστολος, a stronger word than ἄγγελος, properly denotes not a mere messenger, but rather the delegate of the person who sends him. It seems to have been used among the Jews of the fourth century A.D., of persons sent on a mission of responsibility, especially for the collection of moneys for religious purposes.

[3] On this subject, see MATTHIAS, 1.

drop the Aramaic surname Boanerges, and class the brothers together ('Peter and Andrew his brother'). In Acts the order is accounted for by the prominence of Peter and John in the opening chapters. This seems to have had a reflex action on the writer's mind, for in Lk. 8 51 9 28 we have 'Peter and John and James,' though where Peter is not mentioned we have 'James and John,' 9 54.

2. Paul. The original signification of the term (delegate or missionary) is recalled by its application to Barnabas and Saul (Acts 14 14), who had been selected under the direct guidance of the Spirit from among the prophets and teachers of the church of Antioch and sent forth on a missionary enterprise. Paul in his epistles defends his claim to be an apostle in the highest sense, as one directly commissioned by God; and in this connection he emphasises his personal acquaintance with the risen Christ (Gal. 1 1 2 Cor. 11 5 1 Cor. 9 1: 'Am I not an apostle, have I not seen Jesus our Lord?'). As 'apostle of the Gentiles' (Rom. 11 13) he received full recognition from the chief apostles in Jerusalem (Gal. 2 7-9).

3. Others. The stress laid by Paul on his own apostolate, as 'not a whit behind' that of the Twelve, was probably a main factor in the subsequent restriction of the title to the original apostles and himself. In the NT, however, it is certainly applied to Barnabas, as we have seen, and almost certainly to Silvanus (1 Thess. 2 6), Andronicus, and Junias (Rom. 16 7) apart from its more limited reference in the case of the 'apostles of the churches' (2 Cor. 8 23) and Epaphroditus (Phil. 2 25 'your apostle'). Moreover, we see it claimed in the church of Ephesus by certain persons to whom it is denied only after they have been tested and 'found false' (Rev. 2 2).

Rules for deciding the validity of such claims are given in the early manual called *The Teaching of the Apostles*. This book, which shows us a primitive type of Church life existing in the locality in which it was written, confirms the view suggested by the NT of the extension of the title of apostle beyond the limits of the Twelve and Paul. Apostles are here spoken of as teachers essentially itinerant; ranking above the prophets who may or may not be settled in one place, and in no specified relation to the bishops and deacons who are responsible for the ordinary local administration of the community. Even as the first apostles were sent forth 'without purse or scrip,' so these, 'according to the ordinance of the gospel,' move from place to place, and are not to remain in a settled church more than two days, nor to receive money or more than a day's rations. These wandering missionaries are referred to by Eusebius as 'holding the first rank of the succession of the apostles' (*HE* 3 37 5 10; he avoids the actual designation 'apostle,' perhaps in deference to later usage); and the strict regulations in the *Teaching* prove that there was danger lest the frequency of their visits should become burdensome to settled churches.

It is interesting to observe that the tradition of the application of the title to missionaries survives at the present day in the East. Among the Greeks the word for a missionary is ἱεραπόστολος, and the delegates of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Nestorians are regularly called apostles by the Syrians of Urmi.

4. Apostolate. Having thus clearly established the wider use of the term 'apostle,' we must return and consider the uniqueness of the position occupied by the Twelve and Paul, to whom *par excellence* the title belongs. The distinction of their office which first comes under notice is that they were witnesses of the Resurrection. This is emphasised at the election of the new apostle in Acts 1 21 *f.* 'Of the men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, one of these must with us be a witness of his resurrection.' Their personal discipleship to Jesus, however, and the special training which he had bestowed upon them, had fitted them to be not only the preachers of faith and repentance to the multitudes, but also the authoritative instructors of the 'brethren' (cp Acts 2 42 'the apostles' doctrine'). Their commission was derived directly from Christ, even as his was from the Father (Jn. 20 21, and cp 1 Clem. 45: 'Christ then is from God, and the apostles from Christ'). In performing cures they lay stress upon the fact that they are his representatives; their acts are in fact his (cp especially Acts 3 10 9 34). Certain functions are in the first instance exercised exclusively by the apostles: as the laying on of hands, to convey the Pentecostal gift to the baptized, and the appointment of local officers in the church. In the earliest stage, too, the contributions of wealthy believers are laid 'at the apostles' feet'; though at a later time it is 'the presbyters' who receive the offerings made for 'the brethren in Judæa' (Acts 4 34 *f.* 11 30).

The authority implied in their commission is nowhere formally defined; but on two important occasions we are permitted to observe the method of its exercise. Thus, in the appointment of the Seven the apostles call on the whole body of believers to elect, and thereupon themselves appoint the chosen persons to their work by a solemn ordination. Again, when the question of the obligation of Gentile believers to observe the Mosaic ritual arises in Antioch, it is referred to 'the apostles and elders' in Jerusalem (see COUNCIL, ii.), and a letter is written in their joint names ('the apostles and elder brethren'). This letter is couched in terms of authoritative advice rather than of direct command; and the authority which it implies, with regard to the distant communities whose interests are involved, is moral rather than formal.

In the churches of Paul's foundation we find that apostle acting with a consciousness of the fullest authority, in appointing presbyters, conveying the gift of the Spirit, and settling all kinds of controverted questions (Acts 14 23 19 6 1 Cor. 7 17). His relation to the Twelve is marked by a firm sense of independence together with an earnest desire for concerted action. In the case of Timothy at Ephesus and of Titus in Crete we see him delegating for a time during his own absence his apostolic authority.

For the relation of the apostolate to other forms of the Christian ministry, see CHURCH, § 12.

Literature. Bishop Lightfoot's note 'on the name and office of an Apostle' (Comm. on *Gal.* 5th ed. 92-101) had, even before the recovery of the *Teaching*, destroyed the fiction of the limitation of the term in the first age. It needs now to be supplemented by Harnack's important discussion, *Lehre der Apostel*, 93-118. The whole subject has been freshly and vigorously treated by Hort in *Ecclesia* (*passim*).

J. A. R.

APOTHECARY (רֹקֵחַ Ex. 30 25 35, רָקָח Eccl. 10 1). The Heb. word means 'perfumer.' See CONFECTION, PERFUME. 𝔊's term is μυρεψός, the medical or magical aspects (see φαρμακια, -κευειν, -κον in 𝔊) of whose trade may be seen in Ecclus. 38 8, where his skill in compounding the medicines (*v.* 4 φαρμακα, *medicamenta*) that the Lord created out of the earth is referred to. In Neh. 3 8 is mentioned a guild of perfumers, one of the 'sons' or members of which was Hananiah (the idiom is effaced in RV, and misrepresented in AV, which gives 'son of one of the apothecaries').

APPAIM (אַפַּיִם, εφραιμ [B]; αφφ. [A]; ωφειμ [L]), a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 30 *f.*).

APPARITION (φαντασμα), Mt. 14 26 RV. See DIVINATION, § 3 (3), SOUL.

APPEAL. On inferior and superior courts, or what might be called courts of review or of appellate jurisdiction in the Hebrew commonwealth, see GOVERNMENT, §§ 19, 31, and LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16. As regards Roman criminal procedure,—the appeal of Paul to Cæsar is best understood from the narrative of Festus to Agrippa (Acts 25 14-21). Accused by his compatriots in 'certain questions of their own superstition,' and asked whether he was willing to go to Jerusalem and there be judged, he had 'appealed' (ἐπικαλεσαμένου) to be reserved for the hearing (διάγνωσιν, *cognitionem*) of Cæsar. The apostle as a Roman citizen was well within his rights when he invoked the authority of the emperor and thereby virtually declined the jurisdiction alike of the Jewish courts and of the Roman procurator; and his reasons for choosing to do so are not far to seek.—Under the republican procedure every Roman citizen had the right of *provocatio*

ad populum. From the time of Augustus the populus ceased to exercise sovereign criminal jurisdiction; the emperor himself took cognisance of criminal cases as a court of first instance, having co-ordinate jurisdiction with the senate.—The *quaestio* procedure continued as before to be the ordinary mode of trial.

APPHIA (ΑΠΦΙΑ [Ti. WH], etc., *APPIA*, etc. Cp especially Lightf. *Col. and Philem.* 372 *ff.*), probably the wife of Philemon (Philem. 2).

APPHUS (CAΦΦOYC [A]; CAΠΦ. [ℵV]), 1 Macc. 25. See JONATHAN, 18, MACCABEES, § 5.

APPII FORUM, RV 'Market of Appius' (ΑΠΠΙΟΥ ΦΟΡΟΥ [Ti. WH]; modern *Foro Appio*), a well-known halting-place on the *Via Appia*, where Paul was met by brethren from Rome (Acts 28 15). The distance from Rome is given in the *Itin. Anton.* (107) as 43 R. m. (and so perhaps *It. Hier.*—*e.g.*, Migne, *PL.* 8 794, but in other edd. [611 *f.*] as 37).

For inscription on XLIII milestone, found near Foro Appio, see *CIL* x. pt. i. 686. The road leading to Appii Forum from the south through the district of the Pontine Marshes was often abandoned in favour of a journey by boat (cp Horace, *Sat.* i. 5 1-26, where Appii Forum is described (*l.* 4) as being 'Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis. See also THREE TAVERNS.

APPLE (תַּפּוּחַ; Pr. 25 11 Cant. 2 3 5 7 8 [9] 8 5 Joel 1 12†, see also FRUIT, § 12), by some understood as a generic name including various fruits, and by others supposed to mean not the apple but the quince, citron, or apricot. The origin of the Hebrew name is not quite certain; but there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting the accepted derivation from נפח, to breathe;[1] the name thus alludes to the perfume of the fruit. תפוח in post-biblical Hebrew, and the corresponding word *tuffāḥ*[2] in Arabic, ordinarily denote the 'apple'; and this rendering is, so far, supported by the ancient versions—Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, and the Targum. It must be admitted, however, that all the words used—μῆλον, *hazzōrī*,[3] חזר, *tuffāḥ*, *malum* (s. *pomum*)—are capable, with or without the addition of an epithet, of being applied to other fruits; μῆλον, indeed, originally meant 'large tree,' or fruit in general, and only gradually became confined to the apple;[4] cp the very wide use of *pomum*, *poma* in Latin. Still, an examination of the biblical passages where תפוח occurs seems to show that some particular fruit is intended; and the question must be answered by considering (1) which kind of fruit possesses in the highest degree the qualities of beauty of colour and form, of fragrance, and of efficacy in overcoming the feeling of sickness; and (2) which fruit-tree was most likely, under the conditions of climate and of botanical history, to be found abundant in Palestine during biblical times. [Though all the six occurrences of תפוח are possibly, not to say certainly, post-exilic, the antiquity of the cultivation of the tree (or class of trees?) in Palestine is proved by the place-names Tappuah and Beth-Tappuah.]

1. Name.

The following identifications have been proposed:—(1) apricot (Tristram, *FFP* 294); (2) apple (especially WRS, *J. Phil.* 13 65 *f.*); (3) citron or orange (Del. *Comm. on Prov.*); (4) quince (Houghton, *PSBA* 12 42-48 [1889-90]).

2. Identification.

[1] It seems doubtful whether there was, as postulated by Löw (*Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 156) and Houghton (*PSBA* 12 47 [1889-90]), any word תפח to swell, even in Rabbinic Hebrew. It is at all events unknown to biblical Hebrew, to Syriac, and to Arabic. See, further, Lag. *Uebers.* 111, 129; and F. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 107, and in *ZDMG* 44 546 (500).

[2] This must be a loan-word in Arabic (Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw.* 140), probably from Aramaic, though no trace of it has yet been found in Syriac.

[3] Lag. is inclined to derive this, the Aramaic equivalent of תפוח, from the Armenian word for apple (*hatsor*) and thus prove that the fruit came to Semite lands from Armenia (*Uebers. ll. cc.*); but Hommel shows the probability of the word being genuinely Semite, connecting it with an Arabic root *ḫanaza* (*Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 107).

[4] Hehn and Stallybrass, *Wanderings of Plants and Animals*, 499.

1. With regard to the first of these—the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*, L.)—it is to be remarked that it is not mentioned by Theophrastus, and does not appear to have been known to the Greeks or the Romans before the commencement of the Christian era (De C. *Orig.*[2] 171).

Its original home was E. Asia (probably China), whence it gradually spread westward to Armenia (μῆλον Ἀρμενιακόν, *malum armeniacum*), but Tristram is certainly wrong in saying (*Nat. Hist.* 335) that it is *native* there.

The present abundance of the apricot in Palestine is almost certainly post-biblical.

2. The apple—*Pyrus Malus*, L.—is found without doubt in a wild state in Northern Asia Minor, especially about Trebizond, and occasionally forms small woods.

It extends eastwards to Transcaucasia, and apparently to Persia (cp Boissier, *Fl. Orient.* 2 656). Sir Joseph Hooker says that it is 'apparently wild' in NW. Himalaya and W. Thibet, but that everywhere else in India it is cultivated (*Fl. Brit. Ind.* 2 37). De Candolle (*Orig.* 180) thinks the apple was indigenous and cultivated in Europe in prehistoric times; but Boissier (*l.c.*) restricts its natural occurrence to Macedonia and Eubœa.

In any case the original apple clearly required a cool climate. Under cultivation there have been obtained varieties which will tolerate and even require a warmer one;[1] but these are notoriously modern inventions, and it is absurd to take account of them in considering the ancient history of the fruit. In truth the original apple—and the apple of biblical times was presumably somewhat similar—cannot have been very attractive: it was in fact a 'crab' only about an inch in diameter.

Sir Joseph Hooker says (from his own knowledge) 'Palestine is too hot for apples.' With this agrees Tristram's account:

'Though the apple is cultivated with success in the higher parts of Lebanon, out of the boundaries of the Holy Land, yet it barely exists in the country itself. There are, indeed, a few trees in the gardens of Jaffa; but they do not thrive, and have a wretched, woody fruit. Perhaps there may be some at 'Askalān. What English and American writers have called the "apple," however, is really the quince. The climate is far too hot for our apple tree' (*NHB* 334 *f.*).

As there is no evidence of the apple ever having been found native in Syria, those who render *tappuaḥ* 'apple' have to show (1) that it was introduced from without (Pontus), and (2) that it became established when introduced. Both propositions are improbable. What is said above of the introduction of a few modern sorts into Syrian gardens is true;[2] but it is impossible to infer from this fact that the biblical *tappuaḥ* was the apple.

The strongest argument for the apple is that *tuffāḥ* is used in modern Arabic for this fruit; but, as we have seen above, the word may have wider significance, and it is exceedingly probable that in such passages as those quoted by Robertson Smith in an article (*Journ. Phil.* 65 *f.*) which, though short, appeared to him (prematurely?) to be almost decisive, it is really the quince that is meant. Even if 'apple' be the usual modern meaning of *tuffāḥ*, it is far from uncommon in botanical history for a name to pass from one to another of two plants so nearly allied as the quince and the apple.

[J. Neil (*Pal. Explored*, '82, p. 186) differs widely from Prof. G. Post of Beyrout (Hastings, *DB*, 'Apple'), who argues that the apple as grown in Palestine and Syria to-day alone fulfils all the conditions of the *tappuaḥ*.

Post remarks, 'almost all the apples of Syria and Palestine are sweet (Cant. 2 3). To European and American palates they seem insipid. But they have the delicious aroma of the better kinds. . . . Sick persons almost invariably ask the doctor if they may have an apple; and if he objects they urge their case with the plea that they only want it to smell.' This being so, it is needless to conjecture that 'such an epicure as Solomon would have had many of the choicest kinds,' for, according to Post, the ordinary and (to us) disappointing Syrian apple can still, without poetic idealisation, be referred to in the language of Canticles. But was Canticles written for Syria?]

3. No citrus (orange or citron) will do

The citron has its home in the sub-Himalayan tract of N.

[1] Thus the best American apples succeed in Great Britain only under glass.

[2] Similarly, in the Deccan four sorts of apples are now found; but these are all introduced, two from England and two from Persia.

India. Thence it spread W. through Mesopotamia and Media; hence its current botanical name, *Citrus medica*, L.[1] It is first mentioned by Theophrastus (*το μηλον το μηδικον ἢ το περσικον*; *Hist.* iv. 42); but he says that it is not eaten (*οὐκ ἐσθίεται*). It was probably, therefore, not much developed by cultivation.

The Romans did not know the citron. Their citron wood was the wood of *Callitris quadrivalvis*, Vent., from N. Africa. The true citron was probably not introduced into Italy till the third or fourth century A.D.

The claims of the citron[2] (to be the *tappuah*) are so exceedingly slight that its introduction into Palestine is chiefly interesting in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, at which, in the time of Jos., it was carried by the Jews (a custom which is continued to the present day; see 'The Citron of Commerce,' *Kew Bulletin*, June 1894). It was introduced at any rate during the period of their relations with Media and Persia, and we find it depicted upon Jewish coins (see Stade, *GVI* 2, facing p. 406).

The statement of Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 13 5) is, that according to the law of the Feast of Tabernacles branches of the palm and citron tree (*θυρσους τῶν φοινικων και κιτριων*) were to be borne by every one; elsewhere (*ib.* iii. 10 4) he specifies the myrtle, the willow, and boughs of palm-tree and of pomecitron (*μῆλος τῆς περσεας*). The Talmudic law particularly ordained that the fruit should be held in the left hand, and the branches (for לולב) in the right.[3] The priestly law, on the other hand, has not the precision with which the translators and exegetes of a later age gave to it. In Lev. 23 39 *ff.* (H), among the requirements for the feast of ingathering, stands the 'fruit of goodly trees,' or (better) 'goodly tree fruit' (פרי עץ הדר; cp ⊕BAL, *καρπὸν ξύλου ὡραῖον*), which Targ., Pesh., and ancient Jewish tradition identified with the orange or citron.[4] This identification is open to question, and the expression may be connected preferably with the 'boughs' mentioned in the account of the Feast of Tabernacles, 2 Macc. 10 6 *ff.* (*κλάδους ὡραίους*; *ramos virides*; Pesh. om.). Nor is the citron specifically mentioned in the somewhat fuller and less vague list in Neh. 8 15 (the Pesh. apparently renders 'palm trees' by 'citrons'), although commentators found an allusion to it in the עץ שמן, the fat or oily tree (AV 'pine,' RV 'wild-olive')].

The orange was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. It was introduced into Mediterranean countries by the Arabs about the ninth century.

4. Whereas the development of the modern apple is most probably to be attributed to the northern races, the quince (*Pyrus Cydonia*, L. = *Cydonia Vulgaris*, Pers.) is a fruit characteristic of the Mediterranean basin and requires a warm temperate climate. A native of W. Asia, it extended to the Taurus, and thence spread through all Mediterranean countries.[5] The best sort came from Crete; hence *μηλον κυδώνιον* and *Malum cotoneum*, and the various European names (*Codogno*, Ital.; *Coing*, Fr.; and *Quince*, Engl.). Hehn (*l.c.* 185) says: 'The golden apples of the Hesperides and of Atalanta were idealised quinces . . . Its colour, like that of the pomegranate, made a lively impression. This would well accord with the reference in Prov. 25 11; whilst the well-known aroma of the quince (much stronger than that of the apple) would explain Cant. 2 5 8[9]. It is true that the taste of the fruit, unsweetened, is harsh and bitter, and there is hence some difficulty in reconciling our theory with Cant. 2 3; but something must be there allowed for the idealisation of the picture, and undoubtedly the fruit could be prepared in such a way as to have a delicious taste. Moreover the whole classical history of the fruit is saturated with erotic suggestion, and this falls in with the repeated mention of it in Canticles.

N. M. —W. T. T.-D.

[1] Sir Joseph D. Hooker (*Fl. Brit. Ind.* 1 514) gives its range as Garwhal to Sikkim.

[2] אתרג, from Pers. *turunj*. For the various traditions connected with it cp Levy, *s.v.* See Löw, 46.

[3] The Daphnephoria as depicted by Leighton is a familiar and popular illustration of this custom.

[4] Rashi referred to the annual beauty of the tree, and the Talmud supposed that דורר הדר, *i.e.*, ὕδωρ—an allusion to the fact that the citron grows beside all waters (cp Field, *Hexapla*, *ad loc.*). See De Candolle (*Orig.*[2] 143 *f.*), who quotes Risso to show that the citron was not recognised by the translators of ⊕. If חוך is really a genuine (and ancient) Semitic word (cp above, § 1, n. 3), it is tempting to read it here instead of הדר.

[5] De Candolle, 189, says: 'Avant l'époque de la guerre de Troie.'

APRONS. For חֲגֹרוֹת, the (fig-leaf) coverings of Gen. 3 7 (AV[mg] 'things to gird about,' RV[mg] 'girdles'; ⊕[BAL] περιζωματα), see GIRDLE, 2. For כסתת (Ruth 3 15 AV[mg]) see MANTLE, § 2, no. 3. The *σημικινθια* [Ti. WH] of Acts 19 12† (used for healing purposes) are the *semicinctia* or aprons worn by servants and artisans.

AQUILA (ακυλας [Ti. WH]) is the Latin name by which alone we know one of the Jewish companions of Paul. A Jew, native of Pontus, he had removed to Rome and there carried on his calling as tent-maker; probably it was also in Rome that he married his wife Prisca or Priscilla, whose name is always associated with his, most commonly indeed placed before it. The banishment of the Jews from Rome by Claudius (*circa* A.D. 49) led to the settlement of Aquila and his wife in Corinth (Acts 18 2). Here, presumably, their acquaintance with Paul began and they were converted to Christianity. It was with them that the apostle, also a tent-maker, lodged on his first visit to Corinth. (Afterwards, looking back upon his relations with them at this time [Rom. 16 3] he applies to them the words: 'fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who, for my life, laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles.') From Corinth Aquila and Priscilla accompanied Paul to Ephesus (Acts 18 18), and here they remained behind while he went on to Jerusalem. At this time Apollos (*q.v.*) arrived in Ephesus, and the zealous pair undertook to 'expound unto him the way of God more perfectly' (*v.* 26). Writing to the Corinthian Church after his return to Ephesus, Paul encloses the message: 'Aquila and Prisca salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house' (1 Cor. 16 19). What is meant by this church is not quite clear; but the expression shows that they must have held a somewhat prominent and perhaps official position in the Ephesian community. That Ephesus continued to be supposed to have been their home long after Paul left it is shown by the salutation addressed to them in 2 Tim. 4 19. That they are saluted in Rom. 16, shows (on the assumption that Rom. 16 3-20 is an integral part of the epistle in which it now occurs; see ROMANS) that at some period they must have returned to Rome for at least a season; but the occurrence of their names here is one of the facts that are held to make it probable that the salutations of Rom. 16 3-20 really belong to an Ephesian epistle.

Ecclesiastical tradition has little [illegible] of either Aquila or Priscilla; in some late forms of the [illegible] Luke [illegible] and Prisc*us* are represented as having be[illegible] belong[illegible] companions of that evangelist, and as have[illegible] Gospel entrusted to them by him. They are enu[illegible] of the 'Seventy' (Lk. 10), dating from the fifth or six[illegible] century, Prisc*us* being sometimes read for Prisca. See Lips[illegible] *Apokrypen*, i. 203 *ff.* 399 ii. 2 367.

AR, AR OF MOAB, is mentioned in the two ancient songs which celebrate Israel's passage across Moab:—Nu. 21 15, 'the slope of the valley that stretches to the seat' or site 'of Ar' (עָר, אר [BAL]); *v.* 28, a 'fire hath devoured Ar of Moab (עָר מֹאָב; Μωαβ [L]; ἕως M. [BA]),—*i.e.*, עד מ'; so Sam. and some Heb. MSS) and consumed the high places of Arnon.' This 'Ar Moab is usually taken to be the same as the 'Ir Moab, 'city of Moab' (עיר מואב; πόλιν Μωαβ [BAL]), 'which is on the border of Arnon at the utmost part of the border' (Nu. 22 36), where Barak met Balaam when he came to Moab from the E.; and indeed עָר in those ancient songs may be the primitive spelling of עִיר. It is also the 'Ar Moab of Is. 15 1 (ἡ Μωαδεῖτις [BℵAQ]), there parallel to Kir Moab, another chief fortress of the country, the present Kerak. It may also be 'the city (עיר) in the midst of the valley'—*i.e.*, of Arnon (Deut. 2 36 Josh. 13 9 16 and 2 S. 24 5). In harmony with these passages, it is called the 'border of Moab' in Deut. 2 18 (⊕BAFL Αροηρ); but in *vv.* 9 (Αροηρ [ℵ[2] sup ras] FL]) and 29 (Αροηρ [BFL]; Αροηλ [A]) of the same chapter it seems

to mean a district rather than a town, and in this connection it is interesting that 𝔊[HA] renders *'Ar Moab* in Is. 15 by Moabitis. Our present knowledge of the topography of Moab does not enable us to identify the site of 'Ar, the city.

We may be sure it was not the modern Rabba (so the *PEF* map), the Areopolis which in the fourth century of our era was the capital of Moab. Others have suggested the Mehatet el-Haj on the left bank of the Arnon opposite Aroer (see Burckhardt, *Syr.* 374).

More probably (cp Nu. 22 36) it lay at the E. end of one or other of the Arnon valleys.

There Langer (*Reiseberichte*, xvi.) has proposed Lejūn (Legio[n]) described by Doughty (*Arab. Deserta*, 126) as a 'four-square limestone-built, walled town in ruins, the walls and corner towers of dry block-building, at the midst of every wall a gate.'

G. A. S.

ARA (אָרָא; ΑΡΑ [BA] -ΑΙ [L]), in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, i. § 4), 1 Ch. 7 38†. Perhaps אֹרָא should be pronounced אֻרָא (U'ra) for אֻרִיָּה (-riah). See UL'LA.

ARAB (אָרֶב, ΑΙΡΕΜ [B], ΕΡΕΒ [AL]), a site in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 52). If DUMAH (*q.v.*, 4) is ed-Dōmeh, there may possibly be an echo of Arāb in *er-Rabīyeh*, the name of a site, with ruins, in the mountains of Judah, S. of Hebron (*PEF Mem.* 3 111 *f.*).

ARABAH (הָעֲרָבָה, Η ΑΡΑΒΑ [BAL], often translated by Η ΠΡΟΣ (ΕΙΣ, ΕΠΙ, ΚΑΤΑ) ΔΥΣΜΑΣ, sometimes by ΚΑΘ' (ΠΡΟΣ) ΕΣΠΕΡΑΝ [BAL]), as a common noun, from a root probably meaning 'dry' (cp ARABIA, § 1), is used as a parallel (Is. 35 1 6, etc.) to מִדְבָּר, 'desert-steppe,' and to אֶרֶץ צִיָּה, 'parched ground,' with much the same force. As a proper name, with the article, it is generally confined to the great depression of the Dead Sea valley, 'the 'Arābah.' So correctly in RV; in AV it is more usually translated 'plain' (*q.v.*, 6) or 'wilderness' (but in Josh. 18 18 'Arabah,' 𝔊[BAL] Βαιθαραβα, see BETH-ARABAH). Along with the hill-country, the slopes, the Shephēlah, and the Negeb, it is reckoned as one of the great parallel divisions of the land (Dt. 1 7 Josh. 11 16 12 8), and it is clear that the name was applied not only to the depression from the Lake of Galilee (Dt. 3 17; cp ARBATTIS) to Jericho (2 K. 25 4) and the Dead Sea (which was called the Sea of the 'Arabah: Dt. 4 49, etc., Josh. 3 16, etc.), but also to the rest of the same great hollow as far as the Gulf of 'Akabah (Dt. 1 1).

Different parts of the Arābah were called 'Arbōth (construct plur. of 'Arābah); cp Josh. 5 10 Jer. 39 5, etc., EV 'plains of Jericho'; Nu. 22 1 26 3, etc., 'plains of Moab.' See too ARBATTIS.

To-day the name *El-'Araba* is confined to the south of the line of cliffs that crosses the valley obliquely a few miles south of the southern end of the Dead Sea; and all N. of this is known as *El-Ghōr*, 'the depression' (Rob. *BR* 2 490).

The singular geological formation of the 'Arabah is indicated under PALESTINE (§ 3). Here it is sufficient to explain how such a name was applied to the valley even N. of the Dead Sea. In spite of the enormous possible fertility of the Jordan valley under proper irrigation, the vast stretches of jungle, marl, saline soil, and parched hillsides out of reach of the streams, along with the sparseness of cultivation in most ages (owing to the great heat, unhealthy climate, and wild beasts), fully justify the name 'Arābah. In the NT also the valley is called a wilderness (τῇ ἐρήμῳ Mk. 1 4).

For the 'Arābah S. of the Dead Sea, see Rob. *BR* i. and ii., Hull, *PEF Mem.*, 'Geology,' and for the part N. of the Dead Sea, Stanley, *SP* 7; Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.* 14; GASm. *HG* 22 *f.*

G. A. S.

ARABAH, BROOK OF THE, AV River of the Wilderness (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה), is in Am. 6 14 the southern limit of the land of Israel in opposition to the northern Pass of Hamath. The name occurs nowhere else; but by some has been taken as another form of Brook of the 'Arābim (הָעֲרָבִים; EV BROOK OF THE WILLOWS [AV[mg.] BROOK OF THE ARABIANS]—rather of the *Populus euphratica*: *ZDPV* 2 [illegible]).

given in Is. 15 7 as the southern boundary of Moab. This may be the long Wādy el-Hāsy (or Hessi, *PEF* Map) which Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 126) describes as dividing the uplands of Moab and Edom, and running into the S. end of the Dead Sea; by some thought to be also the Brook ZEREḤ. It is doubtful, however, whether the Israelite kingdom could ever have been described as extending S. of the Arnon. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 3 115 ['83]) suggests that the Brook of the Arabah may have lain at the N. end of the Dead Sea. 𝔊's rendering, τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν δυσμῶν [BAQ], is no help. It is to be noted that N. Israel under Jeroboam II. in the time of Amos is stated in 2 K. 14 25 to have extended from 'the entering in of Hamath unto the Sea of the Arabah.' The difficulty is increased by the uncertainty as to whether Amos means to include Judah. G. A. S.

ARABATTINE (ΑΚΡΑΒΑΤΤΗΝΗ [Aℵ]), 1 Macc. 5 3† AV, RV AKRABATTINE.

ARABIA, ARABIANS (עֲרָב; gentilic עָרְבִי and in Neh. עַרְבִי, pl. עֲרָבִים, also once עֲרַבִיאִים, and once Kt. עֲרָבִיִּים; ΑΡΑΒ[Ε]ΙΑ decl. and indecl. [BℵAL, etc.], -ΒΙΚΚΑ [BℵA], ΑΡΑΨ (-ΑΒΟΣ) [BℵAL, etc.], ΑΡΑΒ[Ε]ΙΟΣ [BℵA])

The name *'Arab* (ערב) seems originally to have meant nothing more than 'desert': hence 'people of the desert.' So Isaiah[1] uses the word, 'In the forest in the desert (*'Arab*; but 𝔊 ἐσπέρας) ye halt for the night' (Is. 21 13). More usual in Hebrew is the fem. form *'Arābah* (*e.g.*, Job 24 5 39 6), a word employed as a proper name to denote the desolate valley, in which the Dead Sea is situated, reaching to the north-eastern extremity of the Red Sea (see ARABAH, i.). In the OT the term *'Arab*, as the name of a particular nation and country, is confined to comparatively late writings; it must therefore appear highly improbable that the Homeric Ἐρεμβοί (*Od.* 4 84) are to be identified with the Arabs. The lists in Genesis, which specify various Arabian tribes, do not mention the name—a very significant indication of their antiquity. The word being certainly an appellative ('desert') in Is. 21 13 (with EV cp Hab. 1 8 𝔊, Zeph. 3 3 𝔊), the heading מַשָּׂא בְּעֶרֶב, 'Oracle concerning the Arabs,' cannot be in accordance with the author's real meaning.[2] No certain instance of the use of *'Arab* as a proper name occurs before the time of Jeremiah. He speaks of 'all the kings of *'Arab*'[3] (ואת כל־מלכי ערב, Jer. 25 24). The words which follow in MT, ואת־כל מלכי הערב, are of course a dittography; in order to make sense the scribes pronounced הָעֵרֶב 'the mixed people,' a form which really occurs in *v.* 20, as well as in Ez. 30 5 and 1 K. 10 15 (where 𝔊 reads העבר for הערב). The Greek text of Jer. 25 24 (κ. πάντας τ. συμμίκτους [BℵQ],[4] it may be noticed, does not presuppose a repetition, and moreover (followed by Co.) omits the word 'kings,' necessary though it is to the sense. The phrase, 'like a *'Arābī* in the desert' (Jer. 3 2, κορώνη [BℵA]; Aq. αραψ [Q[mg.]]), may be explained to mean either 'like an Arab' or 'like a Nomad'—the word has not yet acquired a strictly ethnographical signification. The same thing applies to a passage dating from the end of the Babylonian Exile, 'No *'Arābī* shall pitch his tent there, nor shall shepherds cause their flocks to lie down there' (Is. 13 20, Ἄραβες [BℵA[mg.]]). In Ez. 27 21, however, *'Arab* (עֲרָב; Αραβ[ε]ια [BAQ], with the note εσπερα [Q[mg.]]), appears as the name of a people, coupled with Kedar, a desert tribe very frequently mentioned at that period (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [2]).

1. Earlier OT usage.

1 Isaiah's authorship, it is true, has been disputed (see ISAIAH, § 9).

2 𝔊 omits it; but Aq. Symm. Theod. all have it.

3 Giesebr., however, while agreeing as to the dittography which follows, denies that 'and all the kings of *'Arab*' are the words of Jeremiah; the closing words of the verse ('who dwell in the wilderness') alone are genuine; they give the locality of those 'who have the corners of their hair polled' (*v.* 23). Cp. 9 26 [25], 'all that have, etc., who dwell in the wilderness.'

4 𝔊A has κ. π. τ. σ. αυτου.

It would seem that the name of the Arabs came into use among the Hebrews at a time when the old names Ishmael, Midian etc., were disappearing from ordinary speech. This change may be connected with the fact that during the period in question various tribes were advancing from the S. into the northern deserts and dispossessing the former inhabitants, who, in all probability, were closely akin to the Hebrews. Such shiftings of the population have occurred repeatedly in the course of ages. However unproductive the districts to the E. and to the S. of Palestine may appear to us, they are nevertheless, from the point of view of the Nomads, decidedly preferable to many parts of Arabia proper.

2. Other sources. From the ninth century B.C. and onwards, the name of the Arabs occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions, where it presents a variety of forms[1] (*Arabi*, *Arubu*, *Aribi*, etc., the adjective being *Arbaya*).

The name *Urbi* (*KB* 2 84 *f.*), however, can scarcely be, as Delitzsch (*l.c.*) supposes, another form of the same word and the equivalent of the Arab *'Urb* (which appears to be quite late) and of the Heb. ערב. The Arabs mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions were probably all, or for the most part, natives of the Syrian desert, though we have no reason to assume that the name was applied to them exclusively as distinguished from the inhabitants of Arabia proper.

The inscriptions of the Persian King Darius (*e.g.*, Behistûn, 1, 15) mention *Arabāya* among the subject lands, always placing it after Babylonia and *Athura* (*i.e.*, Assyria, Mesopotamia proper, and possibly northern Syria) and before Egypt; here also the word must refer to the great deserts of Syria—perhaps also to those of Mesopotamia and the Sinaitic peninsula. Æschylus (*Pers.* 316), the first extant Greek writer in whose works the name occurs, speaks of a distinguished Arab in the army of Xerxes, and the contemporary authority whom Herodotus follows in his account of the Persian army makes mention of Arabs on the same occasion (Herod. 7 69). While the notions of Æschylus, however, about the geographical position of the Arabs, are altogether fantastic—he represents them as dwelling near the Caucasus (*Prom.* 422)—Herodotus shows himself much better informed. He applies the term Arabia to the whole peninsula (cp Herod. 2 11 3 107-113 4 39); but, as might have been expected, he refers in particular to those Arabs who inhabited the country between Syria and Egypt (2 12 30 3 4 7 *ff.* 8 80 91, etc.). It is also to be remarked that, in accordance with a peculiar classification, he gives the name of Arabia to that part of Egypt which lies to the E. of the Nile valley (2 8, etc.). Xenophon (*Anab.* vii. 8 25) speaks of a governor set by the Persian king over 'Phœnicia and Arabia,' by which is meant the S. of Syria, including Palestine and the neighbouring desert—a separate governor being set over 'Syria and Assyria.' Similarly in the *Cyropædia* he doubtless always means by Arabia the desert lands which were to some extent dependencies of the Persian Empire, not the peninsula itself; we must remember, further, that Xenophon had no definite ideas about these countries, through which he had not himself travelled. The name Arabia is used, in particular, for the desert of Mesopotamia (*Anab.* i. 5 1); it can hardly be an accident that this very district is called *'Arab* by Syriac writers from the third century after Christ and onwards. Whilst, however, the term is regularly applied to that part of the desert which remained under Roman dominion till the Mohammedan conquest, the eastern portion, which belonged to Persia, is more commonly known as *Bēth 'Arabāyē* (or *Bā 'Arbāyā* in the Arabicised form)—*i.e.*, 'land of the Arabs.' Traces of this usage are found in late Greek authors also.

A strictly ethnographical sense belongs to the word

[1] See Del. *Par.* 295 304 *ff.*; and cp Schr. *KGF*, 100 *ff.*

'Arab' in the writings of a contemporary of Herodotus.

3. Later OT writers. Nehemiah, who suffered much from the enmity of an Arab (Neh. 2 19 6 1 6) and enumerates the Arabs as such in the list of his opponents (Neh. 4 7 [1]). The Arab in question bears a name which, according to the Massoretic vocalisation, is to be pronounced GESHEM (*q.v.*) or Gashmū, and appears in the Greek text as Γησάμ [BNA], Γωσαμ [L]; the correct form is probably *Gushamu*, a well known Arabic name. It is very likely that at that time the great migration of the Nabataeans had already happened (see EDOM, §9, NABATÆANS). The Chronicler too refers to 'the Arabians.' They brought tribute, he tells us, to the pious King Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 11). He relates, also, how God punished the wicked Joram by means of the Philistines and 'the Arabians who were beside the Ethiopians' (2 Ch. 21 16, cp 22 1), and how he succoured the pious Uzziah in the war against 'the Arabians that dwelt in GUR-BAAL' [*q.v.*] and other nations (2 Ch. 26 7)—all this is written from the point of view of the author's own time (*circa* 200 B.C.), and has no claim to be regarded as historical.

By the beginning of the Maccabean period the kingdom of the NABATÆANS [*q.v.*] had long been firmly established. At that time various other Arabian tribes were also to be found in the great Syrian desert, and from among these certain families and persons rose to great power during the decline of the Seleucid Empire. In several Syrian towns we find Arabian sovereigns, and at Palmyra, at least, there was an Arabian aristocracy; elsewhere also Arabian chieftains occasionally played an important part in the politics of that period. 1 Macc. several times mentions Nabataeans and other Arabs (5 25 39 9 35 11 17 39 12 31; cp 2 Macc. 5 8 12 10 *f.*).

The apostle Paul, after his conversion, retired into Arabia (Gal. 1 17) probably some desert tract in the

4. NT. Nabataean kingdom. When he speaks of Arabia he of course includes the Sinaitic peninsula (Gal. 4 25). Similarly, 'Arabs' (Arabian Jews or proselytes) in Acts 2 11 probably means natives of the Nabataean kingdom (see NABATÆANS) or of the Roman province of Arabia which covered almost the whole extent of that kingdom. The province was constituted by A. Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria (*circa* 105 A.D.).

At what period certain tribes began to call themselves Arabs, and at what period the name was adopted by the

5. Native Arabian usage. whole nation, cannot be determined. The distinguished scholar, D. H. Müller,[1] has maintained that the name 'Arab' was unknown to the natives of Arabia till Mohammed introduced it as a national designation. This view, however, is scarcely tenable. The present writer does not happen to have made any notes on the occurrence of the name in the pre-Islamic poetry;[2] but the verse in Ṭabari, i. 1036 5, which dates from the beginning of the seventh century, is a sufficient proof of its occurrence—the poet, who can have known nothing of Mohammed, speaks of 3000 Arabs as opposed to 2000 foreigners. The events there described happened in the neighbourhood of the lower Euphrates—that is to say, in a district where Arabs, Aramæans, and Persians frequently came into contact with one another, and where, for that very reason, a special term to denote the Arabian nationality and language was absolutely required. When we take into account the frequent communication between the Arabs of this district and those of the distant W. and S., and the great uniformity of the Arabian nation, it must appear highly probable that the name had long been generally used in Arabia itself.

[1] *Neue Freie Presse*, 1894, 20th April.

[2] He would not lay great stress on the words *ḳurā 'arabīyātin*, 'villages of Arabian women,' or *ḳuraw 'arabīyātin*, 'Arabian villages,' in a verse ascribed to the old poet Imra'-al-ḳais (about 550 A.D.), 39 2 (Ahlwardt), the fragment being very obscure and the text not quite to be trusted. Nor could he affirm the genuineness of the verses ascribed to old poets in *Aġānī* ix. 10 second last line, x. 149 2 where the word 'Arab occurs.

Hassān and other poets contemporary with Mohammed make use of the word *'Arab* and its plural *A'rāb* as a term known to every one (see the Dīwān of Hassān, ed. Tunis 10 1 17 4 103 13, *Aghānī* xii. 156 28). It is also very likely that in the common phrase, 'no' *Arab* is to be found there,' the word *'Arab* means simply 'an Arab' and hence 'any human being.' Still more conclusive is the fact that the verb *'arraba* or *a'raba* which occurs in one of the oldest poets signifies 'to explain,' properly 'to speak in Arabic' (*i.e.*, 'distinctly'); hence this name for the language must have been current long before the Prophet. That *'Arab* was already employed to denote the country and its inhabitants is shown, further, by the words *'irab*, 'horses, or camels, of pure native breed,' and *mu'rib*, 'possessor, or connoisseur, of such horses,' both of which terms were commonly used in the early days of Islam.

The plural form *A'rāb*, 'Bedouins,' is presumably derived from the primitive sense 'desert.' In the Koran the *A'rāb* are several times distinguished from the inhabitants of the towns. When we find that a poem, composed shortly before Islam, mentions 'the nomadic and the settled A'rāb,'[1] the latter class must be understood to consist of the inhabitants of small oases, who retained, on the whole, the customs of the Bedouins, and differed widely from the people of the towns. Since, however, the Bedouins always formed the great bulk of the natives of Arabia, it is not strange that, from the earliest days of Islam, the name *'Arab* was frequently used specially of them. So in the great Sabæan inscription of Abraha, the Abyssinian prince of Yemen, in 543 A.D., the name ערב (or, with the postpositive article, ערבן) seems to signify the Nomads.[2]

T. N.

ARAD (ערד; ΑΡΑΔ [BAL]; *ARAD*; *for* gentilic **Aradite,** see below). 1. A South Canaanitish town, with a king or chieftain of its own, conquered by the Israelites, Josh. 12 14 (α[4]ραθ [B], αδερ [AL], *HEK 19*). The reference to the 'king of Arad' in Nu. 21 1, and the abrupt notice in Nu. 33 40, are useless for historical purposes, the former all but certainly, and the latter certainly, having been inserted by a later editor (see Moore on Judg. 1 17, Dt. on Nu. 33 40). This removes one of the chief difficulties connected with the notices of Arad (cp HORMAH, ZEPHATH). Another difficulty arises from the reference in Judg. 1 16 to 'the wilderness of Judah which is in the Negeb of Arad (*i.e.*, in that part of the Negeb to which Arad belonged). The expressions appear to Prof. Moore to be self-contradictory, the Wilderness of Judah and the Negeb being distinct regions (*Judges*, 32). He points out as an additional ground for scepticism that $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$ differs from MT in reading במדבר instead of בנגב.[3] It would be unsafe, however, to assert that in usage the term 'wilderness of Judah' cannot have included the Negeb S. of Arad —*e.g.*, the *Wādy el-Milh* (see SALT, CITY OF; JUDAH) —and, as to $\mathfrak{G}$'s reading, we may certainly disregard it, chiefly on the ground (suggested by Prof. Moore himself) that there is no steep pass (מורד, κατάβασις) in the neighbourhood of Arad.

The site was found by Robinson at *Tell 'Arād*, which is a round isolated hill 17 m. SE. of Hebron, and the details given by Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 21 55 87 22 88 2) are quite consistent with this identification. There are indeed no relics here of the ancient city, and only scanty remains of ancient bridges; but this does not prevent Guérin from pronouncing Robinson's view 'extremely probable, not to say certain' (*Judée*, 3 135). The city of Arad, it may be noticed in conclusion, existed long after the 'age of Joshua,' for Shishak includes it in his list of conquered cities in Palestine (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 168), 'Aradite,' therefore, may well be restored in 2 S. 23 25a (see HARODITE). The

1 *Dīwān of Hassān ibn Thābit*, 51, *l.* 9 = *Aghānī*, 14 126.
2 See Ed. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib*, 33, etc.
3 εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ νότῳ Ἰούδα, ἥ ἐστιν ἐπὶ καταβάσεως Ἀραδ [B]; *e. t. ἐ.* Ἰουδὰ *τ. ο. ἐν τῷ νοτῳ ἐπὶ καταβάσεως* Ἀράδ [AL] ἐν τῷ νότῳ is a duplicate rendering, and to be rejected. So far, van Doorninck, Bu., and Kl. (*H. st.* 1 268) are right. It is premature, however, to assume that במדבר is the original reading; it is really a conjectural correction of a false reading (due to repetition) במדבר.

connection of DAVID (*q.v.*, § 1, note on 'Bethlehem'; cp also ARDATH) with S. Judah throws a new light on the interest of narrators in the fortunes of Arad and ZEPHATH.

2. (ωρηρ [B]; αρωδ [A]) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β) 1 Ch. 8 15.

T. K. C.

ARADUS (ΑΡΑΔΟΣ [AKV]), 1 Macc. 15 23†. See ARVAD.

ARAH (אָרָח [so in pause, cp Baer *ad* Ez. 25], § 70, 'wayfarer'?).

1. b. Ulla, in genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4), 1 Ch. 7 39 (ωρεχ [BA]); $\mathfrak{G}$ omits Ulla and Arah, and ascribes the remaining names in vv. 39 to Ithran (v. 38).

2. In the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8): Ezra 2 5 (ηρα [L], ωρας [A], ωρας [L]); Neh. 7 10 (ωρα [BA], ηρα [L]); 1 Esd. 5 10 Α81 5 (ωρας [BA], ηρα [L]). His son Shechaniah [ ] was the father-in-law of the Ammonite Tobiah, 4 (Neh. 6 18 ηρας [BKA], ηρα [L])

ARAM (אֲרָם; $\mathfrak{G}^{BAL}$ ΑΡΑΜ, ΣΥΡΙΑ, Ο ΣΥΡΟΣ, ΟΙ ΣΥΡΟΙ; on **Aramæans** see below, § 7).

The EV commonly translates 'Syria' or 'Syrians' (cp however Hos. 12 12 RV 'Aram'), but occasionally (viz., Gen. 10 22 *f.* 22 21 Nu. 23 7 1 Ch. 1 17 2 23 7 14) retains the Hebrew form 'Aram' (on Mt. 1 3 *f.* AV, and Lk. 3 33 AV see RAM, 1, ARNI). The gentilic אֲרַמִּי, on the other hand, is always translated 'Syrian' (except Dt. 26 5, RVmg. **'Aramean'**; אֲרַמִּיָּה 1 Ch. 7 14 EV **'Aramitess'**). אֲרַמִית is rendered by 'Syrian language' (Is. 36 11 2 K. 18 26 EV Dan. 2 4 RV), or 'Syrian tongue' (Ezra 4 7 AV), 'Syria' (Dan. 2 4 AV), and by 'Aramaic' (Dan. 2 4 Ezra 4 7 both RVmg.).

Aram appears in Gen. 10 22 (Ἀραμων [A]) as one of the sons of Shem. This in itself does not prove anything as to the nationality and language of the people in question, for the classification adopted in the chapter is based, to a large extent, on geographical and political considerations. But there is no reason to doubt that Aram here stands for the whole, or at least for a portion, of those 'Semitic' tribes whose language is called 'Aramaic' in the OT (Ezra 4 7 Dan. 2 4) and is placed in the mouth of Laban the Aramæan, according to the ancient gloss in Gen. 31 47. In later times the name was still known, though often supplanted by 'Syrian,' which the Greeks employed, from a very early period, as the equivalent of the native *Aram* and its derivatives. *Aram* may perhaps be the source of the Homeric Ἐρεμβοί (*Od.* 4 84).

1. Name.

It has long been known that Aramaic was used as the official language in the western half of the Achæmenian empire. From 2 K. 18 26 (= Is. 36 11) we might have concluded that this language occupied a similar position under the Assyrian rule; moreover, if Friedr. Delitzsch be right (*Par.* 258), an Assyrian and an Aramaic 'secretary' are mentioned together in a cuneiform inscription. The recent excavations at Zenjirli have proved, that in that district, to the extreme N. of Syria, Aramaic served as a written language as early as the eighth century B.C., although the population was not purely Aramæan. On the other hand, the Aramaic inscriptions of Tēma, to the N. of Medina, bear witness to the existence of an Aramæan colony in the NW. of Arabia about 500 B.C. That Mesopotamia proper (*i.e.*, the country bounded by the Euphrates, the Tigris, the N. mountain-range, and the desert —hence exclusive of Babylonia) was inhabited by Aramæans appears from the OT. Moreover, an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I., who is placed about 1220 B.C., mentions an Aramæan tribe in this district, in the neighbourhood of Harran (Schr. *KB* 1 33). A similar statement is found in an inscription three centuries later (*ibid.* 1 165). Hence the Greeks, from the time of Alexander onwards, called this country Συρία ἡ μεσή των ποταμῶν, or, more shortly, ἡ Μεσοποταμία (see Arrian, *passim*). On the lower Tigris and Euphrates, near the confines of Susiana, that is to say, in much the same region that was afterwards known as 'the land of the Aramæans' (*Bēth Aramāyē*, in Persian *Suristan*), and contained the royal cities, —there were nomadic (?) Aramæans according to an in-

scription of Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727 B.C.), and an inscription of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). (See Del. *Pr.* 238, Schr. *KAT* 116, *KB* 2-5). The name occurs also in a few other Assyrian inscriptions; but, owing to the imperfection of the writing, it may sometimes be doubted whether the word is really ארם, 'Aram,' and not some such form as ערב, ערם, or ערד. It is remarkable that the cuneiform inscriptions, at least according to the opinion of Del. and Schr., never give the name of 'Aramæans' to the Aramæan-speaking populations W. of the Euphrates, whereas in the OT this is the Aramæan country *par excellence* (cp ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 1).

Though at several periods the whole, or the greater part, of the Aramæan region has been subject to a single foreign power, the Aramæans have never formed an independent political unity; in fact, so far as we know, there has never existed a state comprehending the Aramæans of the main part of Syria or of Mesopotamia proper, to the exclusion of other races. From a very early time, however, the population of these countries must have been predominantly Aramæan, as is shown by the fact that all the other nationalities were gradually eliminated, so that, even before the Christian era, the various dialects of the Aramaic (or, as the Greeks say, Syrian) language prevailed almost exclusively in the cultivated lands which lie between the Mediterranean and the Mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan. Aramaic was used by the neighbouring Arabs as the language of writing; it also took possession of the land of Israel (see § 5, end). It is indeed very unlikely that, as early as the time of Solomon, there was an important Aramæan element in Palestine, as W. Max Müller supposes (*Als. u. Eur.* 171); the ending *a* in many names of Palestinian cities in the list drawn up by the Egyptian king Šošenk is probably nothing more than the Hebrew ending ת־, expressing motion towards—the so-called *He locale*. Even in some books composed before the Exile, however, the influence of the language spoken by the neighbouring Aramæans is occasionally perceptible. This influence became very much greater after the Exile (when those Israelites who remained, or founded settlements in Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, were at first feeble in numbers) and little by little the Aramaic tongue spread over the whole country. Though the language of such parts of the OT as Esther, Ecclesiastes, and several of the Psalms is Hebrew in form, its spirit is almost entirely Aramaic. The compiler of Ezra inserted into his book an extract from an Aramaic work composed, it would seem, about 300 B.C.; and half of the Book of Daniel (which was written in 167 or 166 B.C.) is in Aramaic. Moreover, a dialect of this language was spoken by Christ and the apostles, and in it the discourses reported in the Gospels were originally delivered. Nor did the Latin language (under the Roman rule) ever threaten to supplant the prevalent Aramaic. Greek, it is true, gained some footing in Syria, and, since it was the vehicle of intercourse and literary culture, exercised a great influence on the native dialects. It was the conquests of the Moslems, however, that suddenly brought to an end the ascendency of Aramaic after it had lasted for more than 1000 years. The Arabic language was diffused with surprising rapidity, and at the present day there are only a few outlying districts in which Aramaic dialects are spoken.

2. Language.

What group of tribes the author of Gen. 10 23 includes under the name of Aram, we are unable to say precisely.

3. In Pentateuch.

Of the 'sons of Aram' enumerated there is unfortunately none that can be identified with tolerable certainty (see GEOGRAPHY, § 24). The position of 'Uz,' although it occurs several times in the OT, is unknown. It must, however, have been situated not far from Palestine. 'Mash' is usually supposed to be the country of the Μάσιον ὄρος (Strabo, 506, etc.), the source of the river Mashē (*n'hār Mashē*, in Arabic *Hirmas*), which flowed by Nisibis (pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē, ed. Chabot, 71 8, and Thomas of Margā, ed. Budge, 346 10), this is, however, by no means certain. Other theories respecting the names in Gen. 10 23 might be mentioned; but they are all open to question.

A second list, in Gen. 22 21, represents Aram as a son of Kemuel, son of Nahor and brother of Uz, Kesed (LV Chesed; the eponym of the Chaldeans), Bethuel, and others. Bethuel is called an 'Aramæan' in Gen. 25 20 28 5, as is also his son Laban in Gen. 25 20 31 20 24. The passages in question belong, it is true, to different sources; but they may have been harmonised by the redactor. All these statements seem to point to the district of Harran (HARAN, *q.v.*), where, as Hebrew tradition affirms with remarkable distinctness, the patriarchs (Abraham, Jacob), and the patriarchs' wives (Rebecca, Leah, Rachel), either were born or sojourned for a long time. Here, in remote antiquity, Hebrew tribes and Aramæan tribes (represented by Nahor) probably dwelt side by side.[1] Hence it is said in Dt. 26 5 'a nomad Aramæan was my father.' In one of the sources of Genesis the country of Laban is called 'Aram of the two rivers,'[2] which seems to mean, as has long been held, the Aramæan land between the Euphrates and the Tigris, or between the Euphrates and the Chaboras (Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.* 154). What is meant by Paddan Aram, however, the name given to the dwelling-place of Laban and his kinsmen in the other source (see PADAN), is not clear. In Assyrian (?) and Aramaic *Paddan* signifies 'yoke,' and by a change of meaning, found also in other languages, it comes to denote a certain area of land, and finally 'corn-land,' but not a 'plain,' as is sometimes assumed by those who wrongly take the phrase 'field of Aram' (Hos. 12 13[12]) to be a translation of 'Paddan Aram.' This latter can scarcely be the name of a country. It may denote a *locality* situated in the land of Aram. We might, therefore, be tempted to identify Paddan Aram with a place near *Harran* called *Paudana* (see Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* 1127*a*; Georg Hoffman, *Opusc. Nestor.* 129, *l.* 21), in Gr. φαδανᾶ (Sozom. 6 33), and in Ar. *Faddān*, in the neighbourhood of which *Tell Faddān* is situated (see Yāqūt *s.v.*). It is, however, a somewhat suspicious consideration that several of the passages which have been cited mention the patriarchs in connection with the place. Hence the name may be due to a mere localisation of the biblical story on the part of the early Christians. According to the narrative of Balaam, 'Pethor' is in Aram (Nu. 22 5 23 7; see PETHOR). If Schr. (*KAT* 155 *ff.* *KB* 1 133) be right in identifying it with the city of *Pitru*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, and situated on the river Sagur (Sājūr)—that is to say, not far from Mambij (Hierapolis)—the statement that Pethor is on the Euphrates itself cannot be quite correct. Such an inaccuracy, however, would not be surprising.

What historical foundation there may be for the account of the subjugation of Israel by Cushan Rishathaim (*q.v.*), 'king of Aram of the Two Rivers' (Judg. 3 8-10), is uncertain.

Of all the Aramæan states, by far the most important from the point of view of the Israelites, during the kingly period, was Damascus, the inhabitants of which, from the time of David (*q.v.*, § 8*b*) onward, were often at war with their Israelite neighbours; but there must also have been much peaceable intercourse between the two nations. In most cases where the OT speaks of Aram the reference is to Damascus (even though the latter name be not expressly mentioned), the small Aramæan states of the neighbourhood being sometimes included. That

4. Damascus.

[1] On this point see ISRAEL, § 1.

[2] It is not necessary to suppose with W. Max Müller (*Als.* 252, 255) that the Dual *naharaim* is a mistake for the plural *nĕhārīm*. On this subject, however, cp ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 1.

this mode of speaking was actually current in early times is proved by such passages as Am. 1 5 Is. 7 2 4 *f.* 8. Cp DAMASCUS.

Not far from Damascus lay the Aramæan districts of Maacah (*q.v.*, 2) and Geshur (*q.v.*, 1). That Maacah was Aramæan is not expressly stated except in 1 Ch. 19 6, where the text is very doubtful; but it seems to be indicated by Gen. 22 24, where Maacah is represented as a son, or daughter, of Nahor by a concubine. Moreover, in 1 Ch. 7 16 Machir, the chief representative of the tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan, is the husband of Maacah, and in v. 14 of the same chapter he is a son of Manasseh by an Aramæan concubine: whence we may infer that the Israelite tribe which had penetrated farthest to the NE. became mingled with the Aramæans of Maacah. That the Maacathites were not included in Israel, though they dwelt among the Israelites, is stated in Josh. 13 13. Their geographical situation is to some extent determined by the fact that Abel, though regarded as an ancient Israelite city (2 S. 20 19), is sometimes called Abel-bēth-Maacah, 'Abel in the land of Maacah' (2 S. 20 14,[2] etc.), in order to distinguish it from other places bearing the name Abel. In accordance with the statements in 1 K. 15 20 2 K. 15 29 (to which must be added 2 S. 20 18, a passage preserved in ℵ but mutilated in MT), this Abel is now generally admitted to be identical with the northern Abil, near Hūnin, on one of the brooks which unite to compose the Jordan (see ABEL-BETH-MAACAH). That this region, on the slopes of Hermon, was the home of the Maacathites appears from Dt. 3 14 Josh. 12 5 13 11 13, where they are mentioned together with the Geshurite—another foreign people who continued to dwell among the Israelites (Josh. 13 13), and belonged to Aram (2 S. 15 8; cp also 1 Ch. 2 23, where the text, it must be admitted, is obscure and seems to be corrupt). Not far off was the territory of Rehob or Beth Rehob, which included the city of Dan (Judg. 18 28), often mentioned as the northern limit of Israel, the modern Tell el-ḳāḍi, a few miles east of the aforesaid Abil. In Josh. 19 28 Rehob, it is true, is reckoned as belonging to the Israelite tribe of Asher; but, according to 2 S. 10 6, its inhabitants were Aramæans. Thus it appears fairly certain that several Aramæan tribes were settled near, or within the borders of the northern tribes of Israel (Naphtali, Asher, and Eastern Manasseh). In these parts the Aramæan population seems to have extended, with scarcely any interruption, as far as Damascus. The Aramæans of Maacah and Rehob fought on the side of the Ammonites against David (2 S. 10 6 = 1 Ch. 19 6). David married a daughter of the king of the Geshurites,[3] and she became the mother of Absalom. It is remarkable that she bore the name of Maacah (2 S. 3 3 = 1 Ch. 3 2), which, as we have seen, occurs often in connection with Geshur; and the same name was given by Absalom to his daughter,[4] afterwards the mother of two kings of Judah (1 K. 15 2 10 13; 2 Ch. 11 20 *ff.*). After he had murdered his brother Amnon, Absalom took refuge with his grandfather the king of Geshur, and remained there for a considerable time (2 S. 13 38 14 23 (2). The king of Geshur must, therefore, have been to some extent independent of David. Of all these Aramæan tribes we hear nothing more in later times; but one of them has left a trace in 'the Maacathite' (see MAACAH, 1), an appellation borne by the father of Jaazaniah, a contemporary of Jeremiah the prophet (2 K. 25 23 = Jer.

5. Maacah. Geshur. Rehob.

[1] Instead of ארם מעכה, the 'Aramæans of Maacah,' the parallel passage 2 S. 10 6 has מלך מעכה, 'the king of Maacah,' for which 𝔊[B] reads βασιλέα Ἀμαλήκ. Here the word Ἀμαλήκ is certainly due to a mistake (𝔊[A] have μααχα); but βασιλέα [BAL] supports the Massoretic reading מלך.

[2] In this verse we should no doubt read אבלה בית מעכה with Ew., Wellh., and others.

[3] See, however, GESHUR, 2, where the view is proposed that David's wife came from the Southern Geshur.

[4] On this see, however, MAACAH, ii.

40 8). These Aramæans, who were so closely connected with the Israelites, probably played an important part in the diffusion of the Aramaic language over Palestine.

Another state, also described as Aramæan, was that of ZOBAH (*q.v.*) (2 S. 10 6 8; cp 1 Ch. 19 6 Ps. 60 [title]), which seems to have been for a while of greater consequence. In it was situated the city of BEROTHAI (2 S. 10 8), no doubt identical with BEROTHAH (*q.v.*), which in Ez. 47 16 is placed between Hamath and Damascus. With this it agrees that according to the statements of the historical books, Zobah had relations with Hamath on the one side, and with Damascus on the other. Its site must, therefore, be approximately in the neighbourhood of Emesa; and we may hope that archæological researches will throw further light upon the subject.[1]

6. Zobah.

The statement about Saul's wars with 'the kings of Zobah' (1 S. 14 47) is open to grave suspicion; it is, in fact, doubtful whether the warlike operations of Saul ever extended so far (see SAUL, § 3). A little later, however, we find Zobah and Damascus assisting the Ammonites in their war against David (see DAVID, § 8*b*). At length Hadadʿezer, king of Zobah, even brought to his help Aramæans from beyond the Euphrates, but was utterly defeated, together with the king of the Ammonites, and David carried off a rich booty. Upon this the king of Hamath, who had been at war with the king of Zobah, sent an embassy to the Judæan king, expressing great satisfaction (2 S. 8 10). According to 2 S. 23 36, one of David's heroes (among whom were several non-Israelites) came from Zobah; in 1 Ch. 11 38, however, the reading is quite different (see ZOBAH). A servant of the above-mentioned Hadadʿezer, named Rezon, fled from his master, became the chief of a band of robbers, and after David's death founded a kingdom at Damascus (1 K. 11 23 *ff.*; see DAMASCUS, § 3). It is not easy to extract a satisfactory sense from the passage which describes the capture of 'Hamath of Zobah' by Solomon (2 Ch. 8 3), and there is reason to suspect the integrity of the text. After the time of Solomon we find no mention of Zobah in the OT; but Assyrian monuments bear witness to the existence of this city in the seventh century B.C.—if, as seems likely, the same place be meant.

In the account of the wars of David against the Ammonites and their allies, these latter are classed together under the name of 'Aramæans' (2 S. 10 8 *ff.* 14 *ff.*); but this is perhaps nothing more than a classification *a potiori*. It is of more importance to notice that the army of Nebuchadrezzar is called by a contemporary 'the army of the Chaldeans and of the Aramæans' (Jer. 35 11). That the great mass of the Babylonian army was composed of Aramæans might have been naturally inferred, even if we had not this explicit statement on the subject.

7. 'Aramæans.'

Cp Nöldeke, 'Die Namen der Aram. Nation u. Sprache,' in *ZDMG* 25 113 *ff.*; Ασσυριος Συριος Συρος in *Hermes*, 5 443 *ff.*; and the section on the Aramaic dialects in Art. 'Semitic Languages,' *EB*[10], published separately in German, *Die Sem. Sprachen*, Leipsic, 1887, p. 27 *ff.*, 2nd ed., 1899.

[1] An Asherite (1 Ch. 7 34); [αε]αραν [B], αραμ [AL]). See also RAM, 1, and ARNI.

T. K.

ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.[2] Aramaic is nearly related to Hebrew-Phœnician; there is, nevertheless, a sharp line of demarcation. Of its original home nothing certain is known. In the OT 'Aram' appears at an early period as a designation of certain districts in Syria (see ARAM, § 1) and in Mesopotamia. The language of the Aramæans gradually spread far and wide. It occupied all Syria—both those regions which had been in the possession of non-Semitic peoples, and

1. Geographical extent.

[1] It would appear that the Assyrian inscriptions sometimes mention this place as *Subutu* or *Subiti* (see Del. *Par.* 270 *ff.*; Schrader, *KGF* 122, *KAT* 182 *ff.*); but they have not enabled us to fix the site.

[2] Revised and adapted by the author from art. 'Semitic Languages' (Aramaic section) in *EB*[10] 21.

those which were most likely inhabited by Canaanite tribes. Last of all, Palestine became Aramaised (*ib.* § 2). Towards the E. this language was spoken on the Euphrates, and throughout the districts of the Tigris S. and W. of the Armenian and Kurdish mountains; the province in which the capitals of the Arsacides and the Sasanians were situated was called 'the country of the Aramæans.' In Babylonia and Assyria a large, or perhaps the larger, portion of the population were most probably Aramæans, even at a very early date, whilst Assyrian was the language of the government.

2. Earlier history.

Some short Aramaic inscriptions of the Assyrian period, principally on weights, have long been known. To these have recently been added longer ones from the most northern part of Syria (Zenjirli, about 47 N.). In these, as in the weight inscriptions, the language differs markedly from later Aramaic, especially by its close approximation to Hebrew-Canaanite or, perhaps, to Assyrian; but Aramaic it undoubtedly is. It is to be hoped that more of these inscriptions, important alike for their language and for their contents, may yet be discovered.[1]

In the Persian period Aramaic was the official language of the provinces W. of the Euphrates; and this explains the fact that some inscriptions of Cilicia and many coins which were struck by governors and vassal princes in Asia Minor (of which the stamp was in some cases the work of skilled Greek artists) bear Aramaic inscriptions, whilst those of other coins are Greek. This, of course, does not prove that Aramaic was ever spoken in Asia Minor, and as far north as Sinope and the Hellespont. In Egypt Aramaic inscriptions have been found of the Persian period, one bearing the date of the fourth year of Xerxes (482 B.C.);[2] we have also official documents on papyrus, unfortunately in a very tattered condition for the most part, which prove that the Persians preferred using this convenient language to mastering the difficulties of the Egyptian systems of writing. It is further possible that at that time there were many Aramæans in Egypt, just as there were many Phœnicians, Greeks, and Jews.

This preference for Aramaic, however, probably originated under the Assyrian Empire, in which a very large proportion of the population spoke Aramaic: in it this language would naturally occupy a more important position than it did under the Persians. Thus we understand why it was taken for granted that a great Assyrian officer could speak Aramaic (2 K. 18 26; Is. 36 11), and why the dignitaries of Judah appear to have learned the language (*ibid.*): namely, in order to communicate with the Assyrians. The short dominion of the Chaldeans probably strengthened this preponderance of Aramaic.

A few ancient Aramaic inscriptions have been discovered far within the limits of Arabia, in the palm oasis of Teima (in the north of the Hijâz); the oldest and by far the most important of these was perhaps made somewhat *before* the Persian period.[3] We may presume that Aramaic was introduced into the district by a mercantile colony, which settled in the ancient seat of commerce; and, in consequence, Aramaic may have remained for some time the literary language of the neighbouring Arabs. Those Aramaic monuments, which we may with more or less certainty ascribe to the Persian period, exhibit a language which is almost absolutely uniform. The Egyptian monuments bear marks of Hebrew, or (better) Phœnician, influence.

Intercourse with Aramæans caused some Aramaic words to be imported into Hebrew at a comparatively early date. This influence of Aramaic on Hebrew steadily grew, and shows itself so strongly in the language of Ecclesiastes, for example, as almost to compel the inference that Aramaic was the writer's mother-tongue, and Hebrew one subsequently acquired, without complete mastery.

3. Biblical Aramaic.

Certain portions of the OT (Ezra 4 8-6 18, 7 12-26; Dan. 2 4-8 28), also the ancient gloss in Jer. 10 11, are written in Aramaic. The free and arbitrary interchange between Aramaic and Hebrew, between the current popular speech and the old sacred and learned language, is peculiarly characteristic in Daniel (167 or 166 B.C.; see DANIEL, ii. § 11 *f.*). Isolated passages in Ezra perhaps belong to the Persian period, but have certainly been remodelled by a later writer.[1] Still in Ezra we find a few antique forms which do not occur in Daniel.

The Aramaic pieces contained in the OT have the great advantage of being furnished with vowels and other orthographical signs. These were not inserted until long after the composition of the books (they are sometimes at variance with the text itself); but Aramaic was still a living language when the punctuation came into use, and the lapse of time was not so very great. The tradition ran less risk of corruption, therefore, than in the case of Hebrew. Its general correctness is further attested by the innumerable points of resemblance between this language and Syriac, with which we are accurately acquainted. The Aramaic of the OT exhibits various antique characteristics which afterwards disappeared: for example, the formation of the passive by means of internal vowel-change, and of the causative with *ha* instead of with *a*: phenomena which have been falsely explained as Hebraisms.

Biblical Aramaic agrees in all essential respects with the language used in the many inscriptions of Palmyra (beginning soon before the Christian era and extending to about the end of the third century), and on the Nabataean coins and stone monuments (concluding about the year 100 A.D.). Aramaic was the language of Palmyra, the aristocracy of which were largely of Arabian extraction. In the northern portion of the Nabataean kingdom (not far from Damascus) there was probably a large Aramaic population; but Arabic was spoken farther south. At that time, however, Aramaic was highly esteemed as a cultivated language, for which reason the Arabs in question made use of it, as their own language was not reduced to writing, just as in those ages Greek inscriptions were set up in many districts where no one spoke Greek. The great inscriptions cease with the overthrow of the Nabataean kingdom by Trajan (105 A.D.); but, down to a later period, the Arabian nomads in those countries, especially in the Sinaitic peninsula, often scratched their names on the rocks, adding some benedictory formula in Aramaic. These inscriptions having now been deciphered with completeness and certainty, there is no longer room for discussion of their Israelitic origin or of any similar fantastic theories concerning them. That several centuries afterwards the name of 'Nabataean' was used by the Arabs as synonymous with 'Aramaean' was probably due to the gradual spread of Aramaic over a great part of what had once been the country of the Nabataeans. In any case Aramaic then exercised an extensive influence. This is proved by the place which it occupies in the strange Pahlavi writing, various branches of which date from the time of the Parthian empire. Biblical Aramaic, as also the language of the Palmyrene and the Nabataean inscriptions, may be described as an older form of Western Aramaic. The opinion that the Palestinian Jews brought their Aramaic dialect directly from Babylon—whence the incorrect name 'Chaldee'—is untenable.

4. Nabataean, etc.

[1] Cp *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Sachau, *Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, Mittheil. aus d. orient. Samml.* 1873; also D. H. Müller, *altsem. Inschrift. ... Sendschirli*, Vienna, 1893; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.*, Paris, 1894, and on the language, Nöld, *ZDMG* 47 93; D. H. Müller, 'Die Bauinschrift des Barrekub,' *ZKMW* 10; Wi. in *MVG*, 1896; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.* 1897; G. Hoffmann, *ZA*, 1897, 317 *ff.* Two old Aram. inscriptions from Nerab (near Aleppo) have since been brought to light: cp Hoffmann, *ib.* 208 *ff.*

[2] See the Palæographical Society's *Oriental Series*, plate lxiii., and *CIS* 2, no. 122.

[3] See *CIS* 2, nos. 113-121.

[1] The [illegible] (Ezra 7 12-26) is in its present form a comparatively late production (cp EZRA, ii. § 10).

By the time of Christ Aramaic had long been the current popular speech of the Jews in Palestine, and

5. NT. the use, spoken and written, of Hebrew (in a greatly modified form) was confined to scholars. Christ and the apostles spoke Aramaic, and the original preaching of Christianity, the Εὐαγγέλιον, was in the same language. And this, too, not in the dialect current in Jerusalem, which roughly coincided with the literary language of the period, but in that of Galilee, which, it would seem, had developed more rapidly, or, as is now often but erroneously said, had become corrupted. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to know the Galilean dialect of that period with accuracy. The attempts made in our days to reduce the words of Jesus from Greek to their original language have, therefore, failed.

In general, few of the sources from which we derive our knowledge of the Palestinian dialect of that period

6. Targums. can be implicitly trusted. In the synagogues it was necessary that the reading of the OT should be followed by an oral 'targūm' (translation, or rather a paraphrase into Aramaic, the language of the people—which was at a later period fixed in writing; but the officially sanctioned form of the Targum to the Pentateuch (the so-called Targum of Onkelos) and of that to the prophets (the so-called Jonathan) was not finally settled till the fourth or fifth century, and not in Palestine but in Babylonia. The redactors of the Targum preserved, on the whole, the older Palestinian dialect; yet that of Babylon, which differed considerably from the former, exercised a vitiating influence. The punctuation, which was added later (first in Babylonia) is not so trustworthy as that of the Aramaic passages in the OT. The manuscripts which have the Babylonian superlinear punctuation may, nevertheless, be relied upon to a great extent. The language of Onkelos and Jonathan differs but little from biblical Aramaic. The language spoken some time afterwards by the Palestinian Jews, especially in Galilee, is exhibited in a series of rabbinical works—the so-called Jerusalem Targums, a few Midrashic works, and the Jerusalem Talmud. Of the Jerusalem Targums, at least that to the Pentateuch contains remains that go back to a very early date, and, to a considerable extent, presents a much more ancient aspect than that of Onkelos, which has been heavily revised throughout;[1] but the language, as we now have it, belongs to the later time. The Targums to the Hagiographa are, in part, very late indeed. All these books, of which the Midrashim and the Talmud contain much Hebrew as well as Aramaic, have been handed down without care, and require to be used with great caution for linguistic purposes. Moreover, the influence of the older language and orthography has, in part, obscured the characteristics of these popular dialects: for example, various gutturals are still written, although they are no longer pronounced. The adaptation of the spelling to the real pronunciation is carried furthest in the Jerusalem Talmud, but not in a consistent manner. All these books are without vowel-points; but the frequent use of vowel-letters in the later Jewish works renders this defect less noticeable (cp TEXT, § 64).

Not only the Jews but also the Christians of Palestine retained their native dialect for some time as an ecclesi-

7. Christian Palestinian. astical and literary language. We possess translations of great portions of the Bible (especially of the Gospels) and fragments of other works in this dialect by the Palestinian Christians dating from about the fifth century, partly accompanied by a punctuation which was not added till some time later. This dialect, the native country of which was apparently not Galilee, but Judæa, closely resembles that of the Palestinian Jews, as was to be expected from the fact that those who spoke it were of Jewish origin.

Finally, the Samaritans, among the inhabitants of Palestine, translated their sacred book, the Penta-

8. Samaritan dialect. teuch, into their own dialect (see TEXT, § 48). The critical study of this translation proves that the language which lies at its base was very much the same as that of the neighbouring Jews. Perhaps, indeed, the Samaritans may have carried the softening of the gutturals a little farther than the Jews of Galilee. Their absurd attempt to embellish the language of the translation by arbitrarily introducing forms borrowed from the Hebrew original has given rise to the false notion that Samaritan is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. The introduction of Hebrew and even of Arabic words and forms was practised in Samaria on a still larger scale by copyists who lived after Aramaic had become extinct. The later works written in the Samaritan dialect are, from a linguistic point of view, as worthless as the compositions of Samaritans in Hebrew; the writers, who spoke Arabic, endeavoured to write in a language with which they were but half acquainted.

All these Western Aramaic dialects, including that of the oldest inscriptions, have this characteristic among others

9. Western dialects. in common, that they form the third person singular masculine and the third person plural masculine and feminine in the imperfect by prefixing *y*, as do the other Semitic languages. And in these dialects the termination *ā* (the so-called *ā emphaticus*) still retained the meaning of a definite article down to a tolerably late period.

As early as the seventh century the conquests of the Moslems greatly circumscribed the domain of Aramaic, and a few centuries later it was almost completely supplanted in the W. by Arabic. For the Christians of those countries, who, like every one else, spoke Arabic, the Palestinian dialect was no longer of importance. They adopted as their ecclesiastical language the dialect of the other Aramæan Christians, the Syriac (Edessan; see § 11 *ff*). The only localities where a W. Aramaic dialect still survives are a few villages in Anti-Libanus.[1]

The popular Aramaic dialect of Babylonia, from the fourth to the sixth century of our era, is exhibited in the

10. Babylonian and Mandæan. Babylonian Talmud, in which, however, as in the Jerusalem Talmud, there is a constant mingling of Aramaic and Hebrew passages. To a somewhat later period, and probably to a somewhat different district of Babylonia, belong the writings of the Mandæans, a strange sect, half Christian and half heathen, who, from a linguistic point of view, possess the peculiar advantage of having remained almost entirely free from the influence of Hebrew, which is so perceptible in the Aramaic writings of Jews as well as in those of Christians. The orthography of the Mandæans comes nearer than that of the Talmud to the real pronunciation, and in it the softening of the gutturals is most clearly seen. In other respects there is a close resemblance between Mandæan and the language of the Babylonian Talmud. The forms of the imperfect which we have enumerated above take in these dialects *n* or *l*. In Babylonia, as in Syria, the language of the Arabic conquerors rapidly drove out that of the country. The latter has long been extinct—unless, which is possible, a few surviving Mandæans still speak among themselves a more modern form of their dialect.

At Edessa, in the W. of Mesopotamia, the native dialect had already been used for some time as a literary

11. Syriac or Edessan Aramaic. language, and had been reduced to rule through the influence of the schools (as is proved by the fixity of the grammar and the orthography) even before Christianity

[1] This in opposition to Dalman's *Gramm. d. jüd. pal. Aram.* (Leipsic, 94)—a book highly to be commended for the fulness and accuracy of its facts, but less so for its theories.

[1] On this subject we have now very valuable information in a series of articles by M. Parisot (*Journ. As.*, 1898); moreover, it is hoped that Professors Peyron and Smith will soon be able to furnish more ample details.

acquired power in the country, in the second century. At an early period the Old and the New Testaments were here translated, with the help of Jewish tradition (see TEXT, § 59). This version (the so-called Peshitta or Peshito) became the Bible of Aramaean Christendom, and Edessa became its capital. Thus the Aramaean Christians of the neighbouring countries, even those who were subjects of the Persian empire, adopted the Edessan dialect as the language of the church, of literature, and of cultivated intercourse. Syria, however, was also the name given by the Jews and the Christians of Palestine to their language, and Syrians was applied by both Greeks and Romans to the Aramaeans of Palestine. It is, therefore, incorrect to employ the word 'Syriac' as meaning the language of Edessa alone; but, since the most important of these dialects, it [illegible] claim to this generally received appellation. [illegible] we have, and a form very closely akin to the above-mentioned forms of the imperfect in the Babylonian dialects, the termination [illegible] so completely a part of the substantive [illegible] added that it has wholly lost the meaning of the article; whereby the clearness of the [illegible] perceptibly impaired. The influence exerted [illegible] very apparent in Syriac.

12. Its history. From the third to the seventh century [illegible] literature was produced in this language, [illegible] chiefly, but not entirely, of ecclesiastical works. In the development of literature the Syrians of the Persian empire took a larger part. In the Eastern Roman empire Syriac was, after Greek, by far the most important language; and under the Persian kings it virtually occupied a more prominent position as an organ of culture than the Persian language itself. The conquests of the Arabs totally changed this state of things. Meanwhile, even in Edessa, a considerable difference had arisen between the written language and the popular speech, in which the process of modification was still going on. About the year 700 it became a matter of absolute necessity to systematise the grammar of the language and to introduce some means of clearly expressing the vowels. The chief object aimed at was that the text of the Syriac Bible should be recited in a correct manner. It happened, however, that the eastern pronunciation differed in many respects from that of the W. The local dialects had, to some extent, exercised an influence over the pronunciation of the literary tongue; and, on the other hand, the political separation between Rome and Persia, and yet more the ecclesiastical schism—since the Syrians of the E. were mostly Nestorians, those of the W. Monophysites and Catholics—had produced divergences between the traditions of the various schools. Starting, therefore, from a common source, two distinct systems of punctuation were formed, of which the western is the more convenient, but the eastern the more exact, and generally more in accordance with the ancient pronunciation; it has, for example, *ā* in place of the western *ō*, and *ō* in many cases where the western Syrians pronounce *u*. In later times the two systems have been intermingled in various ways.

Arabic everywhere put a speedy end to the predominance of Aramaic—a predominance which had lasted for more than a thousand years—and soon began to drive Syriac out of use. Nevertheless, up to the present day Syriac has remained in use for literary and ecclesiastical purposes, and may perhaps be even spoken in some monasteries and schools; but it has long been a dead language. When Syriac became extinct in Edessa and its neighbourhood is not known with certainty. It is very desirable that theologians who interest themselves scientifically in the history of the first centuries of Christianity should [illegible] *Syriac*. The task is not very difficult for those who know Hebrew.

In some districts of northern Mesopotamia, of the Mosul territory, of Kurdistan, and on Lake Urmia, Aramaic dialects are spoken by Christians and occasionally by Jews. Among these

13. Neo Syriac dialects. that of Urmia has become the most important, since American missionaries have formed a new literary language of it. Moreover, the Roman Propaganda has printed books in two of the Neo Syriac dialects.

On the Aramaic dialects in general, see Nöldeke, 'Die Namen d. Aram. Nation u. Sprache,' in *ZDMG*, [illegible]; Wright, *Comp. Grammar*, [illegible]; [illegible] *Aram.*, [illegible]. The Aramaic

14. Literature. Inscriptions from Assyria, Babylonia, Asia and Egypt are found in the second part of the *CIS* (the [illegible] Palmyrene inscriptions have not yet appeared). For the N[illegible] on the most important publication is [illegible] Berlin, [illegible]. Others are to be found in [illegible] the most considerable is the great [illegible] edited by Dr. Vogüé, *Inscr.*, 1868, [illegible] in Lidzbarski's *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*. Palmyrene (comparatively small) and *Nabatæan* (1000–77) is the most [illegible] are to be found scattered [illegible] Orient. Subjects, the most important [illegible] inscription in Palmyrene and Greek [illegible] where the literature is cited. A few [illegible] annotated, are appended to Bevan's [illegible]

[illegible] grammar is Nöldeke's *Syr.* [illegible] Duval's (Paris, '81) is [illegible] with the other Aramaic dialects, and [illegible] *Lingnarum Orientalium* (3rd ed., Berlin, [illegible] tory handbook. To theologians wishing to [illegible] *Chrestomathia syriaca* (3rd ed., Halle, [illegible] recommended. Articles on the Nabatæan, the [illegible] Christian-Palestinian dialects by N[illegible] [illegible] *ZDMG* 17, 20 *ff.*, 19, 427 *ff.*, 24, 8 *ff.*, 1 [illegible] [illegible] Syriac dictionaries, Castell's for a long time was the only one of general utility. Recently three have appeared, Payne Smith's great *Thesaurus* (unfortunately not yet finished), Brockelmann's and Brun's. Of glossaries to the Aramaic inscriptions, we must now add to Levias's *Dict. des noms* [illegible] the glossary of Stanley A. Cook (Cambridge, [illegible]) and Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (1908).

[illegible] in early Jewish literature, including the Hebrew parts of it, we have, besides the old Factor (Basel, 1640), Jacob Levy's *Neuhebr. u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1876–89), and the shorter one of J. Dalman (part I, Leipzig, '90). Levy had previously edited a *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (Leipzig, 1867).

On the biblical Aramaic there are, besides the grammar of Kautzsch (1884), the little books of Strack (2nd ed., Leipzig, '07) and of Marti (Leipzig, [illegible]). For the Targum dialects there is no grammar that meets the requirements of modern science. Nor is there yet an adequate grammar of the Aramaic dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, although the little tract of S. Di Luzzatto (*Elementi grammaticali di Caldaico biblico e dialetto Talmudico Babilonese*, Padua, [illegible]) is a very useful work. For the Palestinian Jewish dialects see Dalman's Grammatik (Leipzig, [illegible]); for the Samaritan, the grammar of Uhlemann (Leipzig, [illegible]) and Petermann (Berlin, '72). Neither of these, naturally, represents the results of modern scholarship. For the Mandaic, see that of Nöldeke (Halle, '75), for the Neo-Syriac that of the same author (Leipzig, '68), and especially the most valuable grammar of A. J. Maclean (Cambridge, [illegible]). [illegible]

ARAMAIC VERSIONS. See TEXT, §§ 59 *f.*, 64.

ARAMEAN (ארמי), Dt. 26 5 RV^mg^, and **Aramitess** (ארמית), 1 Ch. 7 14 EV. See ARAM (beginning).

ARAM-MAACAH (ארם מעכה), 1 Ch. 19 6 RV. See MAACAH, 1.

ARAM-NAHARAIM (ארם נהרים). EV preserves the form Aram-naharaim only in Ps. 60 (title: μεσοποταμιαν συριας [BK], μ. συριαν [R]) and in Dt. 23 4 [5] RV^mg^; elsewhere the phrase is invariably rendered

1. OT expression. MESOPOTAMIA, even in Jo[illegible] [illegible] B: συριας ποταμων) where MT has simply Aram (ארם: συριας [A]; Lom. altogether). The other forms are: Judg. 3 8, ποταμων συριας [B], συριας μεσοποταμιας ποταμων [AL]; 1 Ch. 19 6 συριας μεσοποταμιας [BKAL].

Apart from Judg. 3 8, where its genuineness is more than doubtful [illegible] and the confused editorial data of 1 Ch. 19 6 and Ps. 60 2 (title) in

EV), which are, of course, too late to be anything but antiquarian lore[1] the phrase Aram-naharaim occurs in MT only twice once in J, defining the position of the 'city of Nahor' (or perhaps rather 'of Harran'; see NAHOR), Gen. 24 10, and once in D, defining the position of PETHOR on the *west* bank of the Euphrates (Dt. 23 5[4]). Whilst the two towns in question are Aramæan cities known in later[2] as well as in earlier[3] periods of history, the stories connected with them in the passages cited are legends of prehistorical times, whose interpretation is necessarily more or less conjectural (see NAHOR, BALAAM). We have no other evidence for the actual currency of a compound geographical expression Aram-naharaim. Indeed, Aram is properly a race-name rather than the name of a district: apart from the passages cited, there does not appear to be any unambiguous case of its use, whether alone or in combination, as a geographical expression. Naharim, or Naharin (see below, § 2), on the other hand, is well known as an ancient name for Northern Syria and the country stretching eastwards from it. Aram-Naharaim, or (better) Aram-Naharim, might then be, like Aram Zobah etc., properly the name of a people rather than of a territory unless, indeed, Aram be perhaps a simple gloss explaining Naharaim (cp the converse case of Yahwé-elohim in Gen. 2). That Naharaim is a dual ('the two rivers') is extremely doubtful (cp Moore on Judg. 3 8) the word, as already hinted, should probably be pronounced Naharim (see § 2).

The term MESOPOTAMIA (*q.v.*, § 1) is explained by the Greek geographers as meaning 'between the rivers'; but they need not have been right in assuming that the rivers referred to were two. It seems not improbable that the Greek name is really connected with the ancient name.[4]

2. The name Naharin.

The form Naharim (the spelling varies: on the pronunciation see WMM, *Ac. u. Eur.* 251, 252 n. 3; *ibid.* [illegible] of course, also be read *-in*. WMM) is attested by the Egyptian records of the New Empire, when this name seems to take the place of the earlier phrase Upper Rutenu (*ib.* 249). W. M. Müller regards the form as plural (252); but it may also be a locative like Ararat, etc. (see NAMES, § 107).

In Assyrian or Babylonian inscriptions the name has not yet been met with (see § 3); but in the Amarna letters it occurs repeatedly as *mâtu* Nahrima or Narima, from which we learn the valuable fact that in Phœnicia (Gebal) and Palestine (Jerusalem) the form with *m* was usual.

3. Extent.

Naharin (Nahrima) was, as the meaning of the name ('river-land') would suggest, a term of physical rather than of political geography. It need not therefore, have been used with a very great definiteness (cp the ancient names Παραποταμία, Polyb. v. 69; and the mod. Riviera); and the inscriptions, in fact, bear this out.

It seems to have extended from the valley of the Orontes, across the Euphrates, somewhat indefinitely eastwards (*Ac. u. Eur.* 249). Explanations, based on the view that *aim* is dual, like those of Dillmann (the territory between the Chaboras and the Euphrates), of Schrader in *K.A.T.*[2] (between the middle Euphrates and the Balih), and of Halévy in *Rec. Sém.* July 1894 (the neighbourhood of Damascus, watered by the so-called Abana and the Pharpar) seem less satisfactory. In its widest application, the whole water-system drain-

[1] The passages in which the phrase has been inserted are obviously borrowed from 2 S.

[2] Pethor mentioned by Shalmaneser II.

[3] Pethor mentioned by Thotmes III.

[4] It is at least worth considering whether Mesopotamia may not be a translation of the Aramæan expression בין נהרים 'district of rivers,' a natural rendering (cp the Syriac Beth Arhayê for Xenophon's Ἀραβία) of Naharim ('riverland'), afterwards—by an easy misunderstanding (of which there are examples) due to the two like-sounding words *beth* supposed to mean 'between rivers.'

[5] If the suggestion made in the preceding footnote be adopted, ποταμῶν implied in Mesopotamia will be plural.

ing into the Persian Gulf could be called 'the waters' or 'the great water system' 'of Naharin' (*Ac. u. Eur.* 253-255). In its stricter (narrower) application it probably, at one time, included or formed part of Hanigalbat (Hani-rabbat). On the history of this whole district see MESOPOTAMIA.

H. W. H.

ARAM-ZOBAH (אֲרָם צוֹבָה). See ARAM, § 6, DAVID, § 9, and ZOBAH.

ARAN (אָרָן, perhaps 'mountain goat'—cp EPHER but Nöld, and Di. question this; APPAN [BAL]), a 'son' of Dishan the Horite; Gen. 36 28 (אדן [Sam.]; APAM [AE]) = 1 Ch. 1 42 (APAN [L]). C. Niebuhr (influenced by the preceding name Uz) prefers the reading Aram, which is supported by some Heb. MSS, Targ. Jon., 𝔊[A] Vg. and *Onk.* (cp *Geech.* 1 29). The MT is, however, probably correct (cp OREN,[1] 1 Ch. 2 25), though if Oren is the right pronunciation of אדן in 1 Ch. 2 25, it is probably correct also in 1 Ch. 1 42, and *vice versa* (see We. *De gent.* 39).

ARARAT (אֲרָרָט; APAPAT [BAL]). 1. Ararat is mentioned in the OT as a country; 2 K. 19 37 (APAPAθ [B], APAΔAΔ [A]) = Is. 37 38 (APMENIA [BℵAOQ]); cp Tob. 1 21 (αραραθ [B]) AV **Ararath**, Jer. 51 27 (APATE ΠΑΡ' ΕΜΟΥ [Bℵ]; αραρεθ [A]; αραρατ (Q). The first two passages referred to are parallel; they relate that the two sons of Sennacherib (Sin-ahi-irba), after having slain their father, 'escaped into the land of Ararat' (so RV). A collateral confirmation of this report is given by an inscription of Esar-haddon[2] (Aśur-ah-iddina) which states that on the news of the murder of his father he quickly collected the forces (with which he was probably carrying on a campaign in Cappadocia or Cilicia), marched against Nineveh, and defeated the army of the murderers at Hanirabbat (Hanigalbat? Schrader). This district lies in the neighbourhood of Melitene, just where, at a later time, the Romans entered Armenia (*i.e.*, Ararat). In Jer. *l.c.* the prophetic writer summons the kingdoms (or, as 𝔊[ℵ], the kings) of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz to fight against Babylon. This too agrees with the representations of the inscriptions, which constantly distinguish between the land of Mannu and Urartu or Ararat. Mannu (which lay to the S. or SE. of Lake Urumia) was generally subject to the Assyrians, but at least once was conquered from them by Argistis son of Menuas (see Tiele, *B.G* 208, 215). See further MINNI, ASHKENAZ.

1. Country: biblical allusions.

The name Urarti appears in the Assyrian texts from the ninth century onwards. It appears to be interchangeable with Nairi (*i.e.*, the streams), the old Semitic name of the country, which it bore, for example, under Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1108 B.C.) and, as appears from the notices in the Egyptian inscriptions of the eighteenth dynasty, at a much earlier date (*circa* 1400 B.C.). The kings, who are called by the Assyrians Urartians, never apply this name to themselves. Sarduris I., the first king whose inscriptions, written in Assyrian (*circa* 830 B.C.), have come down to us, calls himself king of Nairi, a title which the Assyrians naturally did not grant him, because they themselves laid claim to his country. His successors, who use their own language, call their land Biaina out of which the later name Van has [illegible] a name which must at that time have been transferred from the district where the kings resided to the whole kingdom.

2. Assyrian texts, etc.

Next as to the extent of the kingdom of Urartu or Nairi. The greater part of the later Armenia was, sometimes at any rate, included within its limits; for Vannic inscriptions have been found even in Malatiyah, near Palu on the Upper Euphrates, and as far away as the Russian province Erivan. It would appear that originally Nairi denoted a more southerly region, where

[1] On Ornan see ARAUNAH.

[2] 3 R. 15, col. i. 17.

the Tigris and the Euphrates rise, whilst Ararat proper (Urartu) lay to the N., in the plain of the Araxes; but that between the eleventh century and the ninth, the Urartians (whom their language shows to have been a non-Semitic people) conquered the more southerly region, and established there the chief seat of their dominion—a conquest which they were enabled to make by the great decline of Assyria at that time. Afterwards, both names, Nairi and Urartu, were used for the whole country. The Assyrian king Sargon broke the power of Urartu for a long time; but his successors did not succeed in their endeavours to destroy it, and so it is not unnatural that Assyriologists have sometimes defended the pre-exilic origin of the long prophecy against Babylon at the end of the Book of Jeremiah, on this ground among others, that the kingdoms of Ararat and Minni are still well known to the Israelites, and considered to be formidable powers.[1] Kuenen, however (*Onderz.*[2] 2 242 *f.*; *Inl.* 2 232 *f.*), has sufficiently shown that these arguments are not conclusive. Proper names like Ararat and Minni simply prove the literary and antiquarian research of the author, and the phenomena of the prophecy as a whole appear to both the present writers to presuppose a period later than that of Jeremiah. (See JEREMIAH, II. 1).

2. Ararat is mentioned also in the post-exilic version of the Deluge-story. The statement runs thus: 'And the ark rested . . . upon the mountains of Ararat' (Gen. 8 4 RV; Samar. text הרדם).

3. Deluge-story.

This is precisely parallel to the statement of the cognate Babylonian story (see DELUGE, § 1): 'The mountain of the land of Nisir stopped the ship,' or, as the following lines give it, 'The mountain Nisir stopped the ship.' That Nisir (protection? deliverance?) is properly the name of a mountain or mountain range seems to be clear from Asur nasir pal's inscription (see *KB* 1 77), and Ararat too, in the intention of the Hebrew writer, will be the name of a mountain or mountain range. The situation of Nisir is clear from the inscription just referred to. It was in Media, E. of the Lower Zab, and S. of the Caspian Sea. There lies Elburz, the Hara berezaiti, or Hara haraiti bares, thus named by the N. Iranians after their mythic sky-mountain. Now, it is remarkable that Nicolaus Damascenus (in Jos. *Ant.* i. 36, cp also *OS*[2] 209 48) names the mountain of the ark Baris, and places it 'above Minyas' *i.e.*, Minni (Mannu). Baris (*baris* = high) appears to be a fragment of the Iranian name of Elburz, which this writer took for the whole name.[2] It may be conjectured that this was the mountain which the Hebrew writer, in accordance with the Babylonian tradition, had in view. If so, he gave it the name which it bore in his own time, Hara haraiti, shortening it into Ararat, not perhaps without confusing it involuntarily with the land of Urarti, which latter name may have had a different origin.

It was natural enough that the most widely spread tradition accepted the identity of the Ararat of the Hebrew Deluge story with the kingdom of Ararat spoken of above. There (*i.e.*, in the plain of the Araxes) a lofty mountain rises, worthy, so it may have appeared, to be the scene of such a great event as the stranding of the ark. Of its two conical peaks, one is crowned with perpetual snow, and rises 17,000 ft. above the sea-level; the other is 4000 ft. lower. That the Hebrew writer thought of these mountains is in the highest degree improbable (see Di *Genesis*, 131). Another tradition identified Ararat with the land of Cardu (so Pesh., Targ.) *i.e.*, the ancient Kordiene or Karduchia on the left bank of the Upper Tigris, and the mountain of the ark with the Jebel Judi, SW. of Lake Van, which has become the traditional site with the Moslems.

In the Table of Nations (Gen. 10) the name of Ararat does not occur; but Ashkenaz, Riphath (or Diphath), and Togarmah (see special articles) probably denote districts of W. and NW. Armenia.

For the geography of Urartu cp especially Sayce, 'Cuneiform Inscr. of Van,' *JRAS* xiv. pt. ii. 388 *ff.*, where, however, the Armenians, who entered the country from the W., and are related to the Aryan races of Asia Minor, are regarded as Iranians. It is against this view that, shortly after the first mention of the name Urartu by Asur nasir-pal, names of an Aryan sound occur in an inscription of his son Shalmaneser II. (Artasari and Data).

(P. T. W. H. K.)

ARARATH, AV[mg.] 4 Esd. 13 45; RV ARZARETH.

ARARITE (הָאֲרָרִי), 2 S. 23 33*b* RV; AV HARARITE, 3.

ARATHES (ΑΡΑΘΗϹ [VA]), 1 Macc. 15 22 RV, AV ARIARATHES (*q.v.*).

ARAUNAH (אֲרַוְנָה, so Kr. everywhere in 2 S. 24, but Kt. האורנה *v.* 16, ארניה *v.* 18, ארונה *vv.* 22 24), or ORNAN (אָרְנָן in Ch.), a Jebusite, whose threshing-floor, consecrated by the presence of the angel of Yahwé, David purchased as a site for an altar (cp MORIAH). The story is told in two forms, which agree in essentials. On 1 Ch. 21 20 see note to Kittel's translation in *SBOT* (2 S. 24 16 *ff.*; 1 Ch. 21 15 *ff.*; 2 Ch. 3 1, ορνα [BAL]; cp ορονα Jos. *Ant.* vii. 3 3, ορονναν *ib.* 13 4). The real name, however, was not Araunah, which is thoroughly un-Hebraic, and presumably un-Canaanitish. The critics have in this case not been critical enough. Even Budde (*SBOT*, Heb. ed., note on 2 S. 24 16) admits, rather doubtfully, the form Araunah. Klost. prefers ⊕'s form Ornan, which, however, is no better than the Ornan of the Chronicler. One has a right to require a definitely Hebrew name, and such a name for this Jebusite MT actually gives us in 2 S. 24 18 viz., ארניה אדניה Adonijah (cp Ορνα[ς] [AL]). Adonijah in 2 S. 3 4, and in ⊕[L] of 1 Ch. 3 2, and in 1 K. 1 *f.*) It is proposed, therefore, to correct 'Araunah' into 'Adonijah' throughout, except in *v.* 23 (on which see below); cp 'Adonibezek,' miswritten in Judg. 1 for 'ADONIZEDEC' (*q.v.*).

The critics have been very near making this correction. They have rightly rejected the pretty romance based on the phrase 'Araunah the king' in 2 S. 24 23 (MT), from which Ewald (*Hist.* 3 164) inferred that Araunah was the old dethroned king of Jebus. They have also rejected the makeshift rendering of RV, 'All this, O king, doth Araunah give unto the king,' because a subject speaking to his sovereign was bound to call himself humbly 'the king's servant' (cp 1 S. 26 19 1 K. 1 26). As Wellhausen first saw, the sense required is, 'All this doth the servant of my lord the king give unto the king.' This means correcting ארונה into ארני, and prefixing עבד, a capital correction which only needs to be supplemented by the emendation of ארונה elsewhere into ארניה (see above).

An additional argument has thus been gained for the substitution of 'Adonijah' for 'Araunah.' The correction is certain, and it is of the highest interest. The Israelite king and his Jebusite subject worship the same god—the god of the land of Canaan. Adonijah too was not an ex-king, but simply a member of the Jebusite community, which continued to exist even after the conquest of Jerusalem. ⊕[L] (2 S. 6 6 Ὀρνά, Heb. נָכוֹן)

[1] Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 485 *f.* Prof. Sayce is uncertain whether Jeremiah 'has made use of some earlier prophecy of which Nineveh was the burden, or whether 'the prophecy belongs to a time when Babylon had already taken the place of Nineveh, but when in other respects the political condition of W. Asia still remained what it was in the closing days of the Assyrian Empire.' 'In any case the prophecy must be earlier than the age of the second Isaiah, to which modern criticism has so often referred it.' This was printed in 1894, five years after the appearance of vol. ii. of the most authoritative summary of 'modern criticism,' Kuenen's *Onderzoek*[2], and two years after that of the German translation. Prof. Tiele, who, in 1886 (*Gesch.* 425), from an incomplete view of the critical arguments, had placed Jer. 50 *f.* to have been written before Cyrus among the exiles in Babylon, now accepts Kuenen's main conclusions as expressed in the work referred to.

[2] Whether Lubar, the name of the mountain of the ark in *Jubilees*, chaps. 5 and 10, has any connection with Baris, it is unimportant to decide.

apparently identified the place with the threshing-floor at Perez-Uzzah (see NACHON). T. K. C.

ARBA (אַרְבַּע; αρβοβ [B], αρβο [A] -βε [L]), 'the greatest man among the Anakim' (Josh. 14 15). See ANAK, 1, HEBRON, 1.

ARBAH (אַרְבָּע) Gen. 35 27 AV. See HEBRON, 1.

ARBATHITE (הָעַרְבָתִי) —*i.e.*, a man of Beth-arābah (2 S. 23 31 1 Ch. 11 32). See ABI-ALBON.

ARBATTIS AV, or rather **Arbatta** RV (εν αρβακτοις [AN^c.a]; -βανοις [N*], -βατν. [V*], -ταν. [V^a]; Vg. *in Arbatis*; the Syriac gives the strange form *Arābat*, ܐܪܒܬ), 1 Macc. 5 23.† Simon the Maccabee, after his successes in Galilee against the Gentiles, brought back to Judæa 'those [Jews] that were of (reading ἐκ for ἐν) Galilee and in Arbatta.' A district rather than a town is obviously to be understood. Ewald (*Hist.* 5 314) thinks of the plain called el-Batiha on the NE. shore of the Sea of Galilee (cp the Syriac form); more probably the Arabah or Araboth (עֲרָבוֹת) of Jordan is intended. See ARABAH, 1.

ARBELA (εν αρβηλοις [ANV]), 1 Macc. 9 2. Bacchides and Alcimus, in their second expedition into Judæa, 'went forth by the way that leadeth to Galgala (γαλααδ [codd. 64, 93]), and pitched their tents before Masaloth (RV Mesaloth; μεσαλωθ [A], μαισα. [NV]), which is in Arbela.' There are four alternative explanations (but see CHISLOTH-TABOR).

First: Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11 1) seems to have read for 'Galgala,' 'Galilee,' which Wellhausen (*IJG*[3] 261, n. 2, where he quotes the parallel ca. Jos. xii. 23 G^H τῆς Γαλειλαιας) adopts, and, without explaining Masaloth, takes Arbela to be the well-known spot at the head of the cliffs overhanging the western border of the plain of Hattin, the modern Irbid. The interchangeableness of the two forms Arbel and Arbel is proved by the Arab geographers. Nāsir-i-Khusrau, 1047 A.D., calls it Irbil; Yakut in 1235 A.D., and others, call it Irbad. The limestone caverns near Irbid were the haunts of bandits, who were only with difficulty dispossessed by Herod the Great; the methods he employed are graphically described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 15 4 *BJ* i. 16 2 *ff*). Robinson, who, with most moderns, accepts this identification, conjectures that Masaloth 'which is in Arbela' represents the Heb. מְסִלּוֹת in the sense of *steps, stairs, terraces*, and describes the fortress on the face of the almost perpendicular cliff (3 229). With more reason Tuch (*Quæst. de Flav. Jos. Libb. Hist.*), followed by Wellhausen (*l.c.*), proposes to read Μεσαδωθ (cp HP 93. Μασαδωθ) as if for מצדות 'strongholds.' The objections to this identification are that Josephus is the only authority for the reading Γαλιλαιαν, and that, by all we can learn from him, the task of reducing Arbela would have cost Bacchides more time than in the circumstances he was likely to be willing to spend. The direction through Galilee by Arbela would, however, be a natural one for the Syrians to [illegible]

Second: As natural a line of march for the Syrian army lay along the coast down to the mouth of the [illegible] Aijalon, and up that valley or one of its parallel defiles farther S. On this line there was a Γαλγαλα, the present Jiljuliyeh, a little more than 13 m. NE. of Joppa, on a site so important that the main road leading it would be described as [illegible] τῆς Γαλγαλα. There is, however, no trace along it of Μαισαλώθ or Ἀρβηλά.

Third: If Bacchides wished to avoid the road by the coast and up Aijalon, which had proved so fatal to Nicanor, he may have taken the road from Esdraelon S. through Samaria, which Holofernes is represented in Judith as taking the road which this book (4 7) expressly calls 'The

1. In Galilee?

2. By Aijalon?

3. In Samaria?

ναβασις of the hill-country,' 'the entrance into Judæa.' Upon it there stand two Gilgals, one near Shechem, and one 5 m. N. of Gophna, which Ewald (*Hist.* Eng ed 5 323) takes to be the Galgala of the narrative (but see GILGAL). On this route Masaloth might be Mesellieh or Meithalūn, respectively 5 and 8 m. S. of Jenin, each of them a natural point at which to resist an invader. A greater difficulty is presented by ἐν Ἀρβήλοις. The plural form evidently signifies a considerable district. Now, Eusebius (*OS*[2] Ἀρβήλα) notes the name as extant in his day, on Esdraelon, 9 R. m. from Lejjun, while the entrances from Esdraelon on Mesellieh and Meithalūn are 6½ R. m. from Lejūn. It is therefore possible that the name Ἀρβηλά covered in earlier days the whole of this district. The suggestion is, however, far from being capable of proof. The chief points in its favour are the straight road from the N., which was regarded as a natural line of invasion, and the existence along the road of a Jiljuliyeh, a Mesellieh, and a Meithalūn.

Fourth. There is some MS authority[1] for reading γαλααδ instead of γαλγαλα; and if the march of Bacchides be conceived as having been through Gilead, the Arbela of 1 Macc. 9 2 may be the Ἀρβηλά (mod. Irbid) which Eusebius (*OS* 214 73) vaguely defines as a certain village beyond Jordan on the confines of Pella. This Irbid, however, lies very far E. and not in a direct line from the N. Even from Damascus, it would be a roundabout way for the Syrian troops marching with speed on Jerusalem. (We can hardly compare the advance of Antiochus III. upon Ptolemy IV. [Polyb. 5 6], in the course of which Antiochus, after taking Tabor and Bethshean, crossed Jordan and overran Gilead from Arbela to Rabbath-ammon.)

4. In Gilead?

Of these four alternatives the first and third seem the most probable. The difficulties of all, however, are so great that most historians (*e.g.* Schürer and Stade) shirk discussion of the line of march, and bring Bacchides without delay to the walls of Jerusalem. G. A. S.

ARBITE, THE (הָאַרְבִּי), 2 S. 23 35, probably an error for Archite. See PAARAI.

ARBONAI (αβρωνα [BA], χεβρων [N]; חבר 'Jabbok' [Syr.]; *mambre*). In Judith 2 24 it is stated that Nebuchadrezzar 'went through Mesopotamia, and destroyed all the high cities that were upon the river (χείμαρρος) Arbonai till ye come to the sea.' Various commentators, following Grotius, have taken the Chaborras to be meant. There is much plausibility, however, in the suggestion of Movers that the proper name may have arisen out of a failure to understand the original which he conjectures to have been בערי עברי 'the cities which were) beyond [illegible] which have been taken for a proper name and supplied with a Greek ending.

ARCHANGEL (αρχαγγελος [Ti. WH]), Jude 9. See ANGEL, § 4.

ARCHELAUS (αρχελαος [Ti. WH], Mt 2 [illegible]), of Herod the Great by Malthake, and [illegible] Herod Antipas. By [illegible] he was made ruler over Judæa and Samaria, and has [illegible] to Augustus for the confirmation of this [illegible] doubtless suggested a point in the parable Lk. 19 12 *ff*. [illegible] his coins he bears the family name of Herod [illegible] 'Ethnarch,' for 'king' he never assumes, in spite of assumption (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13 1). He may have been *popularly* called [illegible] of βασιλεύς in Mt 2 [illegible] S., further HERODIAN FAMILY, 3.

ARCHER. See WAR, WEAPONS.

ARCHES is the rendering in the EV of אֵילְמוֹת (etc.), in Ez. 40 16 *ff*. The word אֵילָם or אֵלָם occurs in MT only in this chapter, but G^BAL transliterates αιλαμ (or) where MT has אֵלָם. Whatever explanation be adopted of the variation of form, the meaning is

[1] HP οδον εις γην γαλααδ [cod. 64], o. την εις γαλααδ [cod. 93].

doubtless the same throughout—viz., 'porch.' See PORCH, PALACE, TEMPLE.

That the principle of the arch early became known to Israel is a probable inference from the shape of their TOMBS.

ARCHEVITES (Kt. אַרְכָּוִי, cp Kau. *Gram. d. bibl Aram.* §61 6; Kr. אַרְכְּוָיֵא; 𝔊 Swete, αρχογοι; αρχογοι [B]; αχγαιο [A]; αρχ. [L]), mentioned in Ezra 4 9† as a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER (*q.v.*). The word is not to be regarded as meaning inhabitants of Erech (Ryssel, Ryle), or as equivalent to ἄρχοντες (Jensen, *TLZ.* 1895, n. 20), but rather as miswritten for (כו)תיא, 'who are Cuthæans' (see 2 K. 17 24 'from Babylon and from Cuthah,' etc.). So Marq. *Fund.* 64 *f.*

ARCHI (הָאַרְכִּי), Josh. 16 2 AV, RV ARCHITES.

ARCHIPPUS (αρχιππος [Tl. WH]) is included as a 'fellow-soldier' of Paul and Timothy in the address of the epistle to Philemon (Philem. 2), and in that to the Colossians (4 17) he received this message: 'Take heed to the ministry (διακονιαν) which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.' Most probably he had recently become the minister (more than 'deacon' in the narrower sense) of the church at Colossæ, perhaps in succession to Epaphras, who was now with the apostle. In *Ap. Const.* 7 46) he is said to have been apostolically ordained bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia.

ARCHITES, AV ARCHI (הָאַרְכִּי; τογ αρχι [L]; 𝔊BA combine the word with the following At roth χαταρωθει [B], αρχιαταρωθ [A]), a clan mentioned in the difficult phrase גְּבוּל הָאַרְכִּי עֲטָרוֹת (Josh. 16 2), in the delimitation of the southern frontier of Joseph. Probably we should reverse the order of the last two words and read 'the border of Ataroth-of-the-Archites.' Indeed, we might plausibly go a step further and change הארכי to הארדי (or הארדי), 'Addarites' (or 'Ardites'). See ATAROTH, 2. That the name Archi lingers in that of the village *'Ain 'Arik*, 5 m. WSW. of Beitin (*PEF Mem.* 3 7), is at best a hazardous hypothesis (cp Ottli, and Buhl *Pal.* 170 *f.*). The home of the clan of Archites to which HUSHAI and, according to 𝔊 (2 S. 23 11 הָרָרִי, ὁ Ἀροι χαιος [BA], ὁ Αραχι [L]), and הָאַרְכִּי [τοῦ Ουραι] οερχει [B], ὁ Αραχειεις [A], ὁ Αφαρει [L]) SHAMMAH (*q.v.*, 3 and 4) and PAARAI, two of David's heroes, belonged, may have been farther S.

ARCHITECTURE. See CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS, FORTRESS, HOUSE, PALACE, TEMPLE, TOMB.

ARCHIVES. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

ARCTURUS, AV's rendering of עָשׁ (Job 9 9) and עַיִשׁ (Job 38 32); RV BEAR. Most probably, however, עָשׁ in Job 9 9 has arisen from dittography of עשי which precedes, for כִּימָה follows without ו. The whole verse seems to be an unmetrical interpolation (see Bickell, Duhm, against [illegible] to עָשׁ, and goes so far as to excise [illegible] also Beer). Observe that Am. 5 8 (which is certainly [illegible] Amos § 12) an interpolation, and very possibly [illegible] Job 9 9, [illegible] Am. 4 13 [illegible] also interpolated, may [illegible] to [illegible] does not include עָשׁ among the constellations. We have, therefore, only to explain the עָשׁ (עַיִשׁ?) of Job 38. That the Pleiades are meant is not unlikely (see Stade, § 3 [illegible]; cp Tg. (38 [illegible]) וכרא על אפרוחא, 'the hen with her chickens'). Cheyne, however, prefers 'the Lion with his sons' (on Job 38 31, etc.' *JBL.* 1898, 103 *ff.*). Epping's list of 'stations' for Venus and Mars, obtained from Seleucidean tablets, gives as the [illegible] 'the death son' (=the tail of the lion) (α Leonis). The 'king' is Regulus (α Leonis); he is preceded by *ris ari* 'Lion's head' (α Leonis).

(Ὠρίωνος [BNA]; [illegible] (Pesh.); *arcturum* (Vg. 9 9), [illegible] (Job 38 31). In 9 9 𝔊, Pesh., presuppose the order כִּמְעַט עָשׁ [illegible]). Cp MAZZAROTH, ORION, PLEIADES.

C. F. B. [illegible] K.

ARD (אֶרֶד, Gen. 46 21 Nu. 26 40† cp ARDON, AROD), perhaps a better form than ADDAR (אַדָּר) of ‖ 1 Ch. 8 3† (Gen. αραδ [ADL]; B lacking; Jos. σαρολοϲ]; Nu. αδαρ [B], αδερ [AFL]; 1 Ch. αλει [B], αρεδ [A], αδαρ [L]) in genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9; n. β); variously designated son of Benjamin (Gen. MT), son of Bela (Nu. and 1 Ch.), son of Gera b. Bela (Gen. [ADL]; B lacking]). Gentilic ARDITE (אַרְדִי; 𝔊BA om., ὁ Αδερι [L *pr.*]).

ARDATH, RV **Ardat,** the name of a field mentioned only in 4 Esd. 9 26 as the scene of a vision of Esdras.

The Eth. and Syr. read *Arphad*, which Fritzsche and Hilgf. follow. The Lat. Vss. vary: *ardath* [Vg.], *adar* [S*], *ardat* [V], etc.; cp Bensly *ad loc.* Supported by the description in v. 24 ('a field . . . where no house is builded'), Volkm. (followed) emend to *'Arba*, 'desert' (more correctly *Araba*). Similarly Rendel Harris, who, however, connects Arba with Kirjath-arba (*Rest of Words of Baruch*, Camb. 1889), in which case the 'oak' in 14 1 will be Abraham's oak of Hebron. On the other hand, we should then expect rather the usual name Hebron, or, at least, the fuller form, Kirjath-Arba. If Ardat is indeed to be sought for in this district (in 3 1 Esdras is in Babylon) we might follow T. Rec. more closely and identify it with the well-known Arad, which also was situated in a desert. See ARAD, 1.

ARDITES (הָאַרְדִי), Nu. 26 40. See ARD.

ARDON (אַרְדֹּן; ορνα [BA], αβδωμ [L]), b. Azubah, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2 18†). See AZUBAH, 1.

ARELI (אֲרִאלִי; Gen. 46 16; αριηλιϲ [*D*], αροηλειϲ [A], απηδειϲ [L]; Gen. *l.c.*, also τω αριηλ [BFL], om. A; see ARIEL), b. Gad. In Nu. 26 1-*b* the name is used also collectively with the *nisbah* (EV 'the **Arelites**': ο αριηλ[ε]ι [BFL]), with consciousness that 'son of Gad' = Gadite clan. Doubtless v. 17*b* should be corrected to 'Of Ariel (לאריאל), the family of the Arielites (הָאֲרִיאֵלִי),' and it is possible that the names should rather be Uriel, Urielites (see NAMES § 35). T. K.

AREOPAGUS, AREOPAGITE (Acts 17 19 επι τ[ον] αρ[ε]ιον παγον [Tl. WH] EV 'unto [the] Areopagus,' v. 22, AV 'Mars' Hill,' RV 'Areopagus'; hence the title Areopagite, Acts 17 34, αρεοπαγειτηϲ [Tl.], -ιτ- [WH]).

1. The hill. Difficulty is caused by the fact that the name signifies both a hill and a court. The hill is that formless mass of rock which lies towards the NW. below the Acropolis, separated from it by a depression now largely filled with earth (Herod. 8 52; Luc. *Pisc.* 42). The NE. corner of the hill is a precipice, to the top of which we ascend by means of sixteen ruined steps, cut in the rock at the SE. angle. At the head of the stair are the remains of an altar. The deep chasm at the foot of the precipice was connected with the worship of the Semnai (Eumenides or Furies). 'The whole place was sacred to the most awful associations. Mythology had here lent to the majesty of the law a most solemn background.' (Ashby.)

2. The Court. As a Court, the Areopagus was, before the development of the democratic spirit, the supreme authority in Athens. Its powers were of two kinds, definite and indefinite. The definite powers were: (1) a limited criminal jurisdiction; (2) the supreme direction of religious worship, especially of the cultus of the Eumenides. The indefinite powers were: (1) a general supervision or guardianship (ἐπιμέλεια) of all magistrates and law courts; (2) of the laws; (3) of the education of the young; and (4) of public morals—in addition to which there was (5) the competence to assume in political and national emergencies an unlimited authority.

During the earlier history of the city the court held its sittings, for the trial of blood guiltiness, upon the hill itself. For the hill was the Hill of the Arai, the Curses or Imprecations, 'the place for the solemn and awful oath, the natural court for the trial of terrible offences of blood-shedding that might not be passed under a roof.' Moreover, to the early city, the Areopagus was the

place *without* the gates, a place to condemn the criminal to erect a monument for the outcast tyrant, to bury the stranger (Robert, *Ins Kyd'athen*, 101). It was during the earlier and the later periods of Athenian history that the Court of the Areopagus (ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή) enjoyed its powers to the full. In the interval Ephialtes, aided perhaps by Themistocles (Arist. *Const. Ath.* 25; 462 B.C.), abolished most of its indefinite functions, and thus deprived it of its strongest influence; it became merely a 'criminal court of narrow competence.' Thenceforth, as in Aristotle's time, it dealt only with cases of wilful homicide, of poisoning, and of arson (*Const. Ath.* 57), while the superintendence of religion was in the hands of the King Archon. As indictments for impiety (ἐνδείξεις ἀσεβείας) came, in their preliminary stages, before the latter, cases which once would have gone before the Areopagus were now tried before the popular jury-courts. It was in this way, therefore, that Socrates, accused like Paul of not worshipping the gods of the city and of introducing new divinities,[1] was tried. As the regular place of business of the King Archon was the Stoa Basileios—the associations of which were, in later days, exclusively religious—it was within that portico that the charge of impiety was brought against the philosopher. It is probable, however, that the Areopagus also always met within the Stoa (Dem. *in Aristog.* 776) when ritual did not demand a midnight-sitting on the open rock—in other words, in all cases other than those of murder. When, with the advent of the Romans, the Areopagus reappeared, after its long eclipse, as once more the supreme authority of the city (cp Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* xiii. 15; *Nat. Deor.* 2 74), and the specific control of religion fell again within its competence, it would naturally continue to meet there.

3. Paul. There it was, therefore, and before that body, that Paul was summoned. To speak of him as 'perhaps standing on the very stone where had once stood the ugly Greek who was answering the very same charge' (Farrar, *St. Paul*, 320) is to sacrifice historical truth to sentiment. We must relinquish the fond idea that Athens has the interesting distinction of being the one city of the world where we can tread in the very footsteps of the apostle. The view now generally taken errs in a double manner. It maintains, first, that the proceedings were in no sense legal or magisterial; and secondly, that they were upon the hill. The marginal rending (AV 17 22) is no doubt right in representing that it was before the court that Paul was brought. Can we believe that a crowd of idlers, parodying the judicial procedure of the court, could have been allowed to defile the neighbourhood of 'that temple of the awful goddesses whose presence was specially supposed to overshadow this solemn spot, and the dread of whose [illegible] was sufficient to prevent Nero, stained as he was with the guilt of matricide, from setting foot within the famous city' (Suet. *Ner.* 34; Dio Cas. 63 14 2)? Such a view receives better support than is [illegible] that 'the Athenians were [illegible] earnest [illegible] religion than in the days of [illegible] and if [illegible] meant for a trial it could only [illegible] by way of conscious parody' (cf [illegible] 3 [illegible]). Nor can an appeal to Acts [illegible] (Acts 17 19, AV 'took') is here not used in the sense of 'arrest.'

The view advocated by Curtius (*Studien zu Athen*, [illegible]) is correct. Paul was taken not to the Areopagus hill, a place not adapted either for hearing or for [illegible] such as this, but to the Stoa Basileios (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον; cp Acts 9 [illegible]) for a preliminary examination (ἀνάκρισις [illegible]) whether the new teaching [illegible] the midst of the assembly [illegible]

[1] Cp Xen. *Mem.* 1 1 with Acts 17 18. Yet there is [illegible] the part of the Christian writer to the [illegible] though the contrary has been asserted.

Areopagites (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου, cp Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14 5; *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, 168, Ἄρειος πάγος λόγους ἐποιήσατο), he made his defence. Much of what fell from his lips may be presumed to have awakened an echo in the breasts of his audience (on the speech see HELLENISM, § 9); but the mention of the resurrection of the body seemed to remove the case altogether out of the domain of the serious and practical. The court refused to continue the examination, and Paul was contemptuously dismissed (ἐχλευάζον τε, 32 *f.*). Curtius, *Paulus in Athen*, modifies his view. For another view see Rams. *Paul.* 243 *f.* See also Findlay, *Ann. Bri. Sch.* 178 *f.*

W. J. W.

ARES (ΑΡΕΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 10 = Ezra 2 5, ARAH, 2.

ARETAS (ΑΡΕΤΑΣ [Tischendorf WH]), an ancient name (strictly Hārithâ: חרתת in inscriptions; e.g., Euting *Nab. Inschr.* No. 16) of Nabataean princes, mentioned in the story of Jason the high priest (in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes), 2 Macc. 5 8 (Ἀρέτας [NA]). The Aretas of this passage is called 'king of the Arabians'; he was hostile to JASON (*q.v.*). Another Aretas was master of Damascus in the time of Paul three years after the apostle's conversion. His ethnarch sought (see below) to apprehend Paul, who, however, made good his escape (2 Cor. 11 32 *f.*). The story of the Nabataeans has been told elsewhere (see DAMASCUS, § 12, NABATAEANS). It is certain that about 85 B.C. they had possession of Damascus; but it should be added that the autonomy of Damascus in 70-69 B.C. is established by numismatic evidence. The first collision with the Romans was in 64-62 B.C., when the Nabataean king, Aretas III., intervened in the struggles between Hyrcanus and Aristobūlus. Damascus now came under Roman sovereignty. During the following decennia the Nabataean kingdom became involved in the wars occasioned by the Parthians—with varying but for the most part ill success. The king also had various disputes with his neighbour Herod the Great. Aretas IV. (9 B.C.–40 A.D.) had tact and skill enough to keep terms with Augustus; his daughter became wife of Herod Antipas (Jos. *Ant.* xviii 5 1), but was set aside in favour of Herodias. Disputes on frontier questions furnished the aggrieved father with pretexts for war. Vitellius was ordered by Tiberius to avenge the defeat inflicted by Aretas upon Herod; but the death of the Emperor put an end to the scheme (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 78). At this time, according to 2 Cor. 11 32, Damascus must again have fallen into the hands of Aretas; Damascene coins of Tiberius do not occur later than 33-34 A.D. A tempting conjecture is that it was Caligula that sought at this price, after his accession,[1] to buy over Aretas, against whom Tiberius had so recently ordered war; yet, in our complete ignorance of this chapter of history, we are not precluded from supposing that Tiberius himself in 34 A.D. had already taken occasion to present Aretas with the city as a peace-offering (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 78). A violent capture of the city by Aretas is not to be thought of; such a deed would have called for exemplary punishment at the hands of the Romans. Equally improbable is the view of Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 1 405) and Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* 5 476) that Damascus had remained subject to the king of Arabia continuously from the beginning of the Roman period till 106 A.D. For (1) in Pompey's time Damascus belonged to the Decapolis (Plin. *HN* v. 18 74; Ptol. 15 22; cp DECAPOLIS, § 2); (2) in the reign of Tiberius it was the Roman governor that gave the authoritative decision on a question of frontier between Damascus and Sidon (Tac. *Ann.* xvii. 63); (3) we have imperial coins of Damascus with figures of Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero; (4) in Domitian's time there was a cohort raised in Damascus, the Cohors Flavia (*CIL*

[1] So also Gutschmid (Excursus in Euting's *Nab. Inschr.* 88) and Schürer (*GJV*[1] 1 618, ET 2 157 *f.*).

2 870; 5 194, 652 *ff.*); (5) Damascus was not included in the Roman province formed out of the Nabataean kingdom in 106 A.D.

What it was that induced Aretas's 'ethnarch' in Damascus to persecute Paul, it is impossible to say. Perhaps he regarded Paul as a turbulent and dangerous Jew; perhaps he wished to propitiate the other Jews in Damascus, who were many and powerful (Jos. *BJ* ii. 20 2; vii. 8 7) — so powerful that the synagogues had been able to hand over to the 'young man' Saul and his helpers such Jews as accepted the Gospel. The subsequent years, down to the absorption of the kingdom by the Romans, offer no incident of special interest. It is, however, significant that in 67 A.D., in the Jewish war, Malchus II (Malku) contributed auxiliary troops to the army of Vespasian (Jos. *BJ* vii. 1 2). Shortly before this, Damascus must have been retaken from the Nabataeans by Nero, for coins of Damascus are again met with from 62-63 A.D.

Consult Schürer, *GJV* I 660 *f.*, where further literature is referred to, and cp DAMASCUS, § 12; NABATAEANS. B. v. S.

AREUS (ΑΡΗϹ [AℵV, but cp Swete; Jos. ΑΡΕΙΟϹ]), 1 Macc. 12 20 AV. See SPARTA.

ARGOB. 1. a territory in Bashan, always in the phrase חבל ארגב (Dt. 3 4 13 *f.* הארגב), 'district' or 'circuit' of Argob (ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟΝ ΑΡΓΟΒ [BAL]; once ΑΡΒΟΚ [B*]). It was taken by Israel in the war with Og, and contained sixty cities with walls and gates (Dt. 3 4 *f.*). We are ignorant of its precise situation. In Dt. 3 4 it seems equivalent to 'the kingdom of Og in Bashan' (cp 1 K. 4 13 where ⅏ is corrupt), but in *v.* 13 it stands in apposition to 'all Bashan.' The term 'district' literally means 'cord' of Argob, which seems to imply [illegible] many (Targums, Porter, Henderson, and the Pal. Surv. Maps) to identify it with the present Lejā, the low, rough plateau of congealed lava, whose sharp edge distinctly marks it off from the surrounding plain. For this, however, there is no other evidence, nor does the OT narrative carry the conquest of Israel so far to the N. The one certainty is that Argob lay in Bashan. The addition in Dt. 3 14 that it ran up to the border of Geshur and Maachah is indefinite, and the text of the rest of this verse, which identifies Argob with the conquest of Jair, is corrupt. The Havvoth-Jair were tent villages and lay in Gilead; the cities of Argob were fortified and lay in Bashan. The only places with names (whether in Greek or in modern times) of any similarity are the Ῥάγαβα (so Ραγαβαν 1 K. 4 13 [L]) of Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 5, a fortress E. of Jordan, whose site is unknown (cp Reland, *Pal.* 201), and the modern Raǵib (Rujib) and Wādy Raǵib (Rujēb), which, however, lie in Gilead. The name Argob may be derived from Heb. *rāgēb*, a *clod* (see EZEKIEL). Besides authorities named, see Eus. *OS*; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran*, etc. 83; G.A.Smith, *HG* 551 *ff.*; Dr. *ad* Deut. 3 4-5. On archæological remains see BASHAN, § 3. G. A. S.

2. Argob and Arieh (ארגב אריה; ΑΡΓΟΒ ΑΡΙΕ [BL]), two names mentioned in connection with Pekah's conspiracy against Pekahiah (2 K. 15 25), but whether of officers on the side of the king, who shared his fate (his *gibbōrim* according to Targ. Jon.), or of conspirators along with [illegible] is difficult to say, owing to the corrupt state of the text.

Argob (αργοβ [BAL] [illegible]) [illegible] for a personal name. It is a well-known place name (see [illegible]), and Arieh (αριε [BL], αριε [A], [illegible]) has the article preserved [illegible] Lucian's text. Lucian's g. (Codex [illegible] text) Argob et juxta Arieh) accordingly [illegible] of places[2] (cp Lisch[illegible]), in which case they are [illegible] Argob may have easily arisen from the preceding ארבאל (BAL [illegible]) or may be a gloss upon the 'Gileadites'[1] (see below). St. (*ZATW* 6 160) for 'Arieh' would read חיות יאיר, and suggests that 'Argob and Havvoth Jair' were originally glosses belonging to *v.* 29. On that theory, the origin of the difficult את (prefixed to both names) becomes clear.

The MT leaves it obscure whether the 'fifty men of the sons of Gileadites'[3] were fellow-conspirators with Pekah (so ⅏[1], which reads ἄνδρες) or whether they were slain along with the king (so ⅏[3] ἄνδρας, Vg. *viros*). ⅏[1A] (not L) presents a different reading, 'fifty of the four hundred,' which, if correct, must refer to some body-guard. This may be a trace of the true text, and Klostermann accordingly restores 'he (Pekah) smote him . . . with his (Pekahiah's) 400 warriors, and with him (Pekah) were fifty men of the Gileadites.' PEKAH (*q.v.*) was possibly a Gileadite.

ARIARATHES, RV ARATHES (ΑΡΑΘΗϹ [VA], ΑΡΙΑΡ- [ℵ]), one of the sovereigns enumerated in 1 Macc. 15 22. Ariarathes VI., Philopator, king of Cappadocia (163-130 B.C.), is obviously intended. See CAPPADOCIA.

ARIDAI (אֲרִידַי; ΑΡΔΑΙΟϹ [BAL] ΑΡϹΕΟϹ [ℵ]; but cp ARIS[illegible]), son of Haman (Esth. 9 9). See ESTHER, § 3 (end).

ARIDATHA (אֲרִידָתָא; ϹΑΡΒΑΧΑ [BℵAL], but cp Gr. readings of PORATHA), son of HAMAN (*q.v.*), 1 Esth. 9 8. See ESTHER, § 3 (end).

ARIEH (הָאַרְיֵה), 2 K. 15 [illegible] see ARGOB, 2.

ARIEL (אֲרִיאֵל, but אראל in S.; ΑΡΙΗΛ [BAL]). 1. A personal name. So (i.) Gen. 46 16, Nu 26 [illegible], ⅏, MT אראלי (see ARELI [EV], where ⅏'s readings are given), the eponym of a family of GAD (*q.v.*); [illegible] F, (ii.) Ezra 8 16 (= 1 Esd. 8 43, EV IDUEL, mg. ARIDAIOS [BA]), head of family, temp. EZRA (see EZRA § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*); and (iii.) 2 S. 23 20 [BL; A omits] = 1 Ch. 11 22 [BℵAL], a Moabite whose two sons were slain by David's warrior, Benaiah. So RV.[4] Kau. *HS* [illegible] Wellhausen, Dr. [illegible] Some more striking action, however, is required in such a context, and it [illegible] form of Klostermann's emended reading [illegible] Benaiah the slayer of two young lions (so Bu. [illegible]). Marquart, however, suggests that for Ariel in 2 S. [illegible] should read Uriel (cp URIAH, 1 [2 S. 23 [illegible]]). Author of NAMES (§ 35) makes a similar [illegible] Ariel, 2, and for ARELI (*q.v.*).

2. A prophetic name for Jerusalem. Is. 29 [illegible] probably to be read Uriel (אוריאל) in *vv.* 1, 2*a*, 7, and Ariel (אריאל) in [illegible].[5] Uriel (or Uruel?) would be a modification of Urusalem (אורשלם; Am. Tab. Urusalim, see JERUSALEM), and mean 'origin (or 'enclosure' or 'settlement') of God.' Ariel (*ariel*[illegible], hearth) means 'altar-hearth,' as it probably does in Mesha's inscription (אראל, l. 17 *f.*). The prophecy containing it was written during Sennacherib's invasion (see ISAIAH, ii. § 20); it aimed at dissipating the false confidence of the people in the security of Jerusalem. The proper name of the city was Urusalim (which afterwards became Jerušalem). Is. [illegible] this into Uriel (Uruel?) in order to make a paronomasia [illegible] year or two the city against which David had encamped will be besieged by a greater than David, and so great will be the slaughter in its streets that its

1 Argob and Gilead lie close together.

2 [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible]; cp Kau. *HS* [illegible]

3 MT omits 's sons' in both places and ⅏ has אראל in Ch.

4 RV [illegible] two (sons of) Ariel. AV [illegible]

5 [illegible] has a doublet; ιερουσαλημ [BZ] both times, and AQ same name, ουλ [ℵAQ] first time, ιλημ or γ αριηλ [illegible] first time, ιελμ [ℵ] second time.

6 [illegible] wall probably [illegible] temple. Ez. 43 15 *f.*, Ch. 15*a* אריאל; 15 [illegible] אריאל; 7. *a* ὄρος μου θῇς ἤτοι ὄρος θῦ δὶς το θυσιαστηριον ουτως εκαλεσε (adhuc in Qing.)

1 In Jos. 14 15 ⅏B gives Αργοβ for ארבע, see KIRIATH-ARBA.

2 Not to be connected with αρια (Eus. *OS* 2 288 10), or rather *arima* (Ps. *lx.* 146 26); see ARUMAH.

name will become no longer Uriel, but (by a slight modification) Ariel—*i.e.*, altar-hearth. The reading Uriel seems to have been known to the author of 31 9:[1] 'says Yahwè, who has a fire (אור) in Zion and a furnace in Jerusalem.' The other explanations of this prophetic name are (1) lion, or lioness, of God (Ew., Di., Che., *Isa.* [1]); (2) hearth of God (Del., Konig, Kittel); (3) altar-hearth (Stade, Duhm, Che., *SBOT*). Of these, the third is probably the easiest; but none of them quite accounts for the selection of the new name for David's city, nor for the expression 'and will become to me like (an) Ariel (*v.* 2*b*)' T. K. C.

ARIMATHÆA (ΑΡΙΜΑΘΑΙΑ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 27 57, etc. See RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

ARIOCH (אריוך; ΑΡΙΩΧ [BADEL 87, ℵ^c.a]. -ΧΗϹ [87 in Dan. 2 14 *f.*]) Probably a Hebraised form of an old Babylonian name (see CHEDORLAOMER, § 3) used, (1) possibly with archæological accuracy, in Gen. 14 19 of an ally of an ancient king of Elam; (2) by a literary fiction, of Nebuchadrezzar's captain of the guard (Dan. 2 14 *f.* 24 *f.*); and (3) of a king of Elam (so the Syriac) in alliance with Nebuchadrezzar (Judith 1 6, αριασε [ℵ^a]). Cp Bezold, *Babyl. Assyr. Lit.* 53.

ARISAI (אריסי; Ρουφαιον [BℵL], -φανον [A], unless we regard this as an intruder and identify Arisai with the succeeding name Αρσαιος; see ARIDAI), son of Haman (Es. 9 9). See ESTHER, § 3 (end).

ARISTARCHUS (ΑΡΙϹΤΑΡΧΟϹ [Ti. WH]), a Thessalonian (Acts 20 4 27 2), one of Paul's companions in travel (Acts 19 29), was among those who accompanied him from Europe on his last recorded visit to Jerusalem (Acts 20 4), and also on his voyage to Rome, having joined him at Caesarea (Acts 27 2). As the apostle's 'fellow-prisoner' (συν-αιχμάλωτος) he unites with him in saluting the Colossians (Col. 4 10). Cp COLOSSIANS, § 10 *f.* He joins in the salutation to Philemon (Philem. 24), but in this passage is designated simply as 'fellow-worker,' Epaphras alone being called 'fellow-prisoner.' From this it has been inferred, with much probability, that the two friends of Paul relieved one another in voluntarily [illegible] captivity.

In the [illegible] the 'seventy disciples' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus [illegible] Pseudo-Hippolytus (not earlier than the fifth cent.). Aristarchus is bishop of Apamēa in Syria. Pseudo-Dorotheus [illegible] it that along with Pudens and Trophimus he was beheaded in Rome at the same time as Paul.

ARISTOBULUS (ΑΡΙϹΤΟΒΟΥΛΟϹ [VA; Ti. WH]), a Greek name adopted by Romans and Jews, and borne by several members of the Maccabean and Herodian families.

1. The teacher (διδασκαλος) of Ptolemy (no. 1), to whom Judas (the Maccabee) sent letters (2 Macc. 1 10). He is the well-known Jewish-Hellenistic philosopher of that name, who resided at the court of Ptolemy VI. Philometor (180-145 B.C.). He was of priestly descent (ἀπὸ του των χριστων ιερεων γενους [illegible]; cp Lev. 13 בני הקדשים), and was the author of (among other writings) certain works on the Pentateuch, fragments of which are preserved in Clement of Alexandria and in Eusebius. See Schürer, *GJV*[2] 2 760 *ff.*, Ew. *GVI* 4 355, and K. in *Gebhd.* 2 4 *ff.*

2. They of the household of Aristobulus' are saluted (Ro. 16 10). It is not implied that Aristobulus [illegible] Christian. The name was a common one in the dynasty of Herod. The list of the seventy, [illegible] given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus names Aristobulus as bishop of Britain.

ARIUS (ΑΡΗϹ [AℵV; ℭ is not certain, see note] [illegible] 1 Macc. 12 20 RV; see SPARTA).

ARK. See DELUGE, § 4.

[illegible] (Che. *Intr. Isa.* 204). [illegible] 'God's fire' [illegible] appear. Moreover אור in the sense of fire seems to be late. Cp 30 32 *f.*; 33 17 (late).

ARK OF THE COVENANT or Sacred Ark (ארון; 1 ΚΙΒΩΤΟϹ [BAL]; *ARCA*).

There is nothing more significant than the changes in the titles of sacred objects. We must, therefore, be careful to place these titles in their chronological order. According to Seyring (*Z. ATW* 11 116 [91]) the oldest name of the ark (or sacred chest) is 'the ark of Yahwe the God of Hosts (Ṣĕbā'ōth) who is enthroned upon the cherubim.' This title is reached by an analysis of the designations of the ark in (*a*) 2 S. 6 2 and (*b*) 1 S. 4 4 (both passages belong to early documents). The titles given in (*a*) are 'ark of God' (*ha-elōhim*), and 'called by the name of Yahwè Ṣebā'ōth that is enthroned upon the cherubim.'[2] In (*b*) the title is 'ark of the *b'rith* of Yahwè Ṣebā'ōth who is enthroned upon the cherubim.' Recombining the supposed oldest elements in these titles, Seyring obtains the title mentioned above. This usually careful scholar, however, has overlooked, in dealing with (*b*), ℭ's reading in the preceding verse—viz., 'the ark of our God' (*τὴν κιβωτον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμων* [B], *τ. κ. τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ θ. ἡ.* [A], *τ. κ. τ. δ. κυρίου τ. θ. ἡ.* [L]), which is self-evidently more correct than the Deuteronomic formula[3] of MT, and, taken together with *v.* 6 ('ark of Yahwè'), justifies us in assuming that the equally simple title 'ark of Yahwè' stood originally in *v.* 4*a* and *v.* 5, and 'ark of God' (cp *vv.* 11 17 19-22) in *v.* 4*b*. Nor has Seyring noticed that after 'ark of God' in (*a*) the relative clause which follows is superfluous, and presumably a later insertion. It must be added that it remains most improbable that the divine name Yahwè Ṣĕbā'ōth is older than the Assyrian period, to which indeed Amos who undoubtedly uses it belongs; at any rate the theory that this name represents Yahwè as the God of Israel's hosts, and has any special connection with the ark, has insuperable difficulties.[4] Thus, so far as (*a*) and (*b*) are concerned, the popular names for the ark were very short—viz., 'ark of Yahwè,' 'ark of God,' and 'ark of our God,'—and from the context of the former passage we find that there was a still shorter name, 'the ark' (2 S. 6 4), which occurs thrice in old parts of Samuel, and five times (or seven, including Josh. 3 4 17; see Kau *HS*) in the Hexateuch. The title 'ark of God' (ארון האלהים, or twice ארון אלהים) occurs often in old parts of Samuel, and also in Chronicles. In a solemn speech of David in 1 Ch 15 12 14 we find the sonorous phrase 'the ark of Yahwe the God of Israel,' which reminds us of the phrase used by the Philistines in 1 S. 5 7 *f.* 11.[5] Side by side with 'the ark of Elohim' we naturally find the phrase 'the ark of Yahwe.' It occurs first in the composite work JE, and may reasonably be ascribed in the first instance to J, though in some passages it may have been inserted by the redactor, either as an altogether new addition, or in lieu of the phrase 'the ark of God,' which was probably used in E. Once (Josh. 3 11) we find this remarkable addition 'the Lord of the whole earth,' which, apart from *vv.* 11 13, occurs only in late writings, and, as Seyring points out, is

1. Names: Ark of God, etc.

[1] Cp Ass. [illegible] (DELITZSCH, [illegible]).

[2] The same reader gives [illegible] for מקדש, Noah's ark, but not for מקבר, the [illegible] bushes.

[3] The [illegible] implies [illegible] שם, 'name,' occurs twice in MT by [illegible]. Otherwise we should have to suppose that the name by which the ark was called was 'the name of Yahwe Ṣebā'ōth.'

[4] Smend's arguments (*Ges. gesch.* 175 *ff.*), weakly met by Marti (*Gesch.* [illegible] 14), appear [illegible] he [illegible] Assyrian parallels. Hans. Ann. [illegible] N. [illegible] be the [illegible] multitude [illegible] the [illegible] of heaven and earth. [illegible] represent Yahwè as the [illegible] of a [illegible] belongs in the [illegible] post-exilic [illegible]. See, moreover, NAMES, § 1.

[5] On these passages see further Budde's [illegible] note in *SBOT*; Cornill [illegible] 12 [illegible]; Wi. *TBN* 167 (especially as to the [illegible] of 1 S. 12).

presumably due to a post-exilic writer whose idea of Yahwè differed from that of JE. The phrase 'the ark of Yahwè' passed from JE into the terminology of the historical books in general (including Chronicles).

2. Ark of b'rith.

A new title for the ark seems to have been coined by the author of the original Deuteronomy (Deut. 10 8), and adapted from him by writers and editors who shared his religious point of view, and even (strange to say) by the Chronicler, who, in general, stands so completely under the influence of the Priestly Code. This phrase is 'the ark of the *b'rith* (usually rendered 'covenant'; see below), either simply (Josh. 3-6) or in various combinations, such as 'ark of the *b'rith* of Yahwe,' 'ark of the *b'rith* of Elohim,' and 'ark of the *b'rith* of Adonai.' The Deuteronomistic editors have freely introduced the term *b'rith* into the titles of the ark in the older sources which they edited. The work of the editor clearly betrays itself in such phrases as אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית (Josh. 3 14), אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יהוה (Josh. 3 17), where the editor has forgotten to make the omission of the article, necessitated by the introduction of a dependent genitive.

And now as to the correct meaning of the phrase אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית. It is rendered by ⊕BAL ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης, by Vg. *arca foederis* and *arca testamenti* (Nu. 14 44), and by EV 'ark of the covenant.' That *b'rith* cannot, however, in this phrase mean 'covenant' in our sense of the word is clear from 1 K. 8 21 (= 2 Ch. 6 11), where we are told that 'the *b'rith* of Yahwè' was 'in the ark.' The phrase is parallel to that in Ex. 25 16 21, 'unto the ark thou shalt put the testimony (אֶת הָעֵדֻת), which (see below) is a technical term for the 'two tables' of the Decalogue. Hence Kau. *HS* rightly rejects the obscure if not misleading phrase 'ark of the covenant,' and substitutes 'ark with the law (of Yahwe),' which is at any rate, by common admission, the best approximate rendering (cp COVENANT, § 1).

3. Ark of 'ēdūth.

The latest phase in the historical development of the names of the ark is marked by the title which occurs seven times in the Priestly Code and also in Josh. 4 16 (introduced into JE by the editor?), meaning 'ark of the publicly delivered ordinance' (⊕BAL ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ μαρτυρίου, Vg. *arca testimonii*, EV, ark of the testimony). The meaning given above is confirmed by Ex. 31 18 (E?) 32 15 (E) 34 29 (P), where we hear of 'the two tables of the עֵדֻת.' Probably this new title appeared to the priestly writer clearer and more definite than that introduced by Deuteronomy. It did not, however, displace the older phrases, which reappear not only in Chronicles but also in the Greek Apocrypha, and (κ. τῆς διαθήκης) in the NT (see below, § 15).

On looking back, we see that the names and titles of the ark fall into three classes. We have, first, the names 'ark of Yahwe,' 'ark of God,' 'ark of our God,' which indicate that the ark contained an object which in some way symbolised and represented Israel's God; and next, the names 'ark of the law,' 'ark of the ordinance' which suggest that the object contained in the ark was inscribed with laws; and lastly, attached to the older names, titles such as those in Josh. 3 (11) 13 2 S. 6 2, which indicate a desire to correct the materialistic interpretation which might seem to convert the ark into an idol. A critical study of the texts is the necessary commentary on these deductions from names. The following sections aim at bringing together the chief notices of the ark, indicating the sources from which they are derived, and then, at fitting points, giving the reader some idea of the results which follow from a critical treatment of these notices.

We turn first of all to the documents called J and E (as far as we can separate the one from the other) in the Hexateuch. It is more than probable[1] that both J and E, in their original form, related how Yahwè or Elōhim, at Sinai or at Horeb, directed an ark to be made as a substitute for his personal presence as leader of his people. These passages were omitted by the editor, who preferred the much more suitable account (so he must have deemed it) given in P (see below, § 13), but has preserved the tradition of J and E that, both in the wilderness and on the entrance into Canaan, the ark led the van of the host. In referring to this J quotes two poetic formulæ (Nu. 10 35 36), which he says were spoken by Moses at the beginning and the end of a day's march, but which more probably arose at a later time.[2] Whether J and E agreed with Deuteronomy in stating that the 'two tables of stone' were placed in the ark is a matter which can be only conjecturally decided. There is, however, a very strong probability that they did not. E's story, at any rate, is much more forcible if we suppose no renewal of the shattered tables (Ex. 32 19), and we cannot believe J to have differed on this important point from E. Historical considerations (see below, § 10) confirm this conclusion. In particular, the ark was not, in the succeeding narratives of J and E, a symbol of the revealed law, but the focus of divine powers. Twice, we are told, the Israelites omitted to take the ark with them and were defeated (Nu. 14 44 Josh. 7 4), and on the latter occasion Joshua prostrated himself before the ark and remonstrated with Yahwè, the God of Israel. The crowning proof of the potency of the ark was given when the Israelites crossed the Jordan (according to one of the traditions, at harvest time), and captured Jericho (Josh. 3 7. 6). The Deuteronomic editor has made the former part of the narrative difficult to restore to its original form (which was a combination of J and E); but it is probable that J and E already described the priests (not, 'the priests, the Levites') as bearers of the ark. In the latter part it is not very difficult to recover a simpler, more natural, and presumably earlier account, in which no express mention is made of the ark, and nothing is said of the falling down of the walls of Jericho (on the narrative see JOSHUA, ii. § 7).[3] Thus far, then, the most genuine tradition is clear and intelligible.

4. Traditional origin of ark: JE.

[The invention of portable sanctuaries, and especially of portable idols, may possibly go back to the nomadic Semites and to a time when the gods were still tribal rather than local; but the probabilities are all against such a view. There is less trace of such an institution in Arabia than in any other part of the Semitic world, and nowhere else is the principle so strongly marked that a tribe that changes its seats changes its gods. Even the ark of Yahwe is not carried back by Hebrew tradition to patriarchal times; the patriarchs do worship only where they have a fixed altar. It is, therefore, more likely that portable symbols of the godhead first arose among the settled Semites and in connection with the religion of the army in war. In this connection the idea of a portable god involves no great breach with the conception that each deity has a local home, for when the campaign is over the god returns to his temple. When the notion of portable gods was once established, however, its application could easily be extended and would serve to smooth away the difficulty of establishing new permanent sanctuaries in conquered regions or colonies over the sea. A Greek colony always carried its gods with it, and it is probable that this was often done by the Phœnician colonists also. Even in Israel we find that the sanctuary of Yahwè at Dan was constituted by setting up the image from Micah's sanctuary (Judg. 18 [illegible]) just as David gave a religious character to [illegible] capital by transferring the ark to it.][4]

But by what critical process can we bring out the truth

[1] See the analysis of Ex. 32 [illegible] Exodus, ii. § 3, and cp [illegible], 143, 146; We. [illegible], Di. *Ex. u. Lev.* 345.

[2] So MT and ⊕L; ⊕BAL omit 'the ark [illegible]'.

[3] We. *CH* 121; Ki. *H.-t.* i. 282 f.

[4] From WRS, *Burn. ti Lectures*, 2nd series, Lect. i. (N.).

into the episode of the capture and restoration of the sacred ark by the Philistines (1 S 4 1-7 1)? Some facts are admitted. That at the end of the period of the Judges the ark rested at the Ephraimitish sanctuary of Shiloh is a trustworthy statement, guaranteed by 1 S 1 1-7 1 (chap. 3 we must regretfully pass over, as coming from a different hand and later writer; see SAMUEL, § 6). It must, also, be a fact that the Philistines had defeated the Israelites near Eben-ezer (ISRAEL, § 11). Tradition doubtless added that the leaders of Israel attributed their misfortune to the absence of the ark from the host, and that they therefore fetched the sacred chest from Shiloh. The immediate consequences are graphically described. On the arrival of the ark the Israelites were in a state of wild delight; and the Philistines who heard the shoutings were proportionately alarmed, for 'who (said they) can deliver us from these great gods?' (*Elohim*). Nevertheless, with the courage of despair, the Philistines renewed the fight with complete success, and were even able to carry off the ark in triumph. Then begins a series of wonderful incidents from which it is difficult to extract a kernel of early tradition. Stade thinks (*GVI* 1 292 *f.*) that in chaps. 5 and 6 he can find the remnants of two distinct accounts; but the recognition of this would only diminish the number of difficult features in the narrative. It would obviously not provide an intelligible statement of facts. Of the difficult details referred to there is only one which it is necessary to criticise here. It is a statement which the study of the Assyrian monuments seems to make historically impossible. The Philistines, we are told, under the pressure of pestilence, returned the 'gods' which they had captured from Israel. Ancient nations did not act thus in such circumstances. For example, we know that the image of the goddess Nanâ (see NANAI) was taken from Erech by an Elamite king, and detained in Elam for 1635 years. Did any calamity ever suggest to the Elamites the idea that Nanâ was chastising them for the insult to her image? No. Asurbanipal, king of Assyria, had to devote all his energies to the task of crushing the Elamites before he could restore the image to its ancient home (cp ASURBANI-PAL, § 8). Similar stories of reconquered idols are told in connection with the names of Asurbanipal's grandfather Sennacherib (cp ASSYRIA, § 20) and the old Babylonian king Agu-kak-rime.[1]

5. Capture and recovery.

The fragmentary document which we have thus far studied closes with the statement that the ark was placed in the house of Abinadab at Kirjath-jearim, and that Abinadab's son was consecrated to keep it. It is to an entirely different (and probably earlier) source[2] that we owe the narrative of the bringing of the ark to Zion. We learn here that at the time when David bethought himself of the ark, it rested at a place called Baal in Judah (2 S. 6 2; see Driver *ad loc.*). During the whole of Saul's reign and during David's seven-years' reign in Hebron, it had lain forgotten in a provincial town. Neither Saul nor David had thought of taking it into battle; nor, so far as our evidence goes, had it been visited by the people. What, then, had been the effect of the repeated attestations which the divine judgments had given to its supernatural power? Let us see whether the narrative in 2 S. 6 (which appears to be older than that in 1 S. 4 1-7 1), when critically treated, suggests any way out of our manifold difficulties. It is permissible, and indeed necessary to disregard so much of chap. 6 [illegible] to the death of Uzzah (a passage wh[illegible] difficulty resembles parts of the story in 1 S 5 [illegible] the growth of which can be accounted for [illegible] and to ex[illegible] the simpler narrative in [illegible] 15 the [illegible] of which is that, early in David's reign, the ark was in the house of one Obed-edom of Gath, and that David fetched it thence with much jubilation to Zion. How came the ark to be there? That David of his own accord entrusted such a sacred object to a Philistine is highly improbable; but how if Obed-edom was not a Philistine sojourning in Judah, but a foe residing in his native town of Gath? How if the ark had never left Philistine territory, though it had been shifted from Dagon's temple to a private house? How if David acted as Assyrian kings acted in similar circumstances, and reconquered the precious object which was to him in some sense the dwelling of his God? This is the hypothesis of Kosters, who held not only, with Kittel and Budde, that 2 S. 21 15-22 is properly the continuation of the narrative in 2 S. 5 17-25, but also that the sequel of the story of the battle in Gath (2 S. 21 20) was once the notice that David fetched the ark from the house of Obed-edom in Gath and deposited it for a time at Baal.[1] After this, according to Kosters, came originally the story of the capture of Jerusalem (an event which this critic places *after* the hostilities referred to in 2 S. 5 17 *ff.*), and of the bringing up of the ark to Zion. The editor to whom the present form of 2 S. 6 1-12 is due appears to have had a religious rather than a historical motive. The facts as stated in the original narrative might suggest to some readers that Yahwé needed the interference of David to deliver him from captivity: in other words, that David was stronger than his God. The editor shrank from inventing an entirely new narrative, but, to counteract that idea, put the central facts in the traditional story in an entirely new setting.

This hypothesis, the present writer has long felt, is absolutely required to clear up an important historical episode.[2] Without it the central facts of tradition, including David's almost ecstatic joy (2 S. 6 14), are hopelessly obscure. A glance at 2 S. 6 1 *f.* will convince the reader that there is nothing arbitrary in the view proposed. That *vv.* 2-12a cannot have been the original sequel of *v.* 1 must be clear. Unless *v.* 1 is simply misplaced, it must have been followed by a record of some martial exploit of David. To the present writer it seems probable (see DAVID, § 7) that the exploit consisted in a great victory near Gath (cp 2 S. 21 20 *f.*), which so weakened the Philistines that they offered to restore the ark on condition of David's making with them a treaty of peace, and that David himself fetched the ark from Obed-edom's house. It will be remembered that when David defeated the Philistines at Baal-perazim he had 'taken away the images' (2 S. 5 21) which, by their presence, should have ensured a Philistine victory. It seems probable that when the Philistines restored the ark David gave back the captured 'images.' Cleverness was a characteristic of this king. It was all-important to him not to wage an internecine warfare with the Philistines, and he therefore 'contented himself with a peace honourable for both parties' (Kamphausen). The original story may have referred to this restoration of the images captured at Baal-perazim, and this compound name may have suggested the mention of 'Baal' and 'Perez-uzzah' in 2 S. 6 as it now stands. In a certain sense, indeed, the ark *was* recovered from Baal-perazim.

Our next notice of the ark is in 2 S. 7, a passage full of varied interest, though in its present form not older than the sixth century. It tells us [illegible] the

[1] Tiele, *B G* 12[illegible] *f.* 305 *f.* 392 *ff.*, referred to by Kosters, *THT* 27 364 [illegible].

[2] The reference in 2 S. 6 3 to the house of Abinadab seems to be an editorial insertion (see Kosters, *op. cit.* 363).

[1] The reason why David deposited the [illegible] ing to Kosters, that he had not yet conquered Je[illegible] Those who doubt another view as to the time of the [illegible] Jebu[illegible] Jebu[illegible] but [illegible] not yet adapted it by [illegible] purp[illegible] See DAVID, § [illegible]

[2] Since the above was written, W[illegible] made another attempt to produ[illegible] intelligible view [illegible] history of the ark (*GJ* 7 [illegible] *ff.*). It is difficult to see that th[illegible] solid ground for his very revolutionary hypothesis; [illegible] any rate, perceives a problem which escaped the earlier writer [illegible] Kosters.

statement is historical) that David wished to build a cedar-house for the ark, but was forbidden by an oracle.

6. Permanent abode. We can understand, therefore, that for a time (as 2 S. 11 11 suggests) the ark was still carried with the army as an insurance against defeat.[1] The capture of it by the Philistines, however, had already given a blow to the primitive, fetishistic conception of the ark, and an occasion arose when David, it would seem, was inwardly moved to express a far higher view. It was probably a turning-point in Israel's, as well as in David's, religious development. The circumstances were these. David was fleeing from Jerusalem before Absalom. Zadok wished to carry the 'ark of God' with David and his body-guard. The king, however, protested, and commanded Zadok to carry it back, 'that it may be seated in its place' (2 S. 15 25, $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$). He was conscious (if v. 26 may be followed) that Yahwe might have cause to be displeased with him, and would rather suffer his punishment meekly than seem, by having the ark with him, to demand the interposition of Yahwé as a natural right. Henceforth, therefore, the symbol of Yahwé's presence should no more 'leave its place'; Yahwé would direct Israel's affairs, both in peace and in war, from Zion. Early in Solomon's reign the greatest of all Israel's sanctuaries was erected. Much as the original passage of Solomon's biography has been edited (see Kau. *HS* and cp $\mathfrak{G}$), it is beyond question that this king transported the ark from its temporary abode to the sanctuary of his temple. There, so both he and David hoped, it was to serve as a national centre, and complete the unification of Israel. The hope was, however, disappointed; nor do even the writers of Judah spend a word on the ark, or give a hint as to the feelings of the people towards it.

Our next news of the ark is indirect, and comes from an exilic or post-exilic passage of the Book of Jeremiah

7. Disappearance. (3 16). The passage runs thus: 'In those days no more shall one say, "The ark of the *berith* of Yahwé," neither shall it come into one's mind, neither shall one think upon it, nor miss it, neither shall it be made again.' The full import of the words may be doubtful; but at least one thing is clear: the ark, on the possession of which the weal or woe of Israel had once seemed to depend, had passed away. This is too patent from later writings to be denied. Ezra 1 and 1 Macc. 4 do not mention the ark among the sacred vessels. Josephus (*BJ* v. 5 5) declares that the Holy of Holies contained nothing at all. Lastly, Tacitus, relating the entrance of Pompey into the temple, uses the emphatic words, 'Inde vulgatum nullas intus deum effigies; vacuam sedem et inania arcana' (*Hist.* 5 9). How the ark disappeared will be considered presently (see next §). Suffice it to add here that the *sēpher tōrah* or 'Book of the Law' succeeded to the undivided reverence of true Israelites, and is still, with its embroidered mantle and ornaments, the most sacred object in every synagogue.

When, then, and how did this holy thing, which, according to Jer. 3 16, was by many so painfully missed, pass

8. Its fate. out of sight? We have accounted for one strange gap in our historical notices respecting the ark: how shall we explain the still longer and stranger lacuna which extends from (say) 900 to 586 B.C.? Why is it that neither the historians nor the prophets of this period (so far as we possess their works) refer to the fortunes of the ark or to the popular reverence [illegible] in time? Three answers seem possible. Soon after 900 the ark may have been captured [illegible] and have been suppressed by the historian, just as they suppressed the destruction of the temple of Shiloh. Giesebrecht and Cornill have pointed to the invasion of Judah by Shishak (Sheshonk I., king of Egypt, about 928, as the occasion of this (see 1 K. 14 26). The objection is that Shishak's campaign, as the bas-reliefs at Karnak appear to prove, was against Israel as well as Judah, and that, Egypt being too weak at that time to think of permanent conquests, the expedition must have been simply due to vainglory and to greed. If Shishak took away from Palestine anything in the nature of an idol, it must have been the 'golden calves' of Jeroboam, and not the outwardly unattractive wooden chest in the sanctuary of the temple of Rehoboam. Besides, Rehoboam and his priests would never have allowed the capture of the ark to become known: they would certainly, in the interests of the temple, have substituted a new chest, for which pious fraud the supposed discoveries of Babylonian kings mentioned by Tiele (*B. RG* 461) may perhaps furnish a parallel. (2) The ark may have been carried away with the temple treasures in 785, by Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 14 14), who would hardly have omitted to reclaim the long-lost treasure of the Ephraimitish sanctuary at Shiloh. The objection to this is that the ark had long ceased to be the special possession of a tribe, and that events had proved that Joash could well dispense with the ark, while to have carried it away would have been an offence against the great hero of united Israel, David. (3) The ark (which was probably renewed by the priests when decayed from age) may have retained its place till the great catastrophe in 586, and previously to this may have lost much of its ancient prestige owing to the growing sense of the inconsistency of identifying such an object as the ark with the great God Yahwé, and perhaps also to discourses of the prophets against a superstitious reverence for the ark which have been lost, or even suppressed by editors. This view—which is in the main that adopted in 4 Esd. 10 22, and implied by the legend in 2 Macc. 2 5 (cp below, § 15), that Jeremiah[2] hid the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense in a cave—is by no means an improbable one. The only obvious objection to it can easily be met. The assertion in Deut. 10 4 *f.* that the ark was simply the repository of two inscribed tables of stone need not imply that D, like P, is an archæologist, and that the object which is thus wrongly described no longer existed. It is more natural to suppose that, like the other fetishes to which this writer is so vehemently opposed, the sacred stones which (as we shall see) were the objects venerated of old in the ark still held their place, concealed from view but secure. The Deuteronomist, speaking in the name of Moses, could not help assuming the sanctity of the ark and its contents. In the interests of piety, however, he transformed (as far as words could do it) the nature of the objects in the ark. That venerable coffer was not, he meant to say, in any sense the dwelling of the deity, whom no temple could hold (1 K. 8 27): it simply contained a perfect written embodiment of the fundamental demands of Israel's righteous God.

This leads us to consider the origin and affinities of the ark. For the ark of the Deuteronomist (and of J) with its two inscribed tables, no parallel has

9. Real nature. been found. Prof. Sayce indeed refers to Mr. Rassam's discovery of a coffer with two inscribed alabaster tablets in a little temple at Balawat, near Mosul,[3] but the coffer (which was not placed in the sanctuary) also was of alabaster, and with its contents corresponds to the chests containing sacred books which were among the regular appurtenances of Egyptian (and probably of Syrian) temples, but were not meant to be carried. For the ark known to the earliest Hebrew traditions, however, there are many monumental

[1] We must not refer here to 1 K. 2 26, which states, according to MT, that Abiathar used to bear the ark before David [illegible] campaigns. The right reading is, not [illegible], 'ark,' but [illegible]; [illegible] MT [illegible]

[1] St. *GVI* 1 [illegible]; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 166-1[illegible]).

[2] In the Talmud (*Horiyoth*, 12a) it is Josiah who hides the ark [illegible] including the pot of manna (see [illegible]).

[3] Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* [illegible] Pinches, *NBA* 7 [illegible].

parallels. In Egypt, for instance (from which Renan too hastily derives the Israelite ark), no festal procession could be sculptured or painted without them.[1] The arks, with their images, were placed on boats, which were ornamented at the ends with heads of the divinities within; the king himself, being divine, also had his ark-boat. Such an ark-boat, too, is referred to in the strange story of the daughter of the king of Rûtan,[2] where an image of the god Honsu is said to have been transported to Syria, to deliver a princess from the spirit that oppressed her. These shrine-boats must originally have had their parallels in Babylonia: the constant expression for the sacred arks in the cuneiform texts is *elippi*[3]—*i.e.*, 'ships.' Within the best-known historical periods, however, it was in simple arks or coffers that the images of the gods were borne in procession at the Babylonian (and Assyrian) festivals.

Thus it appears that two things were essential in a sacred ark—that it should be of a size and a material which would permit it to be carried, and that it should contain a representation or mystic symbol of a deity. The ark known to David and Solomon doubtless complied with these conditions. It was a simple wooden box, such as the ancestors of the Israelites had used in their nomadic state for their few valuables,[4] without either the coating of gold or the cherubim with which the reverence of a later writer provided it. As to its

10. Contents. contents, the inscribed 'tables of stone,' which we should never have expected to find in the Holy of Holies, were but a substitute of the imagination for some mystic symbol or representation of Yahwè. Of what did that symbol consist? We are, of course, bound to do what we can to minimise the fiction or error of the Deuteronomist; but we must not deviate from the paths of historical analogy. These duties are reconciled by the supposition that the ark contained two sacred stones (or one).[5] This view, no doubt, implies a survival of fetishism; but there are traces enough of fetishism (on which see IDOLATRY, § 4) elsewhere in Hebrew antiquity to justify it. The stones (or stone) must have been ancient in the extreme. They (or it) originally had no association with Yahwè; they represented the stage when mysterious personality and power were attached to lifeless matter. Being portable, however, they were different from the sacred stones of Bethel, Beth-shemesh, Shechem, and En-rogel, and are most naturally viewed as specimens of those betyls, animated stones, which, according to Sanchoniathon, were formed by the heaven-god, and were presumably meteorites. They may have belonged originally to the tribe afterwards called Ephraim; and when the several tribes united in worshipping Yahwè, the God of Moses, the Ephraimitish ark with its contents may have been adopted as the chief sacred symbol of Yahwè. The earliest narrators (see above, § 3, end) viewed the ark (which was virtually one with what it contained) as a substitute for the immediate presence of Yahwè, the sin of the 'Golden Calf' at Sinai having proved the Israelites to be unripe for such an immense privilege. The primitive Israelites, however, who knew nothing of the story referred to, must have regarded it, not as a substitute, but as the reality itself.

The portableness of the Israelitish ark did not, it is true, lead to its being carried about in processions. The

11. Treatment. reason is that, to the Israelite, the object within the ark was much more than an idol. It was not merely one of a class of objects, each of which contained a portion of the magical virtue of the deity whom it represented:[1] it was the only object with which Yahwè was so closely connected that the ark (for reverence forbade mention of the stones) and Yahwè were practically synonymous terms. It was, therefore, too sacred to be moved for a slight reason. Worshippers would rather make a procession round or before the ark (cp 2 S. 6 12) than bear it in procession themselves. The reverence implied in the story in 2 S. 6 6 *f.* may represent the feeling of an age later than David's, but circumstances had long been leading up to that extreme exaggeration. The higher the conception of Yahwè became, the greater was the awfulness which encompassed the ark,[2] until (it appears probable) by a natural reaction the nobler Israelites rejected the fetishistic conception of the ark and its contents altogether. Thus we get one great distinction between the ark of the Israelites and other sacred arks: it was not subservient to idolatry. The only occasions on which it left its resting-place were times of war. Then, indeed, it was carried with the host into the fray, just as the Philistine images were carried into battle by the Philistines (2 S. 5 21), not to speak of Arabian and Carthaginian parallels.[3] It was not specially a 'warlike palladium,' however, except for the periods when war rather than peace was the normal state of the people;[4] and we have found even David, at a great crisis in his life, deciding to put his trust in his God without the presence of the ark.

The notices of later writers are valuable mainly for the religious history of the period of their authors. They

12. Later notices. show us how, near the close of the pre-exilic (and afterwards in the post-exilic) age, pious men imagined to themselves the nature and circumstances of the ark. It is, therefore, unsafe to infer with Bertheau, from 2 Ch. 35 3, that the ark was removed from the sanctuary by Manasseh; unsafe, also, to infer, with the old Cambridge scholar Spencer, from P's description of the ark, that it was designedly made like the arks of Egypt, in order that the Israelites might miss no splendour or elegance which had charmed their eyes at Zoan. That Manasseh, with his syncretistic liberality, would have removed the ark is altogether improbable. Spencer's theory, on the other hand, may contain an element of truth, and is, at any rate, more plausible than the view developed out of P's account by Riehm.[5] It is probable that the priestly legislator (P_2), in his description of the ark, did, unconsciously and in no servile manner, take suggestions from the sacred chests of Babylonia and Egypt, which he had seen or heard of. The simple chest of which J and E had doubtless spoken was unworthy (he thought) to be in any sense the symbol of the 'Lord of the whole earth.' Not such an ark could Moses have ordered to be made, for Yahwè was all-wise and must have 'filled' the artificers of the ark and the tabernacle 'with a divine spirit in wisdom and understanding' (Ex. 35 31). We must not, however, overlook the references to the ark in writings of the Deuteronomic school. We are told (Dt. 10 8) that Yahwè 'separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark of the *b'rith* of Yahwè,' and in Dt. 31 9 (cp 25 *f.*) we find a special title given to 'the priests the sons of Levi,' which is derived from this function (cp Josh. 3 3). For other Deuteronomic references to the ark, see Dt. 31 25 *f.*, Josh. 8 33, 1 K. 3 15, 6 19, 8 9 21.

1 See the procession of the arks of Amen-Rê', Mût, and Honsu (the Theban triad) in the second court of the temple of Ramses III. at Medinet Hôu (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 3 250), and Plate V. in Naville's *Festival Hall of Osorkon*, 2 (cp p. 18).

2 Maspero, *RP* 2 3 5-45.

3 Del. *Ass. HWB* s.v. *elippu*. On the processional arks in Babylonia, see Tiele, *Z f A* 2 159 *ff.*; C. J. Ball, *PSBA* 1 134.

4 Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 227.

5 Cp Vatke, *Die Rel. des AT* 321; St. *GVI* 457 *f.*; Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.* 370. There were and still are two sacred stones, a black and a white, built into the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca (WRS, *Kin.* 297 *f.*).

1 Cp Maspero, *RP* 2 343, n. 2.

2 Cp 1 S. 6 19, 'And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before Yahwè, this holy God?'

3 See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2 45.

4 Kautzsch and Kraetzschmar (see 'Literature') hardly seem to hit the mark. We cannot lay any stress on the titles in 1 S. 4 4, 2 S. 6 2, on grounds stated already (above, § 1).

5 Riehm thinks (*HWB*, art. 'Bundeslade') that the ark was constructed in such a way as to show the diametrical opposition between the religion of revelation and the religion of nature worship, the presence of Yahwè (symbolised by the cherubim on the ark) being conditional on Israel's performance of its covenant-duties.

We now return to the much more important notices in the Priestly Code and in Chronicles. A full description of the ark is given in Ex. 25 [illegible] 37 1-9. It was made of acacia wood. This statement is possibly based on tradition which is particular as to the materials of sacred objects. The shittah-tree grows not only in Arabia but also in parts of Palestine; the ark, therefore, could be renewed if necessary. It was oblong, two cubits and a half in length, one and a half in breadth and in height. Gold was overlaid on it within and without, and on the lid, which had a projecting golden rim (see [illegible]) was a plate of pure gold (כפרת, see MERCY-SEAT), sustained by two golden cherubim (see [illegible]) or winged figures, whose wings extended [illegible] the [illegible]. From these cherubim Yahwe promised to commune with Moses, and reveal his will for Israel. According to Ex 30 26, the ark was to be anointed along with the tabernacle and the rest of its furniture. When made, it was brought, we are told, to Moses (39 35), and placed by him in the tabernacle, screened by the [illegible] (*i.e.*, in the Holy of Holies; see 26 33 *f.*). In Lev 16 the sanctity of the ark is emphasised by the command that Aaron (*i.e.*, the High Priest) shall enter the Holy of Holies only once a year. In Nu 3 31 the charge of the ark is committed to the Kohathites, and in 4 5 it is commanded that when the tabernacle is moved Aaron and his sons (*i.e.*, the priests) shall carefully cover up the ark with the veil, before the Kohathites take it up in order that the latter may neither see (v. 20) nor touch (v. 15) the holy things. In 7 89 (RV) the Voice (*i.e.*, of Yahwe) speaks to Moses from the 'Mercy-seat.' The gloss in Judg 20 27 *f.* (a gloss added under the influence of P_2) states that the ark was at Bethel in the days of Phinehas, and the editors, who follow P_2, [illegible] understood that the ark was always in the tabernacle till the battle of Aphek (cp TABERNACLE).

14. Chronicler, etc. The Chronicler adds scarcely any fresh incidents to the account of the ark, and edits the earlier narratives in Samuel and Kings on the assumption that the regulations of the Priestly Code were observed throughout the history. In 1 Ch 15 1 *f.* he makes David say, 'None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites,' and they carry it accordingly; and at first sight it appears as if the Philistine Obed-edom became a Levite (v. 7, 18 21 24); see however OBED-EDOM, 2. A profound sense of the sanctity of the ark is shown in 1 Ch. 28 2, where the ark or the 'Mercy-seat' is called 'the footstool of God,' and in 2 Ch. 8 11, where Solomon refuses to let Pharaoh's daughter dwell in the palace of David, 'because the places (?) are holy, whereunto the ark of Yahwe hath come.' In 35 3, Josiah commands the Levites to 'put the holy ark in the Temple'; 'it shall not be a burden on your shoulders.'

The only direct references to the ark in the Psalms are in Ps. 132 8 (cp 2 Ch. 6 41), where it is styled ארון עזך, 'ark of thy strength'; and in Ps. 78 61, where God is said to have delivered his 'strength' (*i.e.*, the ark) into captivity. An indirect reference has often been supposed in Pss. 24 47 and 68; but this involves the untenable assumption of their pre-exilic origin.

The ark is only twice mentioned in the NT. It and its contents are described in Heb. 9 4 as in P_2, except

15. NT. that the pot of manna (see above, § 8, note) is said to have been *in* (instead of *beside*) the ark. In Rev. 11 19, after the seventh angel has sounded, 'the temple of God in heaven' is opened, and the 'ark of God's covenant' is seen within. The words 'in heaven' (ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) are however probably an editorial insertion (Spitta). It is the earthly (not the heavenly) temple that is referred to, and the meaning of the statement is that the ark which was hidden (so

[1] This seclusion is in harmony with the transcendentalism of the later conception of the divine nature.

tradition variously said by Jeremiah or Josiah, shall suddenly reappear in the sanctuary in the latter days.

See besides Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum* (1727), Sewing (on the names of the ark), *ZATW* II 1 [illegible]; Conrad on the relations and nation [illegible] of the ark.

16. Literature. *ZATW* 12 [illegible]; Kautzsch [illegible] the Yahwe Schwörth, [illegible] 61 [illegible] 17[illegible]; K[illegible] [illegible] 25; Nowack and [illegible]; Winckler, *GI* I [illegible]; Kraetzschmar [illegible] *Bundesstellung*, 1896, pp. [illegible]; Bähr, *Symb.* [illegible], 14[illegible], et [illegible] other sacred arks); Simpson, 'Ark-shrines of Japan,' *JAI* [illegible]. T. K. C.

ARKITE (הערקי) *i.e.*, the Arkite (man of 'Ar[illegible]'; ΑΡΟΥΚΑΙΟΣ [ADE] Jos. *Ant.* i 6 2, cp [illegible] in [illegible]), a Canaanite (Pharaoh [illegible]) [illegible] Ex [illegible] B, ΑΡΑΚΕΙ [L]; see GEOGRAPHY, § [illegible]. Arka (cp ἀρκή Jos. [illegible]) is mentioned among the cities taken by Tiglath-pileser III (cp *KAT* 104, 254 [illegible]) [illegible] (126, 224) *Arkite* the [illegible] of Thutmes III seems to be a geographical form.[1] The only *well* connecting the fountains of the ancient [illegible] discovered by Shaw in 1722. At its N. foot the [illegible] Nahr 'Arka in a deep rocky bed [illegible] the [illegible] two hours distant. To the E. of the *Arka* is the [illegible] cf. *Irka*, about 12 m. N. of Tripolis. It was an important place in the Roman period, when [illegible] being the birthplace of Alexander Severus. It [illegible] Caesarea Libani. It was famous [illegible] Astarte. See Smith's *Dict. Class. Geog.* [illegible]; Schu. *GJV* I 408 n.

ARMAGEDDON, RV HAR MAGEDON (ΑΡΜΑΓΕΔΩΝ [ΙR], ΑΡ ΜΑΓΕΔΩΝ [WH], ΑΡΜΑΓΕΔΩΝ [Treg.]; cod. Am. *Hermaged*[illegible]), ΕΡΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ, vers. Memphit.), the place of the last great battlefield (Rev. 16 16). Between the sixth vial and the seventh is inserted a vision (Rev. 16 13 *f.*, 16) which has no connection with the context, being apparently the sequel of the vision of the three angels in Rev. 14 6 *f.* The three angels proclaim the coming judgment upon the world [illegible] and the way to escape it, the three demoniacal spirits (from the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet) seek to counteract this by gathering the kings of wholeness [illegible] the war of the great day of God Almighty. The junction of forces is made at a place which is called in Hebrew Har Magedon.

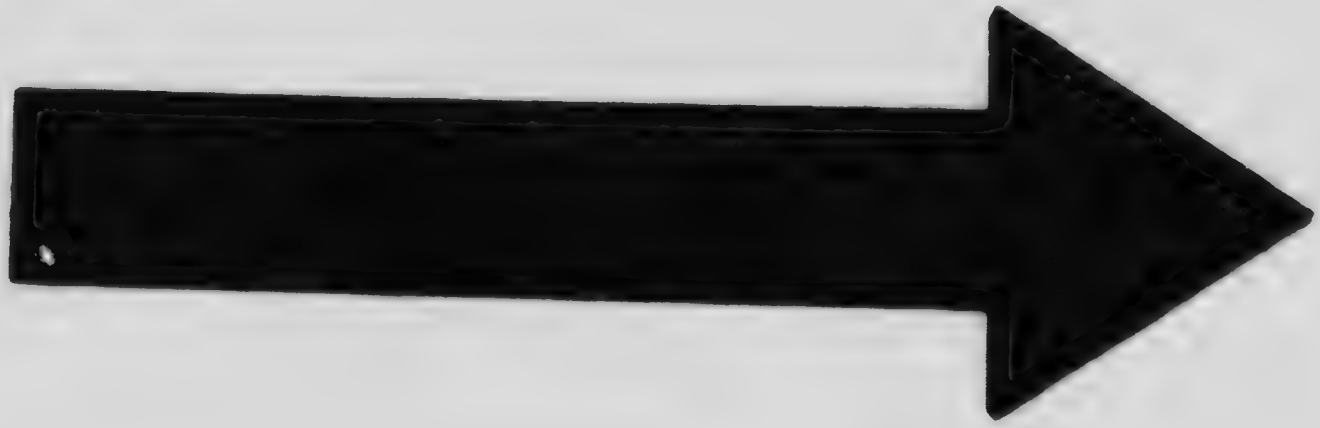
1. How understood by author.

Two questions have to be asked: (1) What did the writer understand by Har-Magedon (if this is the correct reading)? and (2) What was the meaning of the term in the source, whether written or oral, from which he drew? It is in the highest degree probable that the writer himself interpreted the phrase, 'the mountains of Megiddo' (cp Αργαμαζιν = Mount Gerizim, Eupolemus *ap.* Eus. *PE* 9 17). Both from its natural advantages and from its history the *plain* of Megiddo (Zech. 12 11) would have been the most obvious scene of such a great gathering; but the writer could plausibly justify the substitution of 'mountains' for 'plain' by the much-studied apocalyptic descriptions of Ez 38 8 21 39 2 4 17, where the hordes of Gog are said to meet their end 'upon the mountains of Israel.' Megiddo itself is, of course, a hill-town, though close to the great Plain of which it commands the southern entrance: there is nothing incorrect, therefore, in the phrase 'the mountain-district of Megiddo.' Har-Magedon is no doubt half-Hebrew; but it would be strange if readers of Jewish Greek could not interpret it (cp terms like Ναγεβ in Ⓖ). See APOCALYPSE, § 4[illegible].

If, however, we hold it to be probable that the small apocalypse (see Spitta, *Offenb.* 568) to which Rev. belongs

2. Original meaning. is a translation of a Hebrew original, and certain, at any rate, that the writer built to a considerable extent on traditional

[1] Cp the ethnic *Irkanatai* on the monolith of Shalmaneser II. (292; *KB* I 172). So Hommel, *Geogr.* 6, 9, Ed. Meyer 'Glossen z. d. Thontaf. von el-Am.,' *Ægyptiaca* (97), p. 69; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 247.



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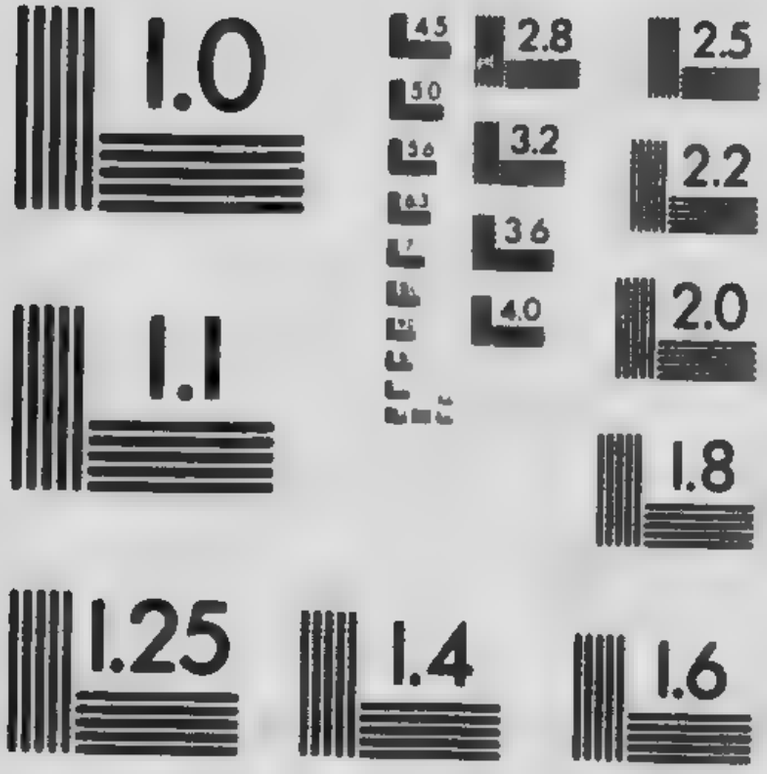

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semi-mythic stories eschatologically interpreted, it becomes a question whether his interpretation of the name of the great battlefield as meaning 'mountains of Megaddo' is correct. The restoration of the original text offered by a writer in *ZATW* 7 170 [87], הר מגדו ('will gather them unto his fruitful mountain' *i.e.*, the mountain-land of Israel), does not give a definite locality, which seems to be required in this context. Nor are the attempted numerical explanations quoted by Spitta (*Offenb.* 402) more probable. Gunkel, therefore, thinks (*Schöpf.* 206) that 'Harmagedon' must be a name of mythic origin, connected in some way with the fortunes of the dragon who is the lineal heir of the Babylonian dragon Tiāmat, the personification of chaos and all evil (cp CREATION, § 11). On p. 389 of the same work Zimmern communicates a conjecture of Jensen that μαγεδων is identical with μιγαδων in the divine name Τεσεμιγαδων, the husband of Ἐρεσχιγαλ (= Bab. Ereškigal), the Babylonian goddess of the underworld. See *Rhein. Mus.* 49 49, where in a magic formula given by Kuhnert from Greek papyri we read, θεοῖς χθονίοις Τεσεμιγαδων καὶ κούρῃ Περσεφόνῃ Ἐρεσχιγαλ κ.τ.λ. (see also HADAD-RIMMON). The same two (doubtless Babylonian) names occur on a lead tablet from Alexandria, *Rhein. Mus.* 18 563, where the former is given as Τεσεμμιγαδων. It would be natural that the spot where Tiāmat was defeated (and was again to be defeated) by Marduk should be called by a name which included that of a god of the underworld. T. K. C.

ARMENIA (אֲרָרָט), 2 K 19 37 Is. 37 38† AV, RV ARARAT.

ARMLET (בּוּקִיָּה, εμπλοκιον [BAFL]), so RV for AV TABLET in Ex 35 22 (περιδεξιον? [BAFL]), Nu. 31 50. It may be doubted, however, whether the word does not mean an ornament for the neck (so RVmg. NECKLACE) perhaps a necklace consisting of a number of little spheres, cp Ar. *kumzatun*, a little ball. See ORNAMENTS.

ARMONI (אַרְמֹנִי, 'Palatinus'?; ερμωνοει [B], νιει [A], αχι [L]), a son of Saul sacrificed by David to the vengeance of the Gibeonites (2 S. 21 8†). See RIZPAH. Neither he nor Mephibosheth [1], the two sons of Rizpah, is mentioned elsewhere.

ARMOUR, ARMS (כֵּלִים), 1 S. 17 54. See BREAST-PLATE, 1, HELMET, GREAVES, SHIELD; and cp WAR, an (WEAPONS.

ARMOUR-BEARER (נֹשֵׂא כֵלִים, which happens to occur only with a suffix, נֹשֵׂא כֵלָיו, Judg. 9 54, etc., or in the constr. st., נֹשֵׂא כְלֵי יוֹאָב, 2 S. 23 37 1 Ch. 11 39). Abimelech, Saul, Joab, all had armour-bearers; Goliath's squire is called a shield-bearer (1 S. 17 7). On the age of armour-bearers, cp WRS, *OTJC*[2] 431; Che. *Hdbs to Crit.* 77 n. Is. 52 11, נֹשְׂאֵי כְלֵי יהוה (EV 'Ye that bear the vessels of the Lord') is taken by most commentators (Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Cheyne formerly) to mean 'armour-bearers of Yahwè'; but this is improbable (see Di. *ad loc.*).

ARMOURY. In Neh. 3 19, הַנֶּשֶׁק, 'weapons, arming,' (𝔊, ἡ συνάπτουσα), and in Jer. 50 25 אוֹצָר, 'treasure, store,' are probably contractions for בית הַנֶּשֶׁק 'house of weapons,' and בית האוצר, 'house of treasure' respectively. In Cant. 4 4 'thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury' לְתַלְפִּיּוֹת is difficult. Vg. renders it *cum propugnaculis*, while 𝔊 merely transliterates (θαλπιώθ [BN], -λφι. [A]), and *OS*[2] 202. 84 has θαλπιωθ – ἐπάλξη ἢ ὑψηλά. The meaning 'armoury' has no philological basis (see Del. *ad loc.*), and yet it is the only meaning which suits the context. Cheyne (*Exp. Times*, June '98) supposes corruption of the text and reads לְשֶׁלָטִים 'for the shields.' The neck of the Shulamite is compared to the tower of David adorned with small metal plates—*i.e.*, perhaps to the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' in which were suspended the shields and targets of gold. Fancifully the poet represents these shields as suspended on the outside (cp Ezek. 27 11). Budde and Siegfried agree in placing the 'tower' at Jerusalem.

ARMY (צָבָא, חַיִל, מַעֲרָכָה).

1. General levy. The main army of Israel, like that of all primitive nations, and, in the last resort, of all nations, consisted of the whole able-bodied adult male population. In Nu. 1 1-3 (P), twenty is fixed as the age at which a man became a soldier; but it is not probable that any such regulation was rigidly observed in practice. This general levy constituted the fighting force of Israel in the wilderness, at the time of the settlement and under the 'Judges,' and remained its chief military resource throughout its national history. Under the 'Judges,' the armies mentioned are, for the most part, the levy of the tribes or clans immediately concerned. On special occasions, however, such as the war against Sisera, and Saul's relief of Jabesh-gilead, all the fighting men of Israel were summoned, and their obedience to the summons was represented as a paramount religious duty.

The armies obtained from such levies varied greatly in number and efficiency: a clan, or even a tribe, whose immediate interests were threatened, would readily take the field in its full strength. An appeal for a general levy of Israel would scarcely ever be more than partially responded to; Debōrah (Judg. 5) complains of the absence of Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher; the national leaders sought to prevent such dereliction from duty by the most solemn appeals to religious sanctions—Deborah curses Meroz (Judg. 5 23), and Saul, when a spirit (or impulse) from God came upon him, threatened to cut in pieces the oxen of all recreants (1 S. 11 6).

When armies were required these national or tribal levies were called together by messenger (בְּרִי הַמַּלְאָכִים 1 S. 11 7), sound of trumpet (שׁוֹפָר Judg. 6 34), or erection of standard, or other signal (נֵס Jer. 46, see ENSIGN); when the emergency was over they dispersed to their homes. They were well suited to carry on or repel border forays, but could not maintain prolonged warfare, especially at any distance from their own territory, or even oppose adequate resistance to any formidable invasion. These levies were composed entirely of infantry (רַגְלִי 1 S. 4 10 15 4); the Israelite territory, in early times, was chiefly hill-country, where cavalry force could neither be formed nor used. The first Israelite who is mentioned as possessing horses is Absalom, 2 S. 15 1 (cp HORSE, § 3).

Such armies were very loosely organised. As Wellhausen (*HI* 436 ['85]) points out, 'what there was of permanent official authority lay in the hands of the elders and heads of houses; in time of war they commanded each his own household force.' So Abraham leads the expedition to rescue Lot (Gen. 14), and Jair conquers the 'tent villages of Jair' (Nu. 32 41). Similarly, P describes the 'princes' of the tribes as also their captains in war (Nu. 1 *f.*). Deborah (Judg. 5 14 *f.*) speaks of the princes and leaders of Issachar and other tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 21). In practice, however, the hereditary heads of tribes and clans were often set aside on account of the ability and self-assertion of other leaders. Indeed, these hereditary heads of houses play a very small part in the actual history, possibly because history emphasises what is exceptional. The 'judges,' whose main function was to head the Israelite armies in special emergencies, were men called by a kind of divine inspiration. Gideon and Saul are not the heads of their tribes or even clans.

2. Command.

Gideon's family was 'poor in Manasseh and he was the least in his father's house' (Judg. 6 15), and Saul's family is described in almost identical terms (1 S. 9 21). In the absence of any other widely recognised authority, the priests of the great sanctuaries, and especially of the ark, sometimes assumed the command of armies, when called by ambition or the sense of duty (DEBORAH [*q.v.*], the house of ELI [*q.v.*], SAMUEL [*q.v.*]). When the tribes were partly merged in the kingdoms, and the clans and families were in a measure superseded by the towns and village communities, the levy would naturally follow the new order (Amos 5 3). Probably under the kings the levies did not always assemble by clans, but men were collected by the royal officials from the various districts (cp GOVERNMENT, § 20). In any case, the organisation of the levies was subordinated to that of the standing army, and they were divided into 'thousands,' 'hundreds,' 'fifties,' and 'tens,' institutions which are said by an ancient tradition, Ex. 18 25 (JE), to have originated with Moses.

A second important element of the military strength of Israel, as of all nations at a similar stage of development, lay in the personal following of men who made war their occupation. These 'bands' (גְּדוּד, also used of a division of an army) may be roughly likened to the vassals of feudal chiefs, the 'free companies' of the middle ages, and even to the banditti in unsettled districts. As in the case of England and Scotland, the 'bands' flourished specially on the frontiers; the territory of Israel had a frontier very long in proportion to its area. Such 'bands' could take the field much sooner than a clan-levy, and would be better disciplined and much more expert in warfare. More than once they rendered signal service to the nation. The 'vain fellows' whom that captain of banditti, Jephthah, gathered round him (אֲנָשִׁים רֵקִים, Judg. 11 3) were the kernel of the army which defeated Ammon, and David's following was one chief instrument in the restoration of Israel after Gilboa. 1 S. 22-30 gives us a detailed account of the formation, character, and career of such a body (see DAVID, § 4). It was a self-constituted frontier-guard, living on the plunder of the neighbouring tribes and by levying blackmail on their fellow-countrymen, whom they claimed to protect. The warlike services rendered by the 'bands' were accompanied by serious drawbacks. They added to the danger of civil war; they embittered the relations with neighbouring tribes; and they were capable, like David, of taking service with foreigners even against their own countrymen. We do not hear of them after David's time; they would scarcely be tolerated by powerful kings, but were sure to reappear in unsettled times.

3. Bands.

As the main function of a king was that of permanent commander-in-chief, a monarchy implied some sort of standing army and permanent military organisation. In time of peace the king kept a bodyguard as the main support of his authority, and this bodyguard formed the nucleus of the army in war (cp GOVERNMENT, § 18). We find Saul 'choosing' 3000 men (1 S. 13 2) and sending the rest of the people to their tents. He did not keep these chosen men as a permanent army, for in 1 S. 24 2 he chooses another 3000 when he wishes to pursue David. Probably he did his best throughout his reign to keep by him a picked force, which was virtually a standing army. He had a permanent commander-in-chief, Abner (שַׂר־צָבָא 1 S. 14 50), and his personal following must have included other permanent military officers (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21). David's band of followers during his exile served as the kernel of a much more complete and extensive military organisation. The office of commander-in-chief remained a permanent institution, and the captains of the host (שָׂרֵי הַחַיִל 2 S. 24 4) also appear as permanent officers. A bodyguard, practically a

4. Army.

continuation of David's companions in exile, was formed, and its captain is mentioned as one of the great officers of state (2 S. 8 18 20 23; 23 23, קְרֵתִי וּפְלֵתִי; LUC. ἀλλόφυλοι). Now, however, the bodyguard had come to consist of foreign mercenaries, 'Cherethites and Pelethites,' probably Philistines (see CHERETHITES, CAPHTOR). In 2 S. 15 18 we find 600 Philistines from Gath in David's army; ⅋s μαχηταί, however (in a doublet), suggests a reading *gibb.rim*, or 'mighty men,' for *gittim*, or 'Gittites.' If the latter is the correct reading, the Gittites may have been either part of the bodyguard, or else an independent band of mercenaries (see DAVID, § 11 (c)). The Cherethite and Pelethites are not mentioned after the death of David; but the bodyguard of foreign mercenaries must have remained a permanent institution. 1 K. 14 27 speaks of the captains of the guard, literally 'runners' (רָצִים), that kept the palace gates (cp 2 K. 10 25). 2 K. 11 4 speaks of 'the centurions of the Carites and of the guards' (שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת לְכָרִי וְלָרָצִים), where the Carites are possibly identical with the Cherethites. If the reading in 2 S. 23 8 is correct, and if שָׁלִישִׁי in רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁלִשִׁי (AV 'chief among the captains'; RV 'chief of the captains') is rightly explained as referring to the third occupant of a chariot (τριαστάτης [BAL], Ex. 14 7 15 4, etc.), it may indicate the use of chariots by David, though it is probably used in its later sense of 'captain' (see CHARIOT, § 10).

With the very doubtful exception of these 'shalishim' we have no reference to Israelite chariots and cavalry before the end of David's reign.

According to EV of 2 S. 8 4, he reserved horses for a hundred chariots out of the spoil taken from Hadadezer, son of Rehob, king of Zobah; ⅋BAL translates 'reserved for himself a hundred chariots.' Reuss and Kautzsch translate 'a hundred chariot horses.' No reference is made to the use of these chariots or horses in war; moreover, the passage probably belongs to the last editor of Samuel.

Solomon, however, established a force of 1400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen (1 K. 10 26), and accordingly we find mentioned among his officers 'captains of his chariots and of his horsemen' (שָׂרֵי רִכְבּוֹ וּפָרָשָׁיו, 1 K. 9 22). Occasional references occur in the later history to Israelite chariots and horsemen (2 K. 8 21 13 7). Probably the armies of Israel and Judah were modelled on the army of Solomon till the end of these monarchies; but their main reliance would be on the infantry. Towards the close of the Jewish monarchy a quasi-religious feeling against the use of chariots and cavalry seems to have arisen, and Dt. 17 16 forbids the king to multiply horses (cp. Dt. 20 1 Is. 31 1). The references to the houghing of horses by Joshua (Josh. 11 6 9) and David (2 S. 8 4) are probably due to a Deuteronomic redactor.

Nothing is said about paying soldiers. In earlier times the Israelites who formed the national levy would find their own weapons and provisions, the latter being often obtained from the enemy by plunder or from friends by gift or exaction. Probably throughout the history the general levy was mostly provided for in this way; though, as the royal government became more powerful and more completely organised, it may have done something towards feeding and arming these levies (see GOVERNMENT, § 20).

5. Maintenance.

The bodyguard and the rest of the standing army, including the charioteers and cavalry, stood on a different footing. They were maintained by the government (1 K. 4 27), chariot cities being assigned as a provision for the chariots and cavalry. They were probably paid; certainly the foreigners in the bodyguard did not serve for nothing. The plunder taken from enemies would be an important part of the remuneration of the soldiers, and a principle of division between the actual combatants and the reserve is laid down in 1 S. 30 24. The rules as to exemption from military service in

Dt. 20 are probably an ideal based on traditional public opinion.

No reliance can be placed on the numbers which are given for Israelite armies. At the same time, the two kingdoms seem to have been populous in prosperous times, and a general levy of able-bodied adults may sometimes have attained very large dimensions.

Under powerful kings the Israelite armies were strengthened by the auxiliary forces of subject allies *e.g.*, Edom (2 K. 3). Doubtless such assistance was sometimes purchased, after the manner of the narrative in 2 Ch. 25.

6. Levitical guard. The details as to the Levites in the account of the deposition of Athaliah in 2 Ch. 23 (cp 2 K. 11) were probably suggested by the institutions of the Chronicler's own time (*cir.* 300 B.C.). These details seem to show that the Levitical guard of the Temple was then in existence. As this guard is not provided for in the Priestly Code, it was probably formed after the time of Ezra. Possibly the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ [VA] in 2 Macc. 3 4 may have been the captain of this guard. If so, however, it is difficult to suppose that the present text is correct in ascribing him to the tribe of Benjamin (see, however, BENJAMIN, § 7 end). The captain of this guard, under the title of στρατηγός, is mentioned by Josephus in his account of the time of Claudius Cæsar (*Ant.* xx. 6 2), and of the destruction of the Temple (*BJ* vi. 5 3), and in Lk. 22 52 and Acts 4 1 5 24 26. Probably the officers, ὑπηρέται, who assisted in the arrest of Jesus (Jn. 18 3, cp 7 32 45) belonged to this body.

7. Post-exilic. In the post-exilic period, under the suzerainty of the Persians, and of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, the Jews could scarcely be said to have an army. The Book of Nehemiah clearly shows that they had to trust to their own energy and courage for protection against hostile neighbours; but they fought as a city militia rather than as a peasant levy.

The revolt of the Maccabees made Judæa a military power. The long wars not only habituated the bulk of the people to arms, but also produced a standing army, which soon included many foreign mercenaries. Jewish soldiers also received pay (1 Macc. 14 32), probably, however, only picked bands that formed the standing army and ranked with the other mercenaries. Josephus (*BJ* i. 2 5) tells us that Hyrcanus I. (135-107 B.C.) was the first Jew who maintained foreign mercenaries (ξενοτροφεῖν). Alexander Jannæus (106-79 B.C.) employed Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries, and at one time was at the head of a mercenary army of 1000 horse and 8000 foot, in addition to 10,000 Jews. These mercenaries are styled 'Greeks' (*BJ* i. 4 5, cp 5 4). As the Jews had long been subjects of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, their armies would be equipped and disciplined after the Greek fashion.

8. Roman Period. When the East fell under the supremacy of Rome, the Herods, as clients of Rome, formed their armies on the Roman model. Indeed, Herod the Great was at times in command of Roman forces, and Jewish and mercenary 'cohorts' (σπεῖραι) are spoken of as fighting side by side with the Romans (*BJ* i. 15 6 16 2). Herod's army consisted largely of mercenaries drawn chiefly from the Teutonic subjects and neighbours of the empire—Thracians, Germans, and Gauls (*BJ* i. 33 9).

The insurgent armies in the Jewish war were very heterogeneous. The national government appointed military commanders for the various districts, among whom was Josephus. He tells us that he organised an army of 100,000 on the Roman model, including 4500 mercenaries, a bodyguard of 600, but only 250 horsemen: a typical Hebrew army in its constitution. The garrison of Jerusalem is said to have consisted of 23,400 men, including Idumæans and bands of Zealots. They seem to have possessed some organisation and discipline, but were divided into adverse factions (*BJ* v. 6 1).

9. Foreign armies. The armies of the other states of Syria did not differ essentially from those of Israel. From the first, however, they made use of chariots and cavalry, and throughout the history, except during the reign of Solomon, the Syrians were superior to the Israelites in these arms (Josh. 11 4 17 16 Judg. 1 19 4 7 1 S. 13 5 2 S. 8 4 1 K. 20 1 25 22 31, etc.). On the other hand, the great military empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon possessed a much more extensive and effective military organisation. They had corps of chariots, light-armed and heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, together with archers and slingers and engineers. Their armies included large forces of mercenaries and tributaries. For military purposes these great empires stood to the Syrian kingdoms in about the same relation as that of a first-class European power to the smaller Asiatic states.

It is not necessary to notice the Persian army, and of the armies of the Ptolemies and Seleucides we need say only that they were modelled on the Macedonian armies of Philip and Alexander, with some modifications due to Oriental influences. For example, they employed elephants (1 Macc. 1 17, etc.).

10. Roman army. The Roman army is incidentally alluded to in the NT. The legion (Mt. 26 53 Mk. 5 9 15 Lu 8 30) varied considerably at different times in numbers and in constitution; during the early empire it was a composite force, consisting of about 6000 legionary infantry, together with cavalry, light-armed auxiliaries, and military engines. The legionary infantry, or legion proper, were divided into ten cohorts. The 'band' (σπεῖρα) which took Jesus (Mt. 27 27 Mk. 15 16 Jn. 18 3 12) was probably a cohort (so RV^mg.) forming the Roman garrison in Jerusalem. The same cohort is mentioned in Acts 21 31. In Acts 10 1 we read of the Italian band, and in 27 1 of the Augustan 'band.' The Italian 'band' may have been an independent cohort of Italian volunteers (Schür. *GJV*[4] 1 386). The 'Augustan band' (σπείρης Σεβαστῆς) may have been part of the Sebastene—*i.e.*, Samaritan—auxiliaries, who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8 7), formed a large part of the Roman garrison of Palestine. The name might be, and doubtless was, understood as 'Augustan' as well as 'Sebastene' (the title 'Augustan' was borne by some of the Roman legions). See further, CORNELIUS, § 1. The officers of the legion were the tribunes and centurions. Six tribunes were attached to a legion and were associated in command. We frequently find a tribune holding independent command of a cohort or larger force: the 'chief captain' (Jn. 18 12 Acts 21-25), χιλίαρχος, commanding the cohort at Jerusalem was a tribune. Each cohort contained ten centuries or bodies nominally consisting of a hundred men; these were commanded by centurions. As the independent cohorts were organised on the model of the legions, it is probable that the cohorts, tribunes, and centurions of the NT belonged to the auxiliary forces. Mommsen says of the Roman garrison in Palestine that it consisted, as elsewhere in provinces of the second rank, of a moderate number of cavalry and infantry divisions, in this case of Samaritans and Syrian Greeks; subsequently one ala and five cohorts or about 3000 men. The province, therefore, did not receive a legionary garrison. A small force under a Roman commandant occupied the citadel at Jerusalem. During the time of the Passover this was reinforced by stationing a stronger division of Roman soldiers in one of the temple buildings (*Prov. Rom. Emp.*, ET, 2 156).

W. H. B.

ARNA (ARNA) b. Ozias, in the genealogy of Ezra (4 Esd. 1 2), apparently = ZERAHIAH in Ezra 7 4.

ARNAN (אַרְנָן; ΟΡΝΑ [BA], ΑΡΝΩΝ [L]). According to MT of 1 Ch. 3 21, the 'sons of Arnan' occur in the

genealogy of Zerubbabel. 𝔊, Vg. and Syr., however, make Arnan the son of Rephaiah. The name might mean 'noisy'; but ארנן elsewhere, as a personal name, being corrupt (see ARAUNAH), and the names of the other descendants of Hananiah (see RV) being compounded with -iah, it seems plausible to correct to ארניה (Arnijah), which may have been abbreviated ארני (whence, by corruption, ארנן or ארנן). T. K. C.

ARNI (ΑΡΝΕΙ [Ti. WH after ℵBLXT], Lk. 3 33 RV), is the reading to be preferred to AV ARAM. See RAM, 1.

ARNON (ארנון), Nu. 21 13; see MOAB.

AROD (ארוד, ΑΡΟΔΕΙ [B*], ΑΡΟΑΔ[Є] [B^ab AF], ΑΟΡΑΔ [L]), Nu. 26 17 = Gen. 46 16, **Arodi** (ארודי, ΑΡΟΗΔΙϹ [A], ΑΓΑΡΙϹ [D], ΟΡΡΟΔΕΙϹ [L]), for which gentilic form EV in Nu. *l.c.* has **Arodite.** A name in genealogy of GAD (*q.v.*). Cp ARELI.

AROER (ערער, עֲרֹעֵר in Judg. 11 26; שרעור; *i.e.*, 'bushes of dwarf juniper'[1] [L 19; *Sinai* 1]; ΑΡΟΗΡ [BAL]; gentilic **Aroerite,** ערערי, see HOTHAM, 2).

1. A city 'on the edge of the torrent-valley of Arnon,' see MOAB. (Dt. 2 36 etc.; cp *OS* 212 11 86 23, ἐπ' ὄφρυος τοῦ ὄρους, *in vertice montis*); the descriptions agree with the position of the ruins of 'Arā'ir, on the edge of the precipitous N. bank of the ravine of the Arnon (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 372; Tristram, *Moab*, 129-131). The spot is about 11 m. from the mouth of that river. Aroer marked the S. limit of the Reubenite territory and of the Israelitish possessions eastward of the Jordan, Nu. 32 34 Dt. 2 36 3 12 4 48 Josh. 12 2 (αρνων [B]) 13 9 16 2 S. 24 5 (αροηλ [B]) 2 K. 10 33; cp Judg. 11 26 (αζηρ [A], om. L); 1 Ch. 5 8. In Jer. 48 19 (post-exilic) and in the inscription of Mesha (l. 26, עריער) it appears as Moabitish. The Moabites had in fact possessed it before the Israelites, in succession to the Amorites (cp Nu. 21 26). That Aroer on the Arnon is meant in 2 S. 24 5 is now generally admitted (see Dr. *TBS* 205 *f.*). The expression 'the cities of Aroer' in Is. 17 2 is geographically difficult; there is no doubt a corruption of the text (see 𝔊 and cp *SBOT*).

2. A place E. of Rabbath-Ammon, Josh. 13 25 (αραδα [B], -ρωηρ [A]; Jud. 11 33†; not identified. Jer. (*OS* 96 5) says it was on a mountain 20 R. m. N. from Jerusalem.

3. A place in the far south of Judah, 1 S. 30 28 (mentioned after Jattir), and probably Josh. 15 22 (mentioned after Dimonah). Identified by Rob. with the ruins of 'Ar'ara, 3 hrs. ESE. from Beersheba. (The ραγουηλ of 𝔊^L in 1 S. is perhaps from αρουηλ: see ADADAH.) T. K. C.

AROM (ΑΡΟΜ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 16. See HASHUM.

ARPACHSHAD (ארפכשד), Gen. 10 22 RV; see below, ARPHAXAD, 1.

ARPAD, AV twice (in Is.) **Arphad** (ארפד, ΑΡΦΑΔ [BAL], ΑΡΦΑΔΑΝ, Ass. *Arpaddu*), 2 K. 18 34 (αρφαλ [B], -φαρ [A], 19 13 (-φαθ [B]), Is. 10 9 (not in 𝔊), 36 19 and 37 13 (-φαθ [BNAD (Q)]), Jer. 49 23 (-φαθ [A], αφαδ [ℵ*]). Of these passages Is. 10 9 is the most important, because we can unhesitatingly fix its date and authorship. Isaiah, writing in 711 B.C., makes the Assyrian king refer to the recent capture of Hamath and Arpad (reckoned by the Assyrians to Hatti-land) as a warning to Jerusalem. Arpad had been frequently captured by the early Assyrian kings, but was finally subjugated and Assyrianised by Tiglath-pileser III. in 740. From this time it takes its place among the Eponym cities. Its importance probably lay in its command of a Euphrates ford, though it was not on that river. We find that a city Nibaru (the ford) was reckoned to belong to the governor of Arpad. Arpad is now *Tell-Erfād*, 13 m. from Aleppo to NW. (C. H. W. J.)

1 'Aroer' is an Arabising 'broken plural' of *'ar'ār*, 'dwarf juniper,' a plant which abounds in rocky localities (see HEATH).

ARPHAXAD, RV better **Arpachshad** (ארפכשד; ΑΡΦΑΖΑΔ [BAL]; -ΔΗϹ [Jos.]), the third son of Shem, Gen. 10 22 24; cp Gen. 11 10-13 (all P), 1 Ch. 1 17 f. (𝔊^B omits these two) 24. The name has been much discussed.

Ewald and many after him (*e.g.* Franz Del., Kautzsch in *HB*[1], and Nöld. *ZDMG* 36, 192 [1882], *Nebenr.* 60, 70) identify it with the Arrapachitis of Ptol. (vi. 1 2), a region on the Upper Zab, S.E. from Nineveh. On this theory, however, -shad (-שד) remains unaccounted for, as we can hardly, with Lag. (*Ges. Abh.* 154), have recourse to the Armenian *Erk*. Jos., on the other hand, long ago identified Arphaxad with the Chaldaeans (*Ant.* i. 6 4), and Ges., Ew., Schr. (*COT* 1 147), Sayce (*Cl. Rev.* 1 147), accepting this view, regard the ארפכשד as compounded of an assumed noun ארף, 'boundary' (Ar. *'urfat*), and כשד, כשדים, 'Chaldaeans.'

Two things at least are certain; we cannot, I suppose, with Early Jews in this context, and in Gen. 11 1 *ff.* Arpachshad is represented as the source of the Semitic family to which Abraham belonged. The latter part of the name אלכשד must, therefore, be כשד (*i.e.*, Chaldaea). It is equally clear, however, that the Assyrian province of Arbaha (which may, or may not, be the Arrapachitis of Ptol.) would be very appropriately introduced after Asshur, and that, apart from the last syllable (-shad), Arpachshad has received from the earlier critics no explanation that is even plausible, except that of Bochart and Nöldeke.

Putting these facts together, the present writer suggested (*Expos.* Feb. 1897, pp. 145 *ff.*) the following theory. Arpachshad, or at least ארפכשד, is really not one word but two words -Arpach (ארפך) and Chesed (כשד). The former is the Heb. name of the Assyrian province of Arbaha or (*KB* 2 88 *f.*) Arabha, which, according to Winckler, is not Arrapachitis but a district N. of the Tigris, S. of the Median Mountains, and W. of Elam.[1] The latter is Chaldaea (see CHESED). Gen. 10 22, therefore, upon this theory, originally ran, 'The sons of Shem; Elam and Asshur and Arpach-Chesed and Lud and Aram.' Verse 24, as E. Meyer and Dillmann agree, is an editorial interpolation (cp 11 10 *ff.*). The form Arpachshad in 11 10 *ff.* will be due to the editor, who misunderstood ארפכשד in 10 22, and it will not be too bold to restore כשד (*i.e.*, Chesed). The alternative is to suppose the original reading to have been ארפך כשד (*i.e.*, Arpah Chesed), which the scribe, through an error of the ear, changed into Arpach Chesed (ארפכשד).

Hommel, however (*Acad.* 17th Oct. 1896; *AHT* 212, 294-298), prefers to explain the word as Ur-pa-keshad, an 'Egyptian variant' for the Heb. Ur-Kasdim, *pa* being taken as the Egyptian article; he compares the old (?) Egyptian-Hebrew name Putiel, and the Semitic-Egyptian *pa-'-ra = ha-baal* (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 300). If only we had sure evidence that there was an Egyptian mania in early Palestine similar to the Semitic mania of the Egyptians of the Middle Empire, and could also think that P had access to records of extreme antiquity, fairly accurately preserved, this explanation would at once become plausible. A comprehensive study of the names in P, however, does not compel us, indeed it scarcely permits us, to make the second of these assumptions. PUTIEL (*q.v.*) is distinctly an artificial name, and if Arpachshad should really be read Ur-pa-keshad we should on this analogy be inclined to regard it as artificial too. In addition to Ur-Kasdim would no doubt be admissible, since this place of distress is referred to by P (11 31) as well as by J[2]. It is chiefly the presence of פ (p) in ארפכשד that

1 Prof. Jensen informs the writer that he has [illegible] the same question as to the origin of Arpachshad, but that he prefers to identify Arpach with Arrapachitis. Alt. Ab. This view has occurred to the writer also.

2 The transition from ḫ (in Arbaha) to כ in ארפך has not then to be accounted for. On the former theory, the Priestly Writer, who was not indebted either to a cuneiform record or to a Babylonian informant, received the name in a slightly incorrect form, the final ḫ having been softened in pronunciation to *ch*.

prevents us from reading Ur-Casdim (written אור כשדים) in Gen. 10 22 between Asshur and Lud.

The name, even in Judith i. to the king of Media who was formerly identified with Deioces the founder of Ecbatana, or with Phraortes his son. The name, however, has been borrowed to give an air of antiquity to the narrative, and, as in the cases of HOLOFERNES, and others in this book, stands for some more modern personage, probably Mithridates. See JUDITH, ii.

F. K. C.

ARROW, see WEAPONS, DIVINATION, § 2 (1).

ARROWSNAKE in Gen. 49 17 AV^mg. = שִׁפְיֹפֹן, 'cerastes.' ΕΓΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΣ [ⲂBAQ] (see SERPENT, § 1, no. 10), and in Is. 34 15 RV = כְּפוֹז (ΕΧΙΝΟΣ [ⲂBAQ]), AV GREAT OWL (*q.v.*, 2); see SERPENT, § 1, no. 5.

ARSACES (ΑΡϹΑΚΗϹ [ⲀⲀ, -σια ⲀⲀ once) V]), 'king of Persia and Media,' by whom Demetrius Nicātor (DEMETRIUS [2]) was defeated and made a prisoner (1 Macc. 14 2 *f.* 15 22). See PERSIA.

ARSARETH, RV ARZARETH (so Lat. *arzareth*, also *arzaren*, *arzar*; AV^mg. ARARATH) *-i.e.* אַרְצָן אֲרֹרַת (cp Dt. 29 27 [28] Jer. 22 26) -'the other land,'[1] the region, a journey of one year and a half beyond the Euphrates, where the exiled tribes were supposed to be settled (4 Esd. 13 45; cp 7 40). This belief in the 'Lost Tribes' is found already in Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 5 2).

ARSIPHURITH (ΑΡϹ[Ε]ΙΦΟΥΡΕΙΘ[BA]), 1 Esd. 5 16, RV; see JORAH.

ARTAXERXES (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא, Ezra 4 7*a*, or יְשַׁשְׂתָּא, Ezra 4 7*b*, or יְשַׁשְׁתָּא, Ezra 4 8 7 1 7 11 8 1 Neh. 2 1 5 14 13 6, Baer's text; ΑϹΑΡΘΑΘΑ [B]; ΑΡΘΑϹΑϹΘΑ [A]; ΑΡϹΑΡϹΑΘΑ [ⲀC^cb (*ubique*)]; ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗϹ [ⲀC^-at]; *Artaxerxes*). The following variants occur:

Ezra 4 7*abs* (ασαραθα [B], αρτασασθα [A]), 11 (αρσαρθα [B], αρ!θα [A]), 6 14 (ασαρθα [B]), 7 1 (αρθασισθα [B]), 7 11 (ασσαρθωθα [B]), 12 (ασαρθαθα [BA]), 21 (αρσαρθαθα [B]), 8 1 (αρθασθα [B]), Neh. 2 1 (αρσαθερθα [B], αρσαρσαθα [ⲀC^cb], αρταξερξης [ⲀC^-a]), 5 14 (αρσεναθα [B], σαρσαθα [ⲀC], αρθαρασθαι [A]), 13 6 (αρσσαθα [BⲀ]).

Artaxerxes is the name given to the king of Persia, who, we are told (Neh. 2 1 5 14 13 6), gave permission to Nehemiah his cupbearer to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and to this end made him governor (*peḥa*; cp Assyr. *bel-paḥati*, town governor, and pihatu, province, satrapy). The same name is borne by the king who permitted Ezra and his band to return to Palestine, and, along with his ministers and princes, lavished tokens of favour on the returning exiles (Ezra 7 *f.*). The statement in Ezra 4 7-23 that earlier efforts of the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem ceased at this king's command is unhistorical (see EZRA, ii. § 10), and the account in Ezra 7 11-26 of the favour shown by him to the temple and its ministers is probably exaggerated (see EZRA, i. § 2). It is certainly incorrect to name him along with Cyrus and Darius as having promoted the building of the temple (Ezra 6 14), for this had already been completed in the reign of Darius.

The name, which is certainly identical with the Persian *Artakhshatra* ('the true, or legitimate, kingdom,' an expression taken from the teaching of the Avesta; Assyr. *Artaksatsu*, Susian *Irtakshazsa*, forms more closely approximating the Hebrew), was pronounced by the Greeks Artaxerxes (so in 1 Esd. B; but Αρταξε ξης ⲀⲂ^vid. sometimes). The king intended is beyond doubt one or another of the three Persian rulers who bore that name. The attempts to identify him with Cambyses, or with Pseudo-Smerdis, or with Xerxes, on the false assumption that Artakhshatra was not a name but a title, were abandoned long ago. The only question is, Which of the three?

The third in the list, Artaxerxes Ochus, is excluded, both by chronology and by the known character of that energetic despot and zealot for the Mazdean creed, which alike prohibit the supposition that he can have been the benevolent patron of Nehemiah and Ezra. Which of the remaining two is meant is still disputed among scholars.

As in Ezra 4 6*f.* the name follows immediately on that of Ahasuerus, and no more precise designation is added, it is natural enough to think of Artaxerxes I. If, however, as seems probable (see EZRA, ii. § 10), Ezra did not come to Palestine till after Nehemiah, and if it be true, as we read in Ezra 7 7, that the date of Ezra's arrival was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, while the established date of Nehemiah's arrival is the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, then Ezra's expedition must have been in the Artaxerxes Mnemon, and so more than half a century after Nehemiah's mission. This, however, is not at all probable, and it seems preferable to assume that the date assigned to Ezra's arrival (in the seventh year of Artaxerxes) is an invention that had been suggested by the transposition of the two expeditions.

We have thus good reason for assuming, with Kuenen, Ryssel, Ryle, and others, that by Artaxerxes we ought throughout to understand Artaxerxes I., Longimanus, a surname which is doubtless to be taken in the same sense as the expression in the inscription of Darius (Naḳš i Rustem, inscr. *a*, § 4, *l.* 43 *f.*) to the effect that the spear of the Persian reaches far. He is described as having been a good-hearted but weak sovereign, ruled by his wives and favourites, an account which harmonises with what we learn from Nehemiah.

C. P. T. W. H. K.

ARTEMAS (ΑΡΤΕΜΑϹ [Ti. WH], most probably a contraction from ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟϹ; see Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* 89 (§ 211), and cp APOLLOS, § 1 n.), a companion or messenger of Paul, mentioned once in the Pastoral Epistles (Tit. 3 12: 'When I shall send Artemas unto thee . . . give diligence to come unto me').

In the lists of the 'seventy disciples' which we owe to Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus he appears as bishop of Lystra.

ARTEMIS (ΑΡΤΕΜΙϹ [Ti. WH]), Acts 19 24 27 *f.* 34 *f.* RV^mg.; EV DIANA.

ARTILLERY (כְּלִי), 1 S. 20 40 AV; AV^mg. 'instruments,' RV WEAPONS (*q.v.*).

ARTS and MANUFACTURES. See TRADE AND COMMERCE, and HANDICRAFTS.

ARUBOTH (אֲרֻבּוֹת)—*i.e.* as in RV **Arubboth**; ΕΝ ΑΡΑΒΩΘ [A], . . . ΒΗΡ ΒΗΘ . . . [L]; . . . Θ. ΒΗΡ . . . [B]), 1 K. 4 10†, the seat of the third of Solomon's twelve prefects (see BEN-HESED). The third is one of the districts omitted by Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 2 3, ed Niese). See BEN-HESED. Cp Schick, 'Wady 'Arrûb, the Aruboth of Scripture,' *PEF Qu. St.* Oct. 1898, pp. 238 *ff.*

ARUMAH (בָּאֲרוּמָה, Kr. בְּרוּמָה, with prep. ב; ΑΡΗΜΑ [B], ΑΡΙΜΑ [AL and *OS*^(2) 225, 2], *RUM.I* [Vg.]), the place where Abimelech dwelt before his capture of Shechem—obviously not very far from that town (Judg. 9 41). Perhaps it is represented by the modern *el-'Ormah*, 6 m. SSE. from Shechem, where there are ruins still (Van de Velde, *Reisen*, 2 268). Otherwise the place is quite unknown.

For בְּתַרְמָה (Jr. 31 37, *ἐν κρυφῇ* [B] *μετὰ δώρων* [AL]), AV 'privily,' RV 'craftily,'[1] EV^mg. 'in Tormah' (so Jos. Kimhi, who took it to be the name of a town), it is best to read בָּאֲרֻמָּה, 'in Arumah.' Eus. wrongly identifies it with *ῥουμά* near Diospolis = Lydda (cp RUMAH).

ARVAD (אַרְוָד [Bi.], אַרְוָד [Gi.]), whence the gentilic **Arvadite** (אַרְוָדִי), Gen 10 18 = 1 Ch. 1 16† (so ⲂBAQL everywhere ΑΡΑΔΙΟϹ, but Αρουαδει 1 Ch. 1 16 [L]; Egypt. *'Aratut[u]*, etc.; Assyr. usually *Arm[u]ada*; ΑΡΑΔΟϹ, for ΑΡϜΑΔΟϹ, 1 Macc. 15 23; Targ. Jer. אַנְטַרְתָּדָנָאי *-i.e.*, of Antaradus;—Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 2 ΑΡΟΥΔΑΙΟϹ, etc.; mod. *Ruwâd*, etc.), a town referred to by Ezekiel (27 8 11) in his elegy on Tyre as one of some thirty cities and countries that had contributed to its

[1] Less probably אַרְצָן אֲרָרַת, land of Arat—*i.e.*, Ararat (Volkmar).

[1] בתרמה would mean rather 'deceitfully'; but the form is anomalous—it would be easier to read בְּעָרְמָה.

splendour and dignity—men of Arvad, he says, rowed its ships (27 8) and manned its walls (27 11) and likewise mentioned (Ἀράδιος, the only Syrian place named) in the list of nineteen places in 1 Macc. 15 23 (see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9). Arvad was the most northerly of the great Phœnician cities, ancestress, with Sidon and Tyre, of Tripoli, which lies some thirty miles farther south.

Built on an island (*ba'kabal t.amti*, K 3 108, *l.* 36 *f.*), about half a mile long from N. to S., and a little over a quarter of a mile broad, lying slightly less than two miles from the mainland, it dared to resist Thotmes III. when apparently most of the other Phœnician cities yielded without force (see his Annals in Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*[2], E.T. 376 *f.*); and Tiglath-pileser I. tells how he embarked in ships of Arvad and sailed on the Great Sea. It was still independent in the ninth century B.C., and in the time of Sargon it and Tyre and Gebal were the really important Phœnician centres. Cp also ASUR-BANI-PAL, § 4, end.

In the days of Ezekiel it was subordinate to Tyre, but in the Persian age it regained its ancient importance, and in the time of Alexander exercised control over quite an extensive district on the mainland.

In the first half of the second millennium B.C., there must have been more capacity between the Arvadites of the mainland and those on the island, if W. Max Müller is right in believing that the Egyptian name corresponds to a plural form אֲרֻדוֹת. The ruins of the gigantic wall that once surrounded the island on three sides (see Pietschm., as below, and esp. Renan, Pl. ii. *f.*) prove that the Arvadites knew other things (see Jos. (*c. Apion.*, *Armen* ed. Aucher, 2 172 *f.*) records that Arvad was founded in 761 B.C., and Strabo (xvi. 2 13 *f.*) states, although only with a ὥς φασιν,[1] that it was founded by fugitives from Sidon. We cannot, of course, assign to the eighth century the real founding of Aradus or even what Dillmann (on Gen. 10 18) seems to suggest—the founding of the insular town as distinguished from a settlement on the mainland (cp the later Antaradus, mod. Tartûs (see Targ. above)). The words of Asur-nasir-pal quoted above (cp *RP*[2] 2 72) preclude this. The Egyptian inscriptions show that in the second millennium B.C. Aradus was one of the most important Phœnician cities (see PHŒNICIA).

Literature: Strabo (*l.c.*); Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phön.* 36-40; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 186 *f.*, *COT* 1 87 *ff.*; Renan, *Mission de Phén.* 19-42; G. J. Chester, *Survey West. Pal., Special Papers*, 75-78; see further reff. in Vigouroux; a map of island in Admiralty Charts No 2765, or W. Allen, *The Dead Sea*, i., end. H. W. H.

ARZA (אַרְצָא; ωCA [B], APCA [A], ACA [L]), King Baasha's prefect of the palace at Tirzah, and doubtless Zimri's accomplice in the assassination of the king (1 K. 16 9), see ZIMRI. The form of the name appears to be somewhat uncertain.

ARZARETH (*ARZARETH*), 4 Esd. 13 45, RV; AV ARSARETH.

ASA (אָסָא, § 51 ACA [BAL],[2] perhaps short for אֲסַיָּה *i.e.*, 'Yahwè healeth'; cp Aram. and Ar. *'asâ*, 'to heal,' Ass. *asu*, 'a physician,' a title applied to the god Ea [Del. *Ass. HWB*]; the name may express a pious wish that Yahwè would heal—*i.e.*, restore prosperity to—his people; cp Hos. 7 1 11 3).

1. Son of Abijah and third king of Judah (first half of 9th cent. B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 32). Of Asa's long reign but one event is handed down to us on the best authority (1 K. 15 16 22), and it speaks in favour of the royal annals that they have not buried such an action of the reigning king in oblivion. The subject of the narrative is nothing less than the purchase by Asa of help from the king of Damascus against Judah's northern brethren. All the silver and gold that was still to be found in the royal treasury, Asa, we are told, sent to Benhadad, king of Aram, to bribe him to transfer his covenant of friendship from Israel to Judah. Thus it was to Judah that the first Aramæan invasion of Israel was due, and we can believe the statement of the Chronicler that Asa's conduct did not pass without prophetic rebuke (2 Ch. 16 7-10; on the details no stress can be laid). The situation of Asa was, it is true, difficult. By pushing his frontier to Ramah, Baasha threatened to reduce the kingdom of Judah to vassalage, for Ramah was only 4 m. from Jerusalem. The diversion caused by the Aramæan invasion removed this danger. Asa summoned 'all Judah' to the task of pulling down the fortifications executed by Baasha at Ramah, and with the material fortified Geba and Mizpah, the one a little to the NE., the other to the SW., of Ramah. It is quite another writer who tells us that Asa 'did that which was right in the eyes of Yahwè, like David his father' (1 K. 15 11). To the Deuteronomistic compiler matters affecting the cultus were more important than was political morality; a later writer, the Chronicler, has a much more complete justification (if it were but trustworthy) for his religious eulogy of Asa. The details of 1 K. 15 12-24 are dealt with elsewhere (see BAASHA, BENHADAD, § 2 (1), etc.).

Three other points alone, in the compiler's own statements, need to be referred to. The name of Asa's mother is given (7. 10) as 'Maacah (Θ[1] ανα), and she is called the daughter of Abshalom,' whilst in 7. 2 Maacah is the name of the mother of Abijah. Most probably 'Abshalom' in 7. 10 is a mistake for 'Uriel' (see 2 Ch. 13 2); but it is not altogether impossible to hold with Wellhausen that Abijah and Asa were brothers (cp MAACAH, ii. 4).

The second point is that in his old age, according to the compiler, Asa had a disease in his feet (1 K. 15 23). The Chronicler accepts this (doubtless traditional) statement, but gives it a new colour, partly by changing the date of the war between Asa and Baasha (on which see CHRONICLES, § 8, and WRS, *OTJC*[2] 197), partly by the remark (cp MEDICINE) that 'he sought not to Yahwè, but to the physicians' (2 Ch. 16 12). Whether the assumption that there was a class of physicians who treated diseases from a non-religious point of view is justifiable may be questioned.

The third point is a tantalising mention (1 K. 15 23) of 'all Asa's warlike deeds (וְכָל־גְּבוּרָתוֹ).' Is this, as Klostermann supposes, an allusion to the victory over that Cushite king, who, according to 2 Ch. 14 9-15 invaded Judah with a huge force, and came as far as Mareshah (see ZERAH, 5)? Or does not the compiler make the most of the achievements to which Asa, it is probable, could legitimately lay claim (cp 1 K. 15 23), not always with much benefit to his reputation?

2. Father of BERECHIAH, 2; 1 Ch. 9 16 (Οσσα [B]); omitted in Neh. 11 17. T. K. C.

ASADIAS (ACAΔIOY [B] CAΔAIOY [A], *'edei*), an ancestor of Baruch (Bar. 1 1); cp. HASADIAH.

ASAEL (Tob. 1 1, ACIHλ [BNA]; Itala, *Asihel*; Eth. *'Ez'hil*; Heb. versions עֲשִׂיאֵל, עֲשָׂאֵל), a name occurring in the genealogy in Tob. 1 1. The genealogy is omitted by the Aram. version, but given in a very regular form in the Heb. (ed. Neubauer). Itala, and N. The Greek texts, however, mark off Asiel (עֲשִׂיאֵל) from the other names by saying ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἀσιήλ, a distinction preserved in Vg. 'ex tribu et civitate Nephthali,' though the word Ἀσιήλ is omitted. They are, therefore, probably right also in their orthography, since, according to Gen. 46 24 Nu. 26 4 [AV], etc., Ἀσιήλ is a Naphtalite clan (see JAHZEEL). If this is so the name is עֲשָׂאֵל.

ASAHEL (עֲשָׂהאֵל, § 31; ACAHλ [BNA]; ACC. [L, but 1 Ch. 11 26 as in B]; ασαηλος Jos 1, youngest (? 2 S. 2 18) son of Zeruiah David's sister, and brother of Joab and Abishai. He was renowned for his lightness of foot (*ib.*). As in the case of his unfortunate cousin, almost all we know of him is the story (2 S. 2 19-25) of his death at the reluctant hands of ABNER (*q.v.*). 'There lacked of David's servants but nineteen men and Asahel' (*v.* 30); such is the statement of David's loss in the battle of Gibeon. With this special mention agrees the fact that his name stands first in the list of the 'thirty' heroes in 2 S. 23 and 1 Ch. 11 (but cp AMASAI). It is true another account is given in the new version of the list of

[1] It has been supposed (*e.g.* Ges. *Thes.*) that the name Arvad means 'Refuge.'

[2] Mr. Burkitt argues that Ασαφ, Asaph, 'was once the rendering of the LXX' for Asa, as σιωχ is for סִירָא Sira (*Cambridge University Reporter*, March 16 17, p. 600 *f.*). Cp. ASAPH, 4.

heroes in 1 Ch. 27 (*v.* 7), where we find Asahel commander of a division of David's army. The incomprehensibility of this statement with his death before David became king of Israel was obvious. The present text, accordingly, adds 'and Zebadiah his son after him,' for which $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$ has 'son *καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί*,' to which $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ adds *ὀπισω αυτο*.

1. An itinerant Levitical teacher temp. Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 8 (ασαηλ [BA], ασαφλ [L]).

2. An overseer of chambers in the temple temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 13).

3. 'Father' or ancestor of JONATHAN [13], temp. Ezra, Ezra 10 15 (ασηλ [B], σαη. [$\aleph^{*}$], $\aleph^{c}$A as in 1) = 1 Esd. 9 14, AZAEL (αζαηλος).

ASAHIAH (עֲשָׂהִיָּה), 2 K. 22 12 14, RV ASAIAH, 2.

ASAIAH (עֲשָׂיָה, § 31, 'Yahwè hath made'; ACAIA [BAL]).

1. One of the Simeonite chieftains who dispossessed the Meunim (see RV), 1 Ch. 4 34-41 (Ασια [B]).

2. 'King's servant' to Josiah, 2 K. 22 12, AV ASAHIAH (Ασαια [A], Αζαριας [L]), 14 (ασαιας [BA] αζαριας [L]) = 2 Ch. 34 20 (Ισαια [B], Ιωσιας [L]).

3. A Merarite family, 1 Ch. 6 30 [15] (Ασαβα [B]), 156 (Ασαι [B], ασαιας [A^{1}]), 11 (ασαιας [A]).

4. A Shilonite family, 1 Ch. 9 5 (Ασα [B]), probably same as (3), but cp MAASEIAH, n. 18 (Neh. 11 5).

ASANA (ACCANA [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 50, ASNAH.

ASAPH (אָסָף, an abbreviated name, § 50, ACAΦ [BAL]).

1. The father of Joah, the recorder, 2 K. 18 18 (ιωσαφατ [BA], ιωαχ υιος σαφαν [L]), 37 (σαφαν [B]) = Is 36 3, 22; but $\mathfrak{G}$ suggests the reading 'Shaphan' or 'Shaphat.'

2. The keeper of the royal 'paradise' or forest (probably in Palestine), Neh. 2 8 (ασαφατ [L], αδδαιος [Jos.]).

3. The eponym of the Asaphite guild of singers, Ezra 2 41 = Neh. 7 44, 1 Ch. 15 17 (only $\aleph^{c\,a}$L in $\mathfrak{G}$) 22 (ασαβ [BN]), 16 5, 37, 25 1 *f.*, and elsewhere, who is represented by the Chronicler as a seer (2 Ch. 29 30) and as a contemporary of David and Solomon, and chief of the singers of his time, Neh. 12 46, 1 Ch. 15 17 19 (Ασαβ [$\aleph$]), 16 5 (Ασαφ [$\aleph$]), 2 Ch. 5 12, etc.[2] On the later equation of Asaph with the Ar. Lokman and Gk. Æsop, cp *Story of Ahîkar*, lxxvii. *f.* Complicated as the history of these guilds is, we are able to see from Ezra 2 41 that at one time the terms 'b'ne Asaph' and 'singers' were identical, and that the singers were kept distinct from the Levites. The guilds of the b'ne Asaph and b'ne Korah were the two hereditary choirs that superintended the musical services of the temple. They do not seem to have been very prominent before the Exile. More important, however, was the triple division. This comprised the three great names of Asaph, Heman, and Ethan (or Jeduthun), which were reckoned to the three Levitical houses of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari (1 Ch. 6; see PSALMS). A still older attempt to incorporate the name among the Levites may, according to WRS, *OTJC*[2] 204, n. 1, be seen perhaps in the occurrence of the name ABIASAPH (*q.v.*), the eponym of the Asaphite guild, as a Korahite. Of the threefold division of singers a clear example may be seen in Neh. 12 24 where Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua, the chiefs of the Levites, are appointed to praise. Similarly, in Neh. 11 17 three singers are mentioned—Mattaniah, Abda, and Bakbukiah. Mattanah and Abda are descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun. 'Bakbukiah' we should correct to 'Bakkiah,' a son of Heman. Thus, each of the three great guilds finds its representative. See ETHAN, 2, HEMAN, JEDUTHUN.

The name Asaph occurs in the titles of certain Psalms (see PSALMS).

4. The best supported reading in Mt. 1 7 (*ασαφ* [Tischendorf, WH], cp RV[mg]; on this reading see ASA, footnote) where TR and EV have Asa. See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 *b*.

ASARA (ACAPA [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 RV; AV AZARA.

ASARAMEL, a name occurring in the inscription set up in honour of Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 14 28). The writing begins as follows:—'On the 18th day of Elul the 172nd year, this is the third year of Simon the high priest *εν σαραμελ* (so $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$, whence AV SARAMEL, *εν ασαραμελ* [$\aleph$V], *asaramel* [Vg.]) in a great congregation'—etc. It has long been recognised that this expression is a transliteration of some Hebrew word which stood in the original, as is the case with the difficult *ve'ethanan* in the title of this book (see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 1). By some it is taken to represent a place—*e.g.*, it might be a corruption of Jerusalem (Castellio)—or to represent the Heb. חֲצַר עַם אל, 'the court of the people of God'—*i.e.*, the great court of the temple (Keil; cp Ew. *Gesch.*[3] 4 438)—or חֲצַר מִלּא, the court of Millo (Grotius), or שַׁעַר עַם אל, 'the gate of the people of God.' It is better, however, to see in this expression an honorific title. From 1 Macc. 13 42 we see that contracts were dated from the first year of Simon 'the great high priest, and captain and leader of the Jews' (cp the titles given him in 14 47 and 15 1), and it seems natural that in an inscription written in honour of Simon we should find more than the simple title 'high priest.' (Cp the Pesh. ܪܫܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ, 'leader [or "great one"] in Israel'). Hence Asaramel is taken by many (Wernsdorf, Scholz, Grimm, Zockler, etc.) to represent שַׂר עַם אל, 'prince of the people of God.' The great difficulty would then lie in the presence of the preposition *ἐν*. This, however, may have been inserted by a copyist who supposed that the word was the name of a place not of a person.[1] Possibly *εν* is an integral part of the word, and we should read נְצֶר עַבְרִיאל, 'the sprout (cp Is. 11 1) of the people of God,' or, better, נְצַר עַם־אל, 'protector of the people of God' (cp *v.* 47).

ASAREEL, or, better, RV **Asarel** (אֲשַׂרְאֵל, § 67; cp אשריאל, and see AHAB, § 4, n. 5: ICEPAHλ [B], εc. [A] ACEPH. [L which adds *καὶ ιωαχειμ*]), 'son' of (the unknown) Jehaleleel (1 Ch. 4 16) and 'brother' of ZIPH (*q.v.*, 2), Ziphah and Tiria.

ASARELAH (אֲשַׂרְאֵלָה [Bi. Ginsb.], § 73; cp אשראל; εραλλ [B], ιεcιλλ [A], ACEIPHλλ [L]), 'son of Asaph' 1 Ch. 25 2; called Jesarelah, EV JESHARELAH (יְשַׂרְאֵלָה; *ισεριηλ* [B], *ισρεηλα* [A]) in *v.* 14.

ASBACAPHATH (ACBAKAΦAθ [B] in Pesh. the name is ܐܣܒܩܦܬ), 1 Esd. 5 69 RV[mg], AV (1611) **Asbazareth,** RV **Asbasareth** (ACBACAPEθ [A]), the name answering in 1 Esd. 5 69 $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$ to the Esarhaddon of Ezra 4 2 (which is reproduced by $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$, *αχορδαν*). The right reading is *ασβαφαθ*, which represents אסבפר. This is evidently an alternative to the reading אסנפר of Ezra 4 10, and it suggests that the writer of the gloss in Ezra 4 9 *f.* (see 'Ezra' in *SBOT*) found, not אסרחדן, but אסנפר, in his text of Ezra 4 2. So Marq. (*Fund.* 59); but, in connection with the difficult theory that the name originally given in Ezra 4 2 was אסרנן = סרגון, Sargon; see ASNAPPER.

ASCALON (ACKAλωN), 1 Macc. 10 86, etc., RV ASHKELON (*q.v.*).

ASCENT OF THE CORNER (עֲלִיַּת הַפִّנָּה; ANA

1 In 2 Ch. 34 15 $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ has *ασαφ* for שָׁפָן.

2 In 1 Ch. 26 1 $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ reads *Αβιαζαφαρ*, which corresponds very nearly to 1 Ch. 9 19 ($\mathfrak{G}$ *Αβιασαφ*). In 2 Ch. 29 13 $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ reads *Ασα*.

1 The prefixed *ἐν* is explained by Schürer (*GVI* 1 197, n. 17) as a corruption of *σεγεν* (סְגֶן), which corresponds to the Gr. *στρατηγός*. Renan's suggestion (*Hist. d'Isr.* iv. cap. 1 *ad fin.*) that *εν ασαραμελ* is a corruption of some *reish*, may be mentioned; in his view the expression is similar to those which Arabian authors often add to the names of persons.

MECON THC KAMTTHC [B]; ANABACEWC THC K. [NA]; THC A. T. ΓWNIAC [L]) Neh. 3 31 RV. See JERUSALEM.

ASEAS (ACAIAC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 32 = Ezra 10 31, ISSHIAH, 5.

ASEBEBIA, RV **Asebebias** (ACEBHBIAC [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 47 = Ezra 8 19, SHEREBIAH, 9.

ASEBIA (ACEBIAN [A]), 1 Esd. 8 47 AV, RV **Asebias** Ezra 8 19, HASHABIAH, 7.

ASENATH (אָסְנַת; ACENNEΘ [ADE], -ENE, [E]), ACCENEΘ [L], daughter of Potipherah, priest of On; wife of Joseph (Gen. 41 45 50 46 20). A genuine Egyptian name. See JOSEPH 1, § 4; and on the apocryphal 'Life of Asenath,' APOCRYPHA, § 12.

ASER, RV ASHER (AC HP [BA]), Tob. 1 2. See HAZOR, 1.

ASERER, RV SERAR (CEPAP [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 32 = Ezra 2 53, SISERA, 2.

ASH (אֹרֶן, ΠITYC), better RV **Fir-Tree**, seems to be named (Is. 44 14) as a tree used by makers of idols. If *oren* is genuine (see below) we may reasonably hold it to be the Assyrian *urin*—cedar or fir.

'Fir' is supported by the versions (πίτυς, *pinus*) and by the Rabbis (refs. in Ges. *Thes.*); Tristram's suggestion, *Pinus halepensis*, Mill, the Aleppo Pine (*NHB*, 335), is attractive. That Heb. *ōren* = Lat. *ornus* is improbable; אֹרֶן cannot be *Fraxinus ornus*, L., the Manna Ash, a native of S. Europe, not found farther E. than W. Asia Minor. Celsius (*Hierobotanicon*, i. 87 *ff.*) held אֹרֶן to be the *ausin* of Abulfadl, and the [illegible] tree' that he meant it is not difficult to make out. *Kitāb al-filāḥa* (leaves and dripping somewhat like *Sorbus Aucuparia*) is called *ausin*, *ausin* (*Ch. de Perse*, *Le Livre de l'Égypte*, 205), and that the little tree grows in Arabia, though not yet proved, is by [illegible] *urin*, which also might be the right of, [illegible] *Sorbus Aucuparia* more closely.

The reading, however, is uncertain. אֹרֶן occurs only in this passage, and a Mass. note calls attention to the 'small ן,' which seems to point to a reading אֵרֶז 'cedar.' Perhaps a better emendation would be אֵל ('God').

So Klo. and Che. (*SBOT*, Heb 138), following ☙. The word πίτυς is wanting in nearly all the best MSS (BRAQT) of ☙, and in others appears as a Hexaplaric addition with an asterisk. The text of the whole verse as it appears in ☙B and other MSS is simply—ἔκοψεν ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ὁ ἐξύτευσεν ὁ κύριος καὶ ὕετος ἐμηκυνεν (the Peshitta is even shorter, 'the wood that was cut down from the thicket, that by rain was nurtured'). Between ἔκοψεν and ξύλον Origen inserted in the Hexaplaric text this addition, from Aq. and Theod., ἑαυτῷ κέδρους, καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀγριοβάλανον καὶ δρῦν καὶ ἐκαρτέρωσεν αὐτῷ and similarly added πίτυν after ὁ κύριος; see Field's *Hexapla* in loc.).

N. M.—W. T.-D.

ASHAN (עָשָׁן; ACAN [BAL], ACENNA [A], ACANNA [L]), an unidentified site in the lowland of Judah, apparently in its most southern part (Josh. 15 42, ANWX [B], ACENNA [A], -CANN, [L]), assigned in Josh. 19 7 (ACAM [A]) to Simeon, and named among the priests' cities in 1 Ch. 6 59 [44] = Josh. 21 16 (where for MT עין, EV AIN, AIN [A], NAEIN [L], we should probably read עשן, Ashan; cp ☙B ACA; so Bennett in *SBOT*). Ashan may perhaps be the same as the BOR-ASHAN [*q.v.*], or CHOR-ASHAN (RV COR-ASHAN) of 1 S. 30 30, the site of some well or reservoir.

ASHARELAH (אַשַּׂרְאֵלָה, Bä. Ginsb.), 1 Ch. 25 2 RV, AV ASARELAH.

ASHBEA (אַשְׁבֵּעַ, § 42, for אַשְׁבֵּעַל?; ECOFA [BA], ACEBA [L]). The 'house of Ashbea' included 'the (Judahite) families of the house of those that wrought fine linen' (1 Ch. 4 21); or Beth Ashbea may be the name of their dwelling-place. Nothing further is known of this weaving guild.

ASHBEL (אַשְׁבֵּל, § 43; ACBHA [ADL]; ACABHAOC [Jos.]; Sam. אשבאל; gentile **Ashbelite**, Nu. 26 38 (אַשְׁבֵּלִי, ACYBHP[E] [BAF], -COYBHPI [L]), in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. β). Gen. 46 21 = Nu. 26 38 (ACYBHP [BAF], -COYB [L]) = 1 Ch. 8 1 (CABA [B]), apparently represented by JEDIAEL in 1 Ch. 7 6-11 (*q.v.*). Probably the name is a corruption of ISHBAAL (*q.v.*).

ASHCHENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז), Jer. 51 27 AV; RV ASHKENAZ, *q.v.*

ASHDOD, AZOTUS (אַשְׁדּוֹד, 'stronghold,' strongly founded' or perhaps 'man [men] of Dod, Dudu', cp ASHHUR, BUNE-BERAK?; AZWTOC [BAℵQT L], hence its name in Apocr., NT, etc.; gentile **Ashdodite**, AV **Ashdothite** אַשְׁדּוֹדִי, Josh. 15 46; (AZWTEOC [BAL], pl. fem. אַשְׁדּוֹדִית; Neh. 13 23 in Kr. אַשְׁדֹּדִית; AZWTIAC [BAL] -IAAC [ℵ]), a famous Philistine city some 2-3 m. from the Mediterranean coast, about half-way between Gaza and Joppa. It was one of the five confederated towns of the Philistines, and stood far above the others in importance—a pre-eminence due doubtless to its commanding position on the great military road between Syria and Egypt, at the spot where a branch of it leads off to Ekron and Ramleh. It survives in the modern *Esdud*, a miserable little village on a woody and beautiful height, to the W. of which, at an hour's distance, are still found the traces of a harbour now called Minet el-Kal'a.[1] JE assigns Ashdod to Judah (Josh. 15 47 *f.*, ασηδωθ, ασειεδωθ [B], ασδωμ [A, in 7 47 om.], εσδωδ [L]); but this statement clearly needs modification in view of Josh. 13 3 (D₂; cp 11 22, ασελδω [B], αδωθ [A], ασηδωθ [F], ασεδδωδ [L]), which is supported by the fact that Israel seems never to have subdued the Philistine stronghold (2 Ch. 26 6 is doubtful). In Samuel's time the ark was removed thither from Eben-ezer and placed in the temple of Dagon (1 S. 5 *f.*), whose cult was more particularly associated with Ashdod (cp 1 Macc. 10 83 11 4).[2] Ashdod is denounced by Amos with other Philistine towns for the infamous slave-raids upon Judah, and the same prophet alludes to it again in terms which show that in the middle of the eighth century it was a place of no little repute (3 9 [Egypt]). ☙BA reads 'Assyria,' against which (cp We., Now.; Aq., Sym., Theod. read Ashdod). Although unmentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser's campaign against Philistia and Phœnicia (cp Wi. *GIT* 122) it probably suffered at his hands. On the other hand, we are fortunately well-informed of its fate some years later in the siege alluded to in Is. 20 1 (711 B.C.).[3] As a commemorative record relates (cp *KIT*[2] 398 *f.*, *KB* 2 65 *f.*), Azuri (cp Heb. עזור, Azzur), king of Asdudu, had been superseded[4] by his brother Ahi-miti (cp Ahimoth, Mahath), who in turn was overthrown by the anti-Assyrian party (the Ha-at-ti)[5] in favour of Yamani (or Yavani = the Ionian?). Ashdod was besieged, not by Sargon, but, as the MT more correctly states, by his general or TARTAN (*q.v.*). This siege, as Is. 20 6 suggests, involved the surrounding peoples, and ultimately resulted in the flight of Yavani to the land of Muṣri, which belongs to Muluḫḫa, the district lying in N. Arabia, bordering on Edom (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*). The same tablet records the destruction of *Ir Ša-amtu* (*Ašdudimmu*), which, according to Schrader, is 'Gath of

[1] In early Christian times Ἄζωτος παράλιος and Ἄζωτος μεσογειος were distinct. Josephus sometimes speaks of Ashdod (Ant. viii. 6 1 [Jer. ix. 26, Jamnia]) as an inland town (cp Ant. xiv. 4 5 [Ptolemy]), at other times as a coast town (*Bell.* xiii. 15 4). There may have been a harbour here in the time of Sargon; cp above.

[2] Hence it has been conjectured that Dagan-takala in the Amarna tablets (*KB* 5 [illegible]) belonged to Ashdod.

[3] For the date, etc., cp Ch. *Isaiah*, 122 *f.*; Wi. *Alt. Ori.*, 142 *ff.*

[4] He had sought to ally himself with the surrounding kings against Assyria. Another inscription relates that the men of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab had sent presents to Pir'û, king of Muṣri, for a like purpose (cp *KB* 2 74 *f.*, and note).

[5] These Ha-at-ti of Ashdod seem to have been [illegible] to Muṣri (cp also Wi., "Muṣri, etc." in *MVG*, 1895, 1 16 *f.*).

the Ashdodites (cp 'Gath of the Philistines,' Am. 6 2, and for a wider use of Ashdod see below). Others (Del. *Par.* 289 *f.*, Wi. Che.) read as two names, and explain the latter as אשדוד ים — *i.e.*, the port of Ashdod (cp not. 1 below).

Ashdod soon regained its power, and in the following century the 'great city of Syria' (Herod 2 157) was besieged by Sennacherib for twenty-nine years, an allusion to which is seen in Jer. 25 20 (less probably also Zeph 2 4: see ZEPHANIAH, ii.). Further evidence of its independence may be seen in the mention of Ahi-mitti, king of Ashdod, temp. Esarhaddon (*AJT*[2] 355 *f.*).

The Ashdodites were allied with the Arabians and the Ammonites against the Jews of Jerusalem (Neh. 4 7 [1 8]), and Nehemiah, denouncing the foreign marriages, mentions the women of Ashdod (also of Ammon and Moab), whose offspring speak a degraded dialect called אשדודית (Neh 13 23 *f.*, αζωτιστ[ι]ι [BNAL]): cp the allusion in Zech. 9 6. The use of Ashdod in these passages is peculiar, and, if genuine, suggests that the name Ashdod comprised also the surrounding district (cp Schrader's explanation of *asdudimmu* above).[1]

Ashdod and its neighbourhood was ravaged by Judas (1 Macc. 5 68, cp 4 15), and in 147 B.C. his brother Jonathan defeated Apollonius there and burnt the temple of Dagon (1 Macc. 10 77 *ff.*, cp 11 4). John Hyrcanus burnt the towers in the surrounding fields after defeating Cendebæus (1 Macc. 16 10). In the time of Alexander Jannæus it belonged to Judæa (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 4); but it was separated from it under Ptolemy (Jos. *BJ* i. 7 7). In the NT it is mentioned only once, in connection with Philip's return from Gaza to Cæsarea (Acts 8 40). See Schur. *GVI* 2 67 *f.*, Wi. *GVI* 1 223 *f.*; and cp PHILISTINES.

S. A. C.

ASHDOTH-PISGAH (אשדות הפסגה) is uniformly translated, in RV, 'the slopes (*marg.* or springs) of Pisgah' (Dt. 3 17 4 49 [here also AV] Josh. 12 3 [on marg. note] 13 20); for ⊕'s readings see PISGAH. In like manner, the Heb. אשדות, rendered 'springs' in Josh. 10 40 12 8, is in RV 'slopes.' The declivities or shoulders of a mountain plateau, where it sinks sharply into the plain, are meant. The word is perhaps derived from אשד in the sense of 'pouring out';[2] the explanation usually given is that the Ashdoth are the line on the mountain-side where springs break forth. See PISGAH.

ASHER (אָשֵׁר; ACHP [BAL], ACH [A* Nu. 7 71], IACHB [B, Josh. 17 10]; Jos. ACHPOC; gentilic אֲשֵׁרִי **Asherite**), the eponymous head of the tribe of the same name. Unimportant for the history of Israel it is traced by the Yahwist to Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen. 30 12 *f.*). **1 Name and origin.** This tribe, perhaps more than the other Zilpah and Bilhah tribes (see ISRAEL, § 5), raises questions difficult to answer. Is the popular etymology (Gen. 30 13, probably also alluded to in the 'Blessings') correct, or does the name not rather point to some deity — in which case it is natural to connect it with the root אשר ('to be propitious,' whence the name of the Assyrian God Asur?[3] In what relation does Asher stand to a once somewhat important state called *Aseru*, *Asêru*, which occupied W. Galilee in the time of Seti I. and Ramses II. (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 236-91)? Did that ancient people to some extent throw in their lot with the invaders from the wilderness (cp HARNEPHER), or is Asher in the OT simply a geographical name for some Israelites who settled in a district already long known as Asher? Hommel (*AHT* 2 [illegible] 247) thinks that the Asherites were one of several Israelitish tribes which, before the time of Moses, had encamped in the district between Egypt and Judah (cp SHIHOR-LIBNATH) and that they are the Habiri referred to in the Amarna letters as having burst into Palestine from the south. Jastrow, on the other hand, inclines to identify the Habiri with the Asherite clan Heber (see below, § 4) and to connect the Asherite clan Malchiel with the followers of Milkili, the writer of several of the Amarna letters, while G. A. Barton suggests that the sons of Abd-aśirta (b'nê Ebed Aśerah), of whom we hear so much in the letters of Rib-Addi of Gebal, may have become an important constituent part of the OT tribe of Asher, so that it inherited their name in abbreviated form. That the OT Asherites were at all events not very closely bound to Israel is proved by our earliest historical notice of the tribe, according to which it took no interest in the rising against Sisera: 'Asher sat still at the shore of the sea, and abode by his creeks' (Judg. 5 17).[1] Moreover, that they were somewhat mixed up with older inhabitants appears clearly enough in Judg. 1 32. Whilst, therefore, the fertility ascribed in the 'Blessings of Jacob and Moses' to the district where Asher dwelt, although it at once suggests the popular etymology (see above), is known to have been really characteristic of the part of Galilee in question (see reff. in Dr. on Dt. 33 24, and cp BIRZAITH), we can hardly say how far the distinctness from the Phœnicians of the coast, apparently implied in *v.* 25 of the later Blessing, was an actual fact. On the other hand, the writer of the account of ISHBAAL (*q.v.*, 1) seems to have thought Asher worth mentioning as included in the Benjamite claim (see ASHTERITES, GESHUR, 1). It is not surprising in view of the prevailing vagueness, that the 'Blessing of Jacob' speaks of ZEBULUN in almost the same words that the Song of Deborah had applied to Asher, and that the 'Blessing of Moses' then associates ISSACHAR with Zebulun. Definite boundary there can hardly have been, whilst the distribution of the population must have changed somewhat from age to age. We need not wonder that the account of Asher's territory which the priestly compiler has given us in Josh. 19 24-31 (in which some scholars have found traces of JE) is unusually vague. **3. Boundaries.** Not many of the places can be identified with certainty. ALAMMELECH (Wâdy el-Melek), JIBLEAM-EL (Jefât), CABUL (Kabûl), KANAH (Kâna) have probably been identified, and possibly also EBRON (*i.e.*, ABDON, i.) and HAMMON, 1 (Umm el 'Amûd). UMMAH should probably be read Accho. SHIHOR-LIBNATH (*q.v.*) may perhaps be the Nahr ez-Zarkâ. MISHAL and HOSAH (*qq.v.*) are probably to be recognised in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions.

That Accho or Achzib or Sidon was ever included in an Israelitish tribe Asher, is a purely ideal conception, and the same is clearly true (Judg. 1 31 *f.*) of other cities in the list. For indications of an Aramæan element in the population (2 S. 10 6) see ARAM, § 5.

The tribe to the S. of Asher was Manasseh. In Josh. 17 11 we have a Yahwistic passage which is commonly interpreted as declaring that Dor lay within the limits of territory ideally assigned to Asher, although it really belonged to Manasseh. This interpretation gives support to the hypothesis that Shihor-Libnath (Josh. 19 26) is to be taken as the southern boundary of Asher, and to be identified with the river Zarka, which enters the sea almost midway between Dor and Cæsarea. If Asher really moved northwards from an earlier home

1 So in 1 Macc. 14 34 Gazara (in reality 17 m. to NE.) is 'upon the borders of Azotus'; cp also (doubtfully) 2 Ch. 26 6.

2 Delitzsch compares the Ass. *itdu*, pl. *itdûti*, the 'base' of anything (*Dwl.* 40; cp Dr. on *Dent.* 3 17).

3 Lenormant wrote, 'Asher, like Gad, is a god of good fortune, the consort of Asherah' (*Vergelijk. Gesch. van de Egypt. en Mesopotam. Godsdiensten*, 187[2], p. 542), and both parts of this statement may still be defended. So Che. *Proph.* (2d) 1 103 (on Is. 17 8). Cp Del. *Ass. HWB* 148. G. A. Barton (*JBL* 15 174 ['96]) suggests a connection with the divine name implied in the name Abd-aśirta referred to towards the end of § 1 (see ASHERAH, § 1). Jensen (*Hittiter u. Armenier*) offers proof that the name of the consort of the goddess Aśratu was Hadad or Rammân the storm-god. Had he also the title Aśir? Lastly G. H. Skipwith (*JQR* 11 241 ['99]) even suggests a connection between אשר and Osiris (the father of Horus; cp HARNEPHER).

1 On the statement in Judg. 6 35 7 23, that Asher took part in the conflict with Midian, see Moore, *ad loc.*

in S. Palestine (see above, § 1), traces or at least memorials of it may have long survived (see SHIHOR-LIBNATH). This would make it not quite so difficult to understand the account of P. even if it is a fact that he really brings Asher farther S. than Carmel (Josh. 19 26).

The linguistic peculiarities of the verse Josh. 17 11 support the suggestion of Dillmann (*Gött. Ges.*) that all that follows the word 'Asher' except 'the three heights' belongs really to vv. 12, taking the place there of the words 'those cities' (cp Judg. 1 27); [1] or we do not know what 'the three heights' are (though the context only might include 'the heights of Dor'; cp Josh. 11 2 12 23). There is, however, little historical importance in the question whether Dor is represented as belonging to Asher, since, as a matter of fact, it and the cities mentioned with it remained in the possession of the Canaanites or Phœnicians.

On the other three sides the territory of Asher is even less defined. According to Josh. 19 28, it was contiguous with Zebulun on the E., while according to v. 34 it stood in the same relation to Naphtali. It is difficult to bring it into relation with Issachar. In general, Asher must be regarded as the north-westernmost district connected with Israel, and as stretching indefinitely W. and N. and losing itself gradually amongst the Phœnicians of the coast.

(ii.) P's genealogy of Asher (given twice: Nu 26 44 probably the more original; Gen 46 17), which is to

4. Genealogies. produced in almost identical form by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 7 30 f.), is very simple, consisting probably of (primarily) the three clans, the Imnites (perhaps really Jamin, so 𝔊[BAL] in Nu. and perhaps 𝔊[B] in 1 Ch.), Ishvites (doubtful), and Beriites.

With the last mentioned are associated as secondary clans the Heberites (known as a Kenite name)[2] and the Malchielites (known as a personal name in the Amarna letters from S. Palestine) as 'sons,' and Serah (perhaps an Aram. name; root not found in Hebrew) as sister. There is no earlier mention, however, of any of these names in connection with Asher, though the first and third are well known in the central highlands of Palestine.

(iii.) To this simple genealogy the Chronicler appends (1 Ch. 7 31 *b*-40) a remarkable list of one Malchielite and over thirty Heberites - remarkable because the names are not of the distinctive type that abounds in the Chronicler. The list, if we remove certain textual corruptions,[3] looks as if it were meant to be schematic (*e.g.*, 3 sons and 4 × 3 grandsons, followed by some seventeen in the fourth, fifth, and sixth generations); but we cannot reach a text that inspires confidence. It must be remembered, however, that many of the names may well be foreign. Hanupher has been referred to above. The affinities of some of the names are worthy of note: note, *e.g.*, the remarkable groups Heber, Ithran, Jether; so also Beria, Shelesh = Shilsha of v. 37 (Shalisha? cp 𝔊[B]), Shual.

Lk. 2 36 speaks of a certain Anna as being of the tribe of Asher (but see GENEALOGIES, i. § 8).

2. Tob. 1 2 RV, AV ASER. See HAZOR, 1.

H. W. H.

ASHER (אָשֵׁר; ACHP [BAL]), a town on the southern border of Manasseh, mentioned in Josh. 17 7 (RV) in the following terms:—'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath which is before [*i.e.*, E. of] Shechem.' After this we are told that 'the border went along to the right hand [*i.e.*, to the S.], unto the inhabitants [*i.e.*, the district] of En-tappuah.' These statements must be taken in connection with the description of the N. border of Ephraim in 16 6, where the names which correspond to Asher and Michmethath are Michmethath and Taanath-Shiloh, and Taanath-Shiloh is stated to be E. of Michmethath. On the assumption that En-tappuah is SW. of Shechem (see TAPPUAH, 2), Asher must lie somewhere to the E. of Shechem, between Michmethath and Taanath-shiloh. Thus far we have proceeded on the theory that RV's reading is correct: it is in fact that of most scholars, including Dillmann and Kautzsch. The rendering seems, however, to need revision. [illegible] that MICHMETHATH (מִכְמְתָת) stands in 17 [illegible] proximity to Asher (without any connecting *waw*) and that it would be natural to distin[illegible] the better known one (with which indeed Ko[illegible] *PEFQu St.*, 1877, p. 45, actually confounds it by [illegible] the name of the district in which it was (cp 'Ko[illegible] Naphtali'), it seems probable that Michmethath is the name of a district, and that we should render [illegible] the accents and Targ., but in accordance with 𝔊[B]: 'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher of (the) Michmethath,' the starting-point alone being mentioned in the opening clause, as in 15 2 (so Reland, L. Schwan, Conder). The description in 17 7 will then exactly correspond to that in 16 6 in so far as Michmethath is the first point mentioned on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh. 'Asher of the Michmethath' might be some place in the N. of the district called 'the Michmethath.' If this district is the plain of *el Ṭîreh*, the two ruined places at once suggest themselves, now called the Upper and the Lower Ṭ[illegible] (to perhaps Gilgal in Nu. 34 19 f.). Here however no [illegible] preserve any traces of the ancient name. [illegible] and Jer. [illegible] 22 7 19 3 [illegible] suggest another identification. They refer to a place called Ashur, 15 K[illegible] from Ne[illegible] on the road to Scythopolis and Ceripolis, which points to [illegible] 1 K[illegible] in N. of [illegible], where the 15th K[illegible] stone has [illegible] been discovered (See [illegible] *Kit. Ed.*, 1895, p. 617 *f.*). *Teiasir* is now a mud hamlet but it succeeds a place of some importance. Rock-cut sepulchres abound (Guérin, *Sam.* 1 [illegible]). It is not probable, however, that Eus. and Jer. had a clear or correct view of the boundary line, and the transition from Asher to *Teiasir* is not an easy one. (The latter name seems to be the plur. of *taiyâr*, inf. 2 conj. of *yâtar*. So Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV* 16 2.) T. K. C.

ASHERAH, plur. **Asherim**, the RV transliteration of the Heb. אֲשֵׁרָה (pl. אֲשֵׁרִים, in three late passages אֲשֵׁרוֹת), a word which AV, following 𝔊 (ΑΛΣΟΣ [BAFL]) and Vg. (*lucus*), renders

1. The Ashera post. *grove, groves*. That this translation is mistaken has long been universally recognised. RV avoids the error by not translating the word at all; but, by consistently treating the word as a proper noun, it gives occasion to more serious misunderstanding.

The *Ashērā* was a wooden post or mast, which stood at Canaanite places of worship (Ex. 34 13; Judg. 6 25 and frequently), and, down to the seventh century, also, by the altars of Yahwé, not only on the high places, or at Samaria (2 K. 13 6) and Bethel (2 K. 23 15), but also in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23 6). The *ashera* is frequently named in conjunction with the upright stone or stele (*maṣṣēbā, ḥammān*; see MASSEBAH and IDOLATRY, § 4). The pole or post might be of considerable size (cp Judg. 6 25 *f.*); it was perhaps sometimes carved (1 K. 15 13),[1] or draped (2 K. 23 7), but the draping especially is doubtful. The shape of an *ashera* is unknown. Many Cypriote and Phœnician gems and seals representing an act of adoration show two (more rarely three) posts, generally of about the height of a man, of extremely variable forms,[2] which are supposed by many archæologists to be the *asheras* (and *maṣṣēbās*) of the OT (see PHŒNICIA). This is not improbable, though direct evidence is thus far lacking; but in view of the

1 'Dor' in Judg. 1 31 𝔊[BAL] is no objection, for it does not fit the context, and is probably simply an insertion based on the passage in Joshua.

2 Note that for Jehubbah (1 Ch. 7 34) 𝔊[B] reads κ. αβαβ *i.e.*, Hobab?

3 Ahi in v. 34 should certainly be 'his brother.' Probably Hotham (vv. 32) is a miswritten Helem (cp vv. 35), in which case 'sister' (*ûḥôthām*) in v. 32 may be a duplicate of Hotham. Ulla (v. 39), as it ought to resume some name already mentioned, may be a corruption of Shual, which we should perhaps restore for Shua in vv. 32.

1 'A shameful thing (Jewish tradition, *pḥal ʿaṣ*) was an ashera'; on 2 K. 17 [illegible] see below.

2 See [illegible] *Cult. of Vithra*, 1847 *f.*; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1893, where a great many of these pieces are collected. Similar figures are found on Assyrian reliefs, and on Carthaginian *cippi*. We may compare the Egyptian *dedu* column (at Busiris), the Indian sacrificial post (Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 61), the so-called 'totem-posts' of the N. American Indians, etc. See in general Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, 2 370 *ff.*, and Jevons, [illegible]

great variety of types, and the age and origin of the figures in question, it can hardly be confidently inferred that the *asheras* of the Old Canaanites and Israelites were of similar forms. The representations do not give any [illegible] to the theory that the *ashera* was a phallic emblem.

It is the common opinion that the *ashera* was originally a living tree (*Sifre*, on Dt. 12 .. *Yoma sara*, fol. 4[illegible]).

2. Not a tree. [illegible] (cp Dt. on Dt. 16 21), for which the pole or mast was a conventional substitute.[1] [illegible] very [illegible]. The sacred tree had in Hebrew a specific name of its own (*el*, *ēlā*, *ēlōn*, *ōr*, with a different and perhaps artificial pronunciation *allōn*), which would naturally have attached to the artificial representative *ashera*; nor is it easy to explain, upon this hypothesis, how the [illegible] came to be set up beneath the living tree (2 K. 17 10). The only passage in the OT which can be cited in support of the theory is Dt. 16 21: 'Thou shalt not plant thee an asherah of any kind of tree (RV), beside the altar of Yahwe thy God,' or, more grammatically, 'an *ashera* any kind of tree' (כל עץ אשרה). As, however, in the seventh century the *ashera* was certainly not ordinarily a tree, this epexegesis would be very strange. In the context, whether the words in question be original or a gloss, we expect, not a restriction of the prohibition such as this rendering in effect gives us, but a sweeping extension of it. We must, therefore, translate, 'an *ashera* any wooden object.'[2]

It does not appear from the OT that the *asheras* [illegible] exclusively to the worship of any one deity. [illegible] (Ophrah, Judg. 6 25) was sacred to Baal; the [illegible] of the law (Dt. 16 21 *f.*) are sufficient proof that they were erected to Yahwe;[3] nor is there any reason to think that those at Bethel, Samaria, and Jerusalem were dedicated to any other god. The assertion [illegible] made, that in the religion of Canaan [illegible] to be made, the *asheras* to [illegible] is supported by no proof whatever.

From certain passages in the OT especially Judg. 3 7, 1 K. 18 19, 2 K. 23 4,[4] it has been thought that there was

3. A goddess? also a Canaanite goddess Ashera, whose symbol or idol was the *ashera* post. Since in the places cited the names of Baal and Ashera are coupled precisely as those of Baal and Astarte are elsewhere (Judg. 2 13, 10 6, 1 S. 7 4 [G^BAL τὰ Ἀσταρώθ], 12 10 [G^BAL τοῖς Ἀστάρταις]), many scholars have inferred, further, that Ashera was only another name or form of the great Semitic goddess, Astarte (Theodoret, *Quæst.* 55 *in iv. Reg.*, Selden, Spencer, etc.); whilst others attempt in various ways to distinguish them—*e.g.*, Astarte, a pure celestial deity, Ashera, an impure 'telluric' divinity (Movers); or the former a goddess of the Northern Canaanites, the latter of the Southern (Tiele, Sayce). Conservative scholars such as Hengstenberg, Bachmann, and Baethgen, however, have contended that in the passages in question the symbol of Astarte is merely put by metonymy for the name of the goddess; and many recent critics[5] see in these places only a confusion (on the part of late writers) of the sacred post with the goddess Astarte.[6] A critical examination of the passages makes it highly probable

[1] See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc., Pl. lxxxiv. 3 and 7, where in [illegible] similar relation to the sacred post (supposed [illegible]) [illegible] the pole of a cypress tree.

[2] עץ is not [illegible] also a *stick* (Dt. 21 22 and often). That the trees designated [illegible] Phœnicians, etc., were called *asheras* (Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, [illegible]) is merely inferred from the OT.

[3] The condemnation is based, not on the fact that the presence of the sacred symbols presumes the worship of other gods, but on the principle that Israel shall not worship Yahwe as the Canaanites worship their gods (Dt. 12 2 *ff.*).

[4] In 2 K. 21 7, 'the image of the *ashera*,' the word *image* is a gloss; cp 23 4 and 2 Ch. 33 7. On 1 K. 15 13 and 2 K. 23 7, see [illegible]. In 1 K. 18 19 the 400 prophets of *Ashera* are interpolated (We., Klo., Dr.).

[5] We., G. Hoffmann, E. Mey., St., WRS, and others.

[6] This confusion is found in a still greater measure in the versions.

that in the OT the supposed goddess Ashera owes her existence only to this confusion. In the Amarna correspondence, however, there is frequent mention of a Canaanite who bears the name Abdi-asratum, equivalent to Heb. 'Ebed-ashēra, sometimes with the divine determinative, *-ilu*. 'Servant of (the divine) *Ashera*' has not unnaturally been regarded as conclusive evidence that a goddess Ashera was worshipped in Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C.[1] The determinative might here signify no more than that the *ashera* post was esteemed divine, a fetish, or a cultus god, as no one doubts that it was in OT times; cp Phœnician names such as 'Ebed-susim, 'Servant of (the sacred) horses' (CIS i. 46, 49, 53, 933, etc.), or 'Ebed-hosal, 'Servant of Jackal' (G. Hoffmann), which might in Assyrian writing have the same determinative; further, Assyr. *ekallu*, 'temple, sanctuary,' in pl. sometimes 'deities' (D. *HWB* 71 *b*). The name of the 'goddess *Asirat*' however, occurs in other cuneiform texts, where this explanation seems not to be admissible: Nin, on a hæmatite cylinder published by Sayce (*ZA* 6 161), an astronomical work copied in the year 138 B.C., published by Strassmaier (*ZA* 6 241, l. 9 *ff.*); and in a hymn published by Reisner (*Sumer.-Baby. Hymnen*, 92) in the last in connection with a god *Amurru*, which suggests that the worship may have been introduced from the West. See Jensen, 'Die Götter *Amurru* (*Martu*) und *Asirtu*' (*ZA* 11 [illegible]).

The word *ashera* occurs also in an enigmatical Phœnician inscription from Ma'sub, which records a dedication 'to the Astarte in the *asera* of 'Ebhammon' (G. Hoffmann); where it is at least [illegible] that *asera* cannot be the name of a deity. The most natural interpretation in the context would be 'in the sacred precincts.' In an inscription from Citium in which the word was formerly read (Schroeder, *ZDMG* 35 424, 'mother Ashera'; *contra*, St. *ZATW* 1 [illegible] *f.*; cp Mey. in Roscher, 287 [illegible]), the reading and interpretation are insecure (see *CIS* i. no. 13). Cp PHŒNICIA.

The etymology and the meaning of the word are obscure. The most plausible hypothesis perhaps is that

4. Etymology. *ashēra* originally denoted only the *ugnim*, posts set up to mark the site or the boundaries of the holy place (G. Hoffmann, *l.c.* 20). The use of the word in the Ma'sub inscription for the sacred precincts would then be readily explained, and also the Assyrian *asirtu* plur. *asirāti* (*asrāti*), defined in the syllabaries as meaning 'high place, oracle, sanctuary.' In any case, *ashēra* is a *nomen unitatis*, and its gender has no other than a grammatical significance.

For some further questions connected with the prophetic opposition to the use of *asheras* in the worship of Yahwe and the prohibition in the laws, see IDOLATRY, § 8.

The older literature is cited under ASTARTE [*q.v.*]. For recent discussion see We. (*CH* 231 *f.* note; St. (*GVI*) 458 *ff.*, cp *ZATW* 1 48, 4 293 *ff.*, 6 118 *f.*; G. Hoffmann, *Über einige pun. Inschriften*, 20 *ff.*; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 187 *ff.*. On the other side, Schr. *ZA* 3 364. Reference may be made also to Baethgen, *Beitr.* 212 *ff.*; and to Collins, *PSBA* 11 201 *ff.*, who endeavours to show that the *ashera* was a phallic emblem sacred to Baal.

G. F. M.

ASHES (אֵפֶר, of uncertain derivation) is used in various figures of speech typifying humiliation, frailty, nothingness, etc.: *e.g.*, to sit in, or be covered with, ashes (Job 2 8, cp Ez. 27 30, Lam. 3 16), to eat ashes (Ps. 102 10), to follow after ashes (Is. 44 20, Che. *ad loc.*, cp Hos. 12 11). To throw ashes on the head (2 S. 13 19, Is. 61 3), or to wear ashes and sackcloth (Dan. 9 3, Esth. 4 1, Jonah 3 6; cp Mt. 11 21, Lk. 10 13), was a common way of showing one's grief; see MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1. The combination 'dust and ashes' (עָפָר וָאֵפֶר; cp also DUST [1] as found in Gen. 18 27, Job 42 6, cp Eccles. 10 9)—made the striking assonance אֵפֶר תַּחַת פְּאֵר Is. 61 3, 'instead of ashes a coronal'; cp Ewald's 'Schmuck statt

[1] Schr. *ZA* 3 364, and many. The name is once written with the common ideogram for the goddess Ištar (Br. Mus. 33 obv. 1. 3).

Schmutz [illegible] Proverbs [illegible] wood [illegible] and only in [illegible] on the east side of [illegible] outside the camp [illegible] Pl. [illegible]

It is not worthy that [illegible] the [illegible] see [illegible] ashe[illegible] ing, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

rezzar (Dan. 1 3). The current explanations are untenable,[1] and the cause is obvious. The name is corrupt, and has been brought into a delusive resemblance to Ashkenaz. An earlier form of the name, equally corrupt, and brought into an equally delusive resemblance to an ancient Hebrew name, is Abiezri אביעזרי; see ABIEZER, 1; this is the form adopted by **𝔊**. What is the original name concealed in these two apparently dissimilar forms? **𝔊** enables us to discover it by its reading, evidently more nearly accurate than that of MT in Dan 1 11 καὶ εἶπεν Δανιὴλ Ἀριεσδρὶ τῷ ἀναδειχθέντι ἀρχιευνοῦχῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανιήλ. . . . The MT indeed, in vv. 11 16, represents Daniel as communicating with a third person called Melzar, or 'the Mel'ar'; but a comparison of vv. 17-19 18 shows that this representation must be incorrect. It was the 'prince of the eunuchs' that Daniel must have addressed in v. 11; a slight transposition and a change of one point are indispensable (see MELZAR). We have now, therefore, four forms to compare; (*a*) אביעזרי, (*b*) אשכנז, (*c*) ריבלצר, and (*d*) כשיצר[2] (Pesh. in v. 11). Of these, (*a*), (*c*), and (*d*), virtually agree as to the last two letters (if in *a* we neglect the final י, which is n.), recognised in Syro-Hex. or by Ephrem). These letters are צר. Next, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) agree as to the presence of a labial; the first two are for a mute, the others for a liquid. Also (*b*) and (*c*) attest a ש or a ס, and (*a*) and (*d*) a ש, which might be a fragment of a ס, while (*c*) and (*d*) present us with a ב, of which the *y* in (*a*) looks like a fragment. Next, (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) attest an א or a ה, and lastly, (*a*), (*c*), and (*d*) agree as to ר. The almost inevitable conclusion is that the name of the chief eunuch was בלשאצר, commonly pronounced Belshazzar. This is not the only occasion on which the name Balsarezer (= Belshazzar) has suffered in transmission (see BELSHAN, SAREZER). T. K. C.

ASHRIEL (אשריאל), 1 Ch. 7 14 AV, RV ASRIEL.

ASHTAROTH (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת—*i.e.*, Ashtoreth in her different representations; -ΑϹΤΑΡΩΘ [BAL], -ΤΑΡΩ. [B^b Josh. 9 10], ΑϹΘΑΡΩΜ [A Josh. 13 31]; the adjective is **Ashterathite**, עַשְׁתֹּרָתִי, ο ΑϹΤΑΡΩΘ[ϵ ι] [BA] ΘϵϹΤ. [L], ϵϹΘΑΡΩΘι [L], 1 Ch. 11 44). **Ashteroth Karnaim** (עַשְׁתָּרֹת קַרְנַיִם; ΑϹΤΑΡΩΘ ΚΑΡΝΑΙΝ [A], -ΤΕΡ. ΚΑΙΝ. [F]) *i.e.*, 'Ashtaroth of the two horns'? —'Ashtaroth of (= near) Karnaim'?) in Gen. 14 5,[3] and **Be-eshterah** (בְּעֵשְׁתֵּרָה, *i.e.*, בֵּית עֶשְׁתֵּרָה, or 'house of Astarte'; ΒΟϹΟΡΑΝ [B], -ΡΡΑ [L], ΒϵϵΘΑΡΑ [A]) in Josh. 21 27, but עַשְׁתָּרוֹת simply in Dt. 1 4 Josh. 9 10 12 4 13 12 31, where it appears, along with Edrei, as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan; and in 1 Ch. 6 56 [71] (ΑϹΗΡΩΘ [B] ΡΑΜΩΘ [A^a]) as a Levitical city. Then, in Am. 6 13 (Gratz's restored reading) we have Karnaim as the name of a city E. of the Jordan taken by Israel, and in 1 and 2 Macc. Karnaim or Karnion as a city in Gilead with a temple of ATARGATIS [*q.v.*] attached to it. The lists of Thotmes III. (*circa* 1650 B.C.) contain an 'A-s-ti-r-a-tu (*KB*^[2] 5 45; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 162, 313; cp Ashtarti, Bezold and Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tabl. in Brit. Mu.* 43, 64). Whether these names represent one place or two places is, on the biblical data, uncertain.

1. References.

It is significant, however, that Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*[2] 209 6[1] 84 5 268 98[2] 108 17) record the existence in their day in Batanea of two places called Astaroth-Karnaim, 'which lay 6 R. m. apart, between Adara (Edrei) and Abila' of the Decapolis; one of them, 'the city of Og,' (say) 6 R. m. from Edrei, the other 'a very large town of Arabia [in which] they show the house of Job': and in the *Peregrinatio* of S. Silva of Aquitane (4th cent.) Carneas is mentioned as the place where she saw Job's house. Now, at the present day there is a *Tell 'Ashtarah* on the Bashan plateau, on the W. of Hauran, 21 m. E. of the Lake of Galilee (long. 36° 1', lat. 32° 50' N.), 1000 ft. above the sea; and 2 m. N. lies El-Merkez, where the tombs of Job and his wife are shown, and there was the ancient Christian monastery of Job, while 1 m. farther N., at Sheikh Sa'd, is a basalt monolith, with Egyptian figures, known as Job's stone (see Erman, *ZDPV* 15 205-211). In this neighbourhood, then, must have lain one of the Ashtaroths of the *OS*. It does not suit the datum of the latter 'between Adara and Abila'; but this may be one of the not infrequent inaccuracies of the *OS*. From this Ashtaroth Eusebius places the other 6 R. m. distant. Now, 6 R. m. S., near the W. el-Ehrer (the upper Yarmuk), lies Tell el-Ash'ari, which some (like van Kasteren) take as the second Ashtaroth.[3] This, Buhl (*Geog.* 249) prefers to find 8 R. m. S. of Tell 'Ashtarah in Muzeirib, the great station on the *Hajj* road, with a lake and an island with ruins of pre-Mohammedan fortifications. A market has been here since the Middle Ages, and the place must have been important in ancient times. Moreover, it suit another datum of the *OS*. in lying about 6 R. m. from Edrei.

2. The OS sites.

Much more difficult is the question of identifying any of these sites, or the two Ashtaroths of the *OS*., with the corresponding names of OT. Names in this part of Palestine have always been in a state of drift. That Tell 'Ashtarah is the 'Ashteroth Karnaim of Gen. 14 5 or the 'Ashtaroth of other texts has in its favour, besides its name, the existence of a sanctuary, even though this has been transferred in Christian times to Job. On the other hand, Muzeirib must have been of too great importance not to be set down to some great place-name of the OT; and its accessibility from Edrei suits the association, frequent in the OT, of the latter with Ashteroth. As to the Karnaim of 1 Macc. 5 26 (which, of course, is the same as the Karnaim of Am. 6 13), it cannot have been Muzeirib, as Buhl contends, for in such a case the lake would certainly have been mentioned in connection with the assault of Judas upon it (a lake is mentioned near Caspis or CASPHON [*q.v.*] which Judas took previously); and in 2 Macc. 12 21 Karnion is said to be difficult to get at διὰ τὴν πάντων τῶν τόπων στενότητα. This does not suit Muzeirib, or Tell 'Ashtarah, or Sheikh Sa'd. Furrer, therefore, has suggested for Karnion *Ḳrên* or *Grên*, the Agraena of the Romans, in the inaccessible *Lejā*. Till the various sites have been dug into and the ancient name of Muzeirib is recovered, however, we must be content to know that there was an 'Ashteroth Karnaim near *Tell 'Ashtarah*, and that possibly there was a second site of the same name in the same region in OT times.

3. OT sites.

On the whole subject see especially *ZDPV* xiii. xiv. and xv., Schumacher, *Across the Jordan* (203-210), and Buhl, *Stud. zur Topogr. des N.Ostjordanlandes*, 13 *ff.*, *Pal.* 248-255; also Moore, *JBL* 16 155 *ff.*, and, for an Egyptological explanation of the name 'Ashteroth of the two horns,' WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 162, 313.

G. A. S.

[1] For example, Halevy compares Pers. *asbanj*, 'hospitium' (*Z. As.*, 1888, 22[?] 63); Nestle too explains 'hospes' from the Armenian (*Marg.* 38). Frd. Del. and Schr. offer no explanation.

[2] If we adopt the form כשיצר, a slight difference in the summation will be the result.

[3] Here it is described as the abode of the Rephaim at the time of the invasion of Chedorlaomer. Or were there two neighbouring cities? Kuenen, Buhl, and Siegfr.-St. read 'Ashtaroth *and* Karnaim' 'claiming **𝔊**L as on their side. Probably, however, the right **𝔊** reading is Ασταρωθ Καρναιν [AL] (see Nestle, *Marg.*). Moore explains 'the Astarte of the two-peaked mountain'; see especially G. F. Moore, *JBL* 156 *ff.* ['97]), and cp col. 336, n. 1.

ASHTORETH (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת), a goddess of the Canaanites

[1] *Sub* Αστ. Καρναειν. [2] *Sub* Καρναειμ.

[3] So Schumacher. 'The double peak of the southern summit of *Tell el-'Ashtarah*, formed by the depression running from N. to S., would make the appellation of Karnaim, or "double-horned," extremely appropriate' (*Across Jordan*, 208). In a Talmudic discussion as to the constructions for the Feast of Booths it is said that Ashteroth Karnaim was situated between two mountains which gave much shade (*Succa*, 2*a*; cp. Neub. *Géog.* 240). Many regard this statement as purely imaginative.

and Phœnicians. The Massoretic vowel-pointing, which is followed by EV, gives the word the vowels of *bōsheth*, 'scandalous thing' (cp Molech for Melek); the true pronunciation, as we know from the Gr. Ἀστάρτη (so even $\mathfrak{G}^{BAL}$; alongside of αστα[illegible] [BAL]) and from Augustine,[1] was 'Ashtart.' In the OT the name in the plural (the *'Ashtōth*) is coupled with the Baals, in the general sense, 'the heathen gods and goddesses'[2] a usage with which the Assyrian *ilani u-ashtarat* is compared. Solomon is said to have built on the Mt. of Olives (1 K. 11 5, cp 33) for the Phœnician 'Ashtart a high place, which was destroyed more than three centuries later by Josiah (2 K. 23 13).

1. Name.

Of the character of this goddess and her religion we learn nothing directly from the OT. Her name does not occur either in the prophets or in historical texts in any other connections than those cited above; it is nowhere intimated that the licentious characteristics of the worship at the high places were derived from the cultus of Astarte. The weeping for Tammuz (Ez. 8 14), which Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome identify with the Phœnician mourning for Adonis (so $\mathfrak{G}^{Vg}$), was more probably a direct importation of the Babylonian cult.[3] This is doubtless true also of the worship of the 'Queen of Heaven' (Jer. 7 1 [$\mathfrak{G}^{BAQ}$ τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ], 44 17 *ff.*), whatever the name may mean (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN). The law which forbids women to wear men's garments, or men women's (Dt 22 5), may be aimed at obscene rites such as obtained in the worship of many deities in Syria and Asia Minor, but need not refer specifically to the cult of Astarte.

2. Character.

Many inscriptions from the mother-country and its colonies, as well as the testimony of Greek and Latin writers, prove the prominent place which the worship of Astarte had among the Phœnicians; Egyptian documents place the 'Ashtart of the Hittite country' by the side of the 'Sutech of Heta,' the principal male divinity; the Philistines deposited Saul's armour as a trophy in the temple of 'Ashtart (1 S. 31 10 $\mathfrak{G}^{BAL}$ το αστα[illegible]ον), perhaps the famous temple at Ashkelon of which Herodotus writes (I 105);[4] the stele of Mesha, king of Moab (9th cent. B.C.), tells how he devoted his prisoners to Ashtar-Chemosh; a city in Bashan often mentioned in the OT bears the name Ashtaroth (cp also Ashteroth Karnaim, Gen. 14 5, and Beeshterah, Josh. 21 27; see ASHTAROTH). 'Ashtart was worshipped in Babylonia and Assyria under the name Ištar (considerable fragments of her myth have been preserved); in Southern Arabia as 'Athtar (masc.); in Abyssinia as 'Astar;[5] in Syria as 'Atar or 'Athar (in proper names: cp ATARGATIS [*q.v.*] = Derceto). The Arabs are the only Semitic people among whom we do not find this deity; and even here it is possible that al-Lāt and al-'Uzza were originally only titles of Astarte. The normal phonetic changes in the word show that the worship of Astarte did not spread from one of these peoples to the others, but was common to them before their separation. The fem. ending is peculiar to the Palestinian branch of the race, and, as has been observed, in Southern Arabia 'Athtar was a god, not a goddess.

3. Varying forms.

Unlike Baal, Astarte is a proper name; but under this name many diverse divinities were worshipped. The Ištar of Arbela was recognised by the Assyrians themselves as a goddess different from the Ištar of Nineveh; the Ištar of Agadê from the Ištar of Uruk (see ASSYRIA, § 6, BABYLONIA, § 26). The inscription of Eshmunazar shows that more than one 'Ashtart had a temple in Sidon; and we know many others. Whether those differences are only the consequence of natural divergence in the worship of the primitive Semitic deity, in the immense tract of time and space, or, as is altogether more probable, in great part due to the identification of originally unconnected local *numina* with Astarte, the result is the same:[1] there were many Astartes who were distinguished from one another by character, attributes, and cultus—a class of goddesses rather than a single goddess of the name.[2]

4. Character.

Astarte was often the tutelary divinity of a city, its 'proprietress' (*ba'alath*); and then, of course, its protectress and champion, a warlike goddess. On the other hand, she was a goddess of fertility and reproduction, as appears strikingly in the myth of the descent of Ištar. These two characters might be attributed to different Astartes, as among the Assyrians (cp the Aphrodites); but they might also coexist in one and the same goddess, and this is doubtless the older conception.

The figures from Babylonia and Susiana, as well as from Phœnicia and Cyprus, which are believed to represent Astartes, express by rude exaggeration of sexuality the attributes of the goddess of generation.[3] That the cultus-images of Astarte were of similar types is not probable. At Paphos she was worshipped in a conical stone, and many representations show the evolution from this of a partially iconic idol.

In the astro-theology of the Babylonians the planet Venus was the star of Ištar. It is a common but ill-founded opinion that in Palestine Astarte was a moon goddess. The name of the city, Ashteroth Karnaim, is often alleged in support of this theory. Even if the translation, 'the horned Astarte,' be right, however, it is a very doubtful assumption that the horns represented the crescent moon: it is quite as natural to think of the horns of a cow or a sheep, or of an image of the goddess made after an Egyptian type (see EGYPT, § 13);[4] and it is a still more unwarranted assumption that Astarte was elsewhere in Palestine represented in the same way. It would be a much more logical inference that the horns were the distinctive attribute of this particular Astarte.[5] The other testimony to the lunar character of Astarte is neither of an age nor of a nature to justify much confidence (*De dea Syr.* 4; Herodian, v. 6 4). The point to be insisted on is that the widely accepted theory that Astarte was primarily a moon goddess, by the side of the sun god, Baal, has as little foundation in the one case as in the other.

In Dt. 7 13 'the *'ashtarōth* of the flocks' are parallel to the 'offspring of the herds,' from which it has been ingeniously argued that among the nomadic Semites Astarte was a sheep-goddess (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 310, and 469 *ff.*); but this also seems hazardous.

5. Cultus.

Of the cultus of Astarte we know comparatively little. Religious prostitution (Hdt. I 199; Strabo XVI. 1 20; Ep. Jerem. 42 *f.* [Bar. 6 42 *f.*]; *De dea Syr.* 6, etc.) was not confined to the temples of Astarte, nor to the worship of female divinities. Nu. 25 1-5 connects it with Baal-peor; Am. 2 7 Dt 23 18 (17), etc., show that in Israel similar practices infected even the worship of Yahwè. There is no doubt, however, that the cultus of Astarte was saturated with these abominations.

[1] *Quæst. 16 in Iud.*, Estart, Astart. Confirmatory evidence is given by the Egyptian inscription.

[2] Judg. 2 13 10 6 1 S. 7 4 ($\mathfrak{G}^{BAL}$ τὰ ἄλση) 4 12 10 ($\mathfrak{G}^{BAL}$ τοῖς ἀνάθεμα), all belonging to the later elohistic (E_2) or deuteronomic sch[illegible].

[3] The identification of Tammuz with Adonis is found also in Melito (Cureton, *Spicil.* 28). The connection of the myths is unquestioned. See TAMMUZ.

[4] It is, of course, not to be inferred that the Philistines worshipped Astarte before they invaded Palestine. The temple was an old Canaanite sanctuary.

[5] Halevy's discovery is confirmed by the recent publication of the Axum inscriptions.

[1] In the period from which most of our monumental evidence comes, still another cause must be recognised: syncretism with the Egyptian religions (see EGYPT, § 16).

[2] This use predominates in Hebrew, which has, indeed, no other word for 'goddess'; but, as has been remarked above, it is found in Assyrian also.

[3] Heuzey, *Rev. Archéol.* xxxix., 188[illegible], p. 1 *ff.*; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc. On the origin of this type see, however, S. Reinach, *Rev. Archéol.* 3 sér. 29, 1 [illegible], p. [illegible].

[4] Cp the representation of Baalat of Byblos, C.I.S. I 1, Pl. I.

[5] On Ashteroth Karnaim see [illegible]

The origin and the meaning of the name are obscure; but this is hardly a sufficient reason for supposing that the most universally worshipped of Semitic divinities was of non-Semitic extraction (see Haupt, *ZDMG* 34 75[b]). The relation between Astarte and Aphrodite is an interesting and important question, upon which we cannot touch here.

Literature.—Selden, *De Dis Syris*, syn. ii. ch. 2; Movers, *Phönizier*, i. 58-65; Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern*, 259-301; Baudissin, art. 'Astarte und Ascherа' in *PRE*[3] 2 147-161 (where the lit. in full may be found); Baethgen, *Beitr. zur semit. Religgesch.*, 1888; E. Meyer, art. 'Astarte' in Roscher's *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Myth.* 645-655, in part corrected by his art. 'Baal,' *ib.* 2867 *ff.*; Barton, 'Ashtoreth and her Influence in the OT,' *JBL* 10 71 *ff.*; 'The Semitic Ishtar-cult,' *Ib. ibid.* 9 133-165 10 1-74. See also Driver's very comprehensive article in Hastings, *DB*.

G. F. M.

ASHUR (אַשֻּׁחוּר), 1 Ch. 2 24 AV, RV ASHHUR.

ASHURITES, THE (הָאַשּׁוּרִי, ΤΟΝ ΘΑϹΕΙΡΕΙ [B], ΘΑϹΟΥΡ [A], ΕΖΡΙ [L]; 'Jezreel' follows]), are mentioned in 2 Sam. 2 9[b] among various clans subject to the authority of Ishbaal. Peshi. Vg. read הַגְּשׁוּרִי, the Geshurites, which is accepted by some (see GESHUR), while others (Kamph. Ki. Klo. Gr.) follow the Targ. (עַל דְּבֵית אַשֵּׁר, cp Θ[ᵐⁿ]) and read הָאֲשֵׁרִי (cp Judg. 1 32) *i.e.*, 'the Asherites,' whose land lay to the W. of Jordan above Jezreel, which is mentioned next, the enumeration proceeding from N. to S.

ASHVATH (עַשְׁוָת; ΑϹΕΙΘ [BA], -ϹΟΥΑΘ [L]), in a genealogy of ASHER (7 . . § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 33[b].

ASIA (Η ΑϹΙΑ [Tᵒ WH]). Great uncertainty prevailed during the apostolic period as to the usage of the names of the districts of Asia Minor. The boundaries of several of the districts had long been uncertain—those between Mysia and Phrygia were proverbially so (Strabo, 564). This confusion arose from the fact that the names denoted ethnological rather than political divisions, and belonged to diverse epochs. They are like geological strata which are clear enough when seen in section but impossible to disentangle when represented on a single plane. A further complication arose when the Romans imposed upon the country the provincial system. The official nomenclature was applied without any account being taken of the older history or of ethnical facts or popular usage. In the case of Lycia, Bithynia, or Pamphylia there was no distinction of any moment between the old and the new usage; but in the case of Galatia and Asia the difficulty of distinguishing the precise sense of the names is very great.

The province of Asia was formed in 133-130 B.C. when Attalus III. of Pergamus left his kingdom by will to Rome; the name Asia had early come into use because there was no other single term to denote the Ægean coast lands. The area of the province was subsequently increased, first by the addition of Phrygia (116 B.C.); we are, therefore, confronted by the difficulty of distinguishing whether, in any given case, the word Asia is restricted to the coast or extended to the entire province—in other words, whether it includes Phrygia or not.

In Acts 2 9, Asia indicates the towns of the highly civilised coast land, for the enumeration is popular and Greek in style, as is proved by the mention of Phrygia *alongside* Asia; according to the Roman mode of speaking, Phrygia was included in Asia, with the exception of that small part round Antioch (Phrygia Galatica) which fell to the province Galatia. Such names as Phrygia, Mysia, or Lydia were to a Roman without any political significance, being merely geographical terms denoting parts of the province of Asia, used on occasion to specify exactly the region referred to by the speaker (Cic. *pro Flac.* xxvii. § 65; Asia vestra ex stat ex Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lydia). Such use can be paralleled from the NT. In Acts 16 7 κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν [Ti. WH] is used to define rigidly the point reached by the apostles when warned from Bithynia. In Acts 6 9, a decision is more difficult. The Jews who 'disputed' with Stephen were probably those educated in the schools of Smyrna or Pergamus; but we cannot on *a priori* grounds decide that some of them did not belong to Phrygia. Here, therefore, Asia may or may not be used in its Roman sense. So also in Acts 21 27-24 18.

The whole question of the sense in which geographical terms are used by the writer of Acts centres round Acts 16 6, where the apostles are forbidden to preach in Asia (κωλυθέντες . . . λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ [Ti. WH]). Those interpreters (*e.g.*, Con. and Hows. 1 324) who take the preceding words (διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν [Ti. WH]) to express the opening up of new ground by missionary enterprise N. of Antioch in Pisidia are compelled to restrict the prohibition of preaching in Asia to the coast land—in other words, to take Phrygia, Galatia, and Asia in their popular non-Roman sense—for all Phrygia N. of Antioch belonged to Asia in its Roman or administrative sense. Yet we must ask if the simple διῆλθον (AV 'gone throughout') can be taken to imply preaching.[1] If, however, the apostles did not preach in their passage through the district called here ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα, there appears to be no necessity for giving a *popular* meaning to the geographical terms here used, unless in the interests of what Ramsay calls the N. Galatian theory (see GALATIA, §§ 7-30, especially §§ 9-16). On this view, then, the words indicate such parts of Galatic Phrygia as had not been traversed at the time of receiving the prohibition (or, more probably, that part of Phrygia which belonged to the province Asia), together with Old or North Galatia. In favour of this is the fact that the part. κωλυθέντες must be prior in time to, *i.e.* contain the ground of, the action denoted by διῆλθον,—'they traversed . . . *because* they had been forbidden.' If, in face of the difficulties of the N. Galatian view, we fall back upon the S. Galatian theory, the district ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα must be regarded as partly identical with that called τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν in Acts 18 23 (which can hardly be other than that of the S. Galatian churches); and also it must already have been traversed wholly or in part *before* the prohibition to preach in Asia (Rams. *Expos.* May 1895, p. 392; *Church*, 5 ed. p. 75). Ramsay consequently attempts to interpret the words διῆλθον κωλυθέντες as = διῆλθον καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν (διελθόντες ἐκωλύθησαν), or on purely subjective grounds adopts, with Lightfoot, the reading διελθόντες δὲ from inferior MSS (*St. Paul*[10], p. 195). It seems better to take διῆλθον δέ as resumptive and as summing up the previous verses, with an ellipse—'so then they traversed . . . (neglecting Asia) having been forbidden': in which case, here, as elsewhere throughout the narrative of Paul's journeyings, the word Asia is used in its technical, Roman, sense.

This sense is clearly the best in the following passages:—during Paul's residence in Ephesus, 'all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19 10; see also 27 2, 22, 26 7). The deputies escort the apostle from Corinth as far as Asia (Acts 20 4); other instances in the same chap. are 27. 16 (Ephesus was virtually capital of the province) and 18. In 27 2, κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους [Ti. WH], there is nothing to forbid our taking the word in its Roman sense. Similarly, in the Epistles, the technical sense is required *e.g.*, Rom. 16 5, Epænetus the first-fruits of Asia (RV); 1 Cor. 16 19, the churches of Asia; 2 Cor. 1 8, (probably) alluding to the riot at Ephesus, or to dangerous illness there; 2 Tim. 1 15. The Roman province is meant also in 1 Pet. 1 1, where the enumeration Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia (= Bithynia-Pontus) sums up all Asia Minor within the Taurus. Finally, in Rev. 1 4, the seven churches of Asia are those established in the chief towns of the Roman province. In 1 Macc. 8 6, 'Antiochus, the great king of Asia,' the word is used in a wider sense—Asia Minor, with Syria (so also 11 13, 'the diadem of Asia'; 12 39 13 32 2 Macc. 8 3: cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3 13 4 7). In 2 Esd. 15 46, 'Asia, that art partaker in the beauty of Babylon,' the sense is still wider = Persian empire (16 1; cp Herod. i. 96 177; Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8 3).

W. J. W.

ASIARCH (ΟΙ ΑϹΙΑΡΧΑΙ [Ti. WH]. AV 'the chief of Asia'; RV 'chief officers of Asia'). An officer

[1] See Acts 15 41, διήρχετο, but with ἐπιστηρίζων added; 16 4, διεπορευοντο, but with παρεδίδοσαν added. On the other hand we have 13 14, διελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Περγης—no preaching on the road; and 17 1, διοδεύσαντες τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν [Ti. WH], where also there was no attempt at evangelisation, so far as we can tell. (But see Rams. *Expos.* May 1895, p. 385 *f.*)

heard of only once in the NT—viz., in the account of the riot made by 'Demetrius and the craftsmen' at Ephesus (Acts 19 31). The annual assembly of civic deputies (κοινὸν Ἀσίας), over which he presided, was combined, in Asia, as in other provinces, with an annual festival in honour of the reigning emperor and the imperial system.

Soon after the victory of Actium, in fact as early as 29 B.C., Augustus had allowed temples to himself and Roma to be dedicated in Pergamus, the *de jure* capital of Asia, as well as in Nicomēdeia and Ancyra, the capitals respectively of Bithynia and Galatia (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 37 4). This blending of a religious with an administrative institution became a leading idea of the imperial policy; but, as regards the pomp of the festivals and the civic rivalries excited, the institution nowhere developed as it did in Asia. Naturally, the conduct of the games and festival in honour of the emperor fell to the president of the provincial Diet.

As the Asiarch bore most of the expense, though some was borne by voluntary subscription or apportioned to the several towns, this politico-religious office was open only to the wealthy—the prosperity of Tralles, for example, was shown by its continuous series of Asiarchs[1] and the title was retained after the expiration of the year of office. To find Paul counting friends among the Asiarchs—*i.e.*, among those who then held or who previously had held the office—throws, therefore, a valuable side-light upon the attitude adopted towards Christianity by the upper classes of the provincials: it was an Asiarch, Philip, who at Smyrna resisted the cry of the mob to 'let loose a lion on Polycarp' (H. E. *HE* 4 15, § 27).

It would be a mistake, then, to imagine that the Asiarch, as such, had any connection with the Ephesian worship of *Artemis*.

In fact Ephesus, like Miletus, was expressly relieved by Tiberius as a guarantee for the honour of an imperial temple, probably because of the risk of Cæsar's worship being overshadowed by the goddess (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 56). It would naturally, however, have the right to put forward a candidate for the Asiarchate. We hear of special officers in other provinces—*e.g.*, a Galatarch, a Bithyarch, a Syriarch, and a Lyciarch. The last at any rate is clearly originally a political officer—the head of the League (Strabo, 665).

There was thus, at first, but one Asiarch in office at a time in all Asia—the president of the Diet at Ephesus; but as temples dedicated to Cæsar multiplied in the province,[2] and each of them became the centre of an annual festival, the chief priests at such temples performed the functions discharged at the festival at Ephesus by the Asiarch, and finally the presidency of the festival even at Ephesus was taken from the chairman of the Diet and given to the chief priest. The Diet and its civil functions thus fell into the background, and the name Asiarch came to mean the priestly provider of a popular festival in connection with the worship of a dead or reigning emperor. With the growing importance of *this* worship the religious influence of the priestly Asiarchs extended; and as the worship of the emperor became the outward sign of loyalty to the empire, it was through the provincial chief-priesthoods that the old and the new faith came into contact. Hence Julian writes to the Galatarch as the proper medium for his anti-Christian propaganda. (See Momms. *Provinces*, 1 344 fol. ET, Rams. *Class. Rev.* 3 174. A different view in a long article by Brandis in Pauly's *R. Enc.* new ed. *s.v.*). W. J. W.

ASIBIAS (ACEBEIAC [B], ACIBIAC [A], MELXIAC [L]), in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), 1 Esd. 9 26 = Ezra 10 25 (CABIA [𝔅], A. [A], B om.). See MALCHIJAH, 5. Asibias is probably a Graecised form of HASHABIAH.

ASIEL (עֲשִׂיאֵל, § 31; ACIHλ [BAL]). 1. A name in the genealogy of SIMEON (1 Ch. 4 35).

2. A scribe, 4 Esd. 14 24 (*ASHIEL*).
3. Tob. 1 1 RV, AV ASAEL (*q.v.*).

ASIPHA (ACEIΦA [A]), 1 Esd. 5 29 = Ezra 2 43. HASUPHA.

ASKELON (אַשְׁקְלוֹן), Judg. 1 18 AV, RV ASHKELON.

ASMODEUS, RV **Asmodæus** (ACMODAYC [B], -ΔΑΙOC [𝔅A], -ΔEOC [𝔅p], called 'the evil demon' (Tob. 3 8, 17). Considering (1) the close connection of the story of Tobit with Media, (2) the affinity of the seven archangels in Tob. 12 15 to the seven Mazdean Amesha-spentas, and (3) the impossibility of deriving Asmodéus or Asmodai (or the later Hebrew forms, on which see below) from אשמד, 'to destroy,' we are obliged to look for an arch-demon of similar name and attributes in Mazdean demonology. The Asmodeus of Tobit has two attributes: he is lustful (like a satyr), and has the power to slay those who oppose his will (Tob. 3 8 6 14 𝔊[BA]). Now, it is true that there is no demon in Mazdeism of similar name who has exactly those characteristics; but one of the seven arch-demons who are opposed to the seven Mazdean archangels is called Aêshma, and is the impersonation of anger (the primary meaning is rapine). So constantly is he mentioned in the Avesta beside Angra Mainyu (or Ahriman) with his weapon (the wounding spear) that we could not wonder if he became naturalised in the spirit-world of the Jews in the Persian period. Once adopted, he would naturally assume a somewhat different form; his attributes would be modified by the sovereign will of the popular imagination. This was actually the course of history, as modern critics hold. By the time the Book of Tobit was written Aêshma had already a well-defined [illegible], and, though vindictive as ever, had exchanged the field of battle for less noble haunts. The Asmodai of Tobit is, in fact, the counterpart of LILITH (*q.v.*), and in still later times divided with her the dominion of the *shēdim* or demons. Asmodai, or, as his name is written in Targ. and Talmud, אשמדאי or אשמדאי, is dangerous to women as Lilith was to men, though we also find him represented in a less odious character as a potent, wise, and sometimes even jocular elf (see *Gittin*, 68*a*, in Wünsche's *Der bab. Talm.* 2 1 [illegible]). The second part of the name Ashmodai is of uncertain origin. Most connect it with the Zend *aêshma*, 'demon'; but, though the combination *Aêshma-* [illegible] is not impossible, it is nowhere found in the texts. Kohut's explanations (*Jüd. Angelologie* and *Arach.*, s.v.) are precarious.

Cp *Zendavesta and Pahlavi Texts* in *SBE*; Spiegel, *Erān. Alterthumskunde*, 2 131 *f.*; Goldziher, *ZDMG* 31 204, etc.; Kohut's *Jüd. Angelologie*, 72, etc. T. K. C.

ASNAH (אַסְנָה, 'thornbush'; ACENA [BA]; -NNA [L]; *asena*). The B'ne Asnah, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 50 = 1 Esd. 5 31, ASANA (ασσανα [B], ασα. [A]) = Neh. 7 52 𝔊[1] (EV, following B𝔅A, om.).

ASNAPPER, RV OSNAPPAR, better Āsēnappar (אָסְנַפַּר; NAΦAP [A], ACENN. [B], CAλMANAC-CAPHC [L], *ASENAPHAR*), Ezra 4 10 *f.* To 'the great and noble Āsēnappar' is ascribed the transplanting of several nations into Samaria from beyond the Euphrates. The two epithets naturally suggest that an Assyrian king is referred to, and, as Bosanquet in G. Smith's *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, 364 [71], suggested, the king can only be the conqueror of Susa. Asur-bāni-pal (אסנפר) from אסר-בני-פל = אסר-בני-פל.[1] This view is confirmed by the discovery (due to Marq. *Fund.* 59) of a various reading for אסנפר which underlies the impossible ASBACAPHATH (*q.v.*) of 1 Esd. 5 60, viz. אסרפר. The two readings supplement each other, and are explained by a common original אסבנפר, which is clearly Asur-bāni-pal. This great king's name must have stood both in Ezra 4 2

[1] καὶ ἀεί τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσιν οἱ ἀρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν (Strabo, 649).

[2] Already in 26 A.D., for example, a temple was erected in Smyrna to Tiberius, jointly with his mother Livia, and the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* iv 15 4 56 3).

[1] An explanation, in the form which Gelzer gave to it (*AZ* 75 *ff.* ['75]), now widely accepted. Cp, however, Halévy, *REJ* ix. 12.

('Esarhaddon' being an ignorant scribe's alteration) and in the source from which the statement in Ezra 4 2 is derived (perhaps 2 K. 17 24, which at present merely refers to 'the king of Assyria'). See further, ASUR-BANI-PAL.

ASOM (ΑCΟΜ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 33 = Ezra 10 33, HASHUM.

ASP (פֶּתֶן, *pethen*; ΑCΠΙC [BAL]) in Dt. 32 33 Job [illegible] (ΔΡΑΚΩΝ [BNAC]) Is. 11 8 AV, in Ps. 58 4 91 13 AV [illegible] (ΒΑCΙΛΙCΚΟC [BNART]), and in Rom. 3 13†; probably some species of viper (cp ADDER, 2), see SERPENT, § 1, n. 5.

ASPALATHUS (ΑCΠΑΛΑΘΟC [BNA]; *balsamum*) is associated with cinnamon and other perfumes in the Praise of Wisdom (Ecclus. 24 15). Theophrastus (*Hist.* 9 7) mentions it along with various spices, etc., used in making unguents, and in Pliny (*H.N.* 22 24) it is '*radix unguentis expetitae*.' Fraas, the most recent writer on classical botany (*Synopsis Plantarum Floræ Classicæ*, 49), refers it conjecturally to *Genista acanthoclada*, D.C., a native of Greece and the Grecian archipelago; but the most that can safely be said is that it seems to have been a prickly shrub, probably leguminous, with a scented wood or root. The ante-Linnæan commentaries devoted much attention to it, but with no more definite result. It has evidently been lost sight of since classical times, and supplanted by other perfumes. W. T. T.-D.

ASPATHA (אַסְפָּתָא. ΦΑCΓΑ [BN*vid.], ΦΙΑΓΑ [N*vid.], ΦΑ. [A], ΦΑCΑ [L], one of the ten sons of HAMAN (*q.v.*) Est. 9 7. Pott and Benfey explain the name as the Pers. *aspadata*, 'ab equo sacro datus' (cp Be.-Rys.); but the MT reading is too insufficiently supported.

ASPHAR, [illegible] POOL (ΛΑΚΚΟC[1] ΑCΦΑΡ [NV; Jos.], Λ. ΑCΦΑΛ [A [illegible] *s Asphar* [Vg.]), in the wilderness of Tekoa, is m[illegible]ed in connection with the struggle of Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees with Bacchides (1 Macc. 9 33; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 2). The Be'ēr Asphar is probably the modern *Bîr-Selhûb*, a considerable reservoir in the wilderness, 6 m. WSW. of Engedi, and near the junction of several ancient roads (described by Rob. *BR* 2 202); the hills around still bear the name *Safrī*, an equivalent of Asphar. A less probable identification is that with the ruins and cistern, *es-Za'ferāneh* to the S. of Tekoa (Buhl. *Pal.* 158). G. A. S.

ASPHARASUS (ΑCΦΑΡΑCΟC [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 8 = Ezra 2 2, MIZPAR.

ASRIEL (אַשְׂרִיאֵל, § 67, ΕCΡΙΗΛ [BAL]; the patronymic is **Asrielite,** הָאַשְׂרִאלִי, -ΛΕΙ [BAF], CΕΡ. [L]), a Gileadite family, descended from Manasseh through Machir, Josh. 17 2 (ΙΕΖΕΙΗΛ [B], ΕΡΙ. [A]), Nu. 26 31 (CΕΡΙ. [L]). In 1 Ch. 7 14-19 (ΑCΕΡΕΙΗΛ [B], AV ASHRIEL; see MANASSEH), a very different Manassite genealogy, the name is probably dittography of the syllables immediately following (אשרי; cp also text of 𝔊[B]); read, 'The sons of Manasseh whom his concubine the Aramitess bare' (cp Gen. 46 20 𝔊). The name may be old, though it comes to us from late writers.

ASS (חֲמוֹר,[2] fem. אָתוֹן;[3] ΟΝΟC [BAL]; *asinus, asina*), **Wild Ass** (פֶּרֶא or עָרוֹד = Chald. עָרְדָּ;[4] ΟΝΟC ΑΓΡΙΟC; *onager*), and **Young Ass** (עִיר, ΠΩΛΟC [BAL]).

The following are the passages: (*a*) for 'ass' Gen. 12 16 22 3 49 11 14 (𝔊 τὸ καλόν), Ex. 13 13 Nu 22 28 Dt. 22 10 Judg. 5 10 (ὑποζύγιον [AL]) 15 15 2 K. 6 25 Is. 21 7 Zech. 9 9 (𝔊 ὑποζύγιον) Mt. 21 2 Lk. 13 15 etc.; (*b*) for 'wild ass' Job 6 5 11 12 (𝔊 ονος ἐρημίτης) 24 5 (𝔊 ονοι) 39 5 Ps. 104 11 (𝔊 ὀναγροι) Is. 32 14 Jer. 2 24 (𝔊 πλατυνων) 14 6 Dan. 5 21 (𝔊 ὀναγρων) Hos. 8 9 (𝔊 om.) Gen. 16 12† RV (𝔊 αγροικος); there was perhaps originally a reference to the wild ass also in 1 S. 24 14 [15] 26 20, where MT now reads פרעש - FLEA (*q.v.*). (*c*) For 'young ass' Is. 30 6 (𝔊 ονος), 24 (𝔊 βοες), EV 'foal' Gen. 49 11 32 16, EV 'colt' Zech. 9 9 and (𝔊 ονος) Job 11 12, EV 'ass colt' Judg. 10 4 12 14.

A comparison of the passages in which חמור and אתון respectively occur shows that the former was more used for carrying burdens and for agriculture, the latter for riding. Hence some have thought that אתון denotes a superior breed and not simply 'she-ass'; but this opinion is now given up. We must conclude that she-asses were preferred for riding. As the name חמור shows, the Eastern ass is generally reddish in colour;[1] *white* asses are rarer, and, therefore, used by the rich and distinguished. This explains the reference in Judg. 5 10.[2]

The עִיר (young ass, colt, foal; in Ar. specifically wild ass; see Hommel, *Saugethiere*, 127 *ff.*) was used variously for carrying burdens (Is. 30 6), for agriculture (*v.* 24), and for riding on (Zech. 9 9). On Judg. 10 4 12 14, see JAIR. On the place of the ass and on its employment among the Jews see generally Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 7.

The ass has been from the most ancient times a domesticated animal, and probably, in Egypt at any rate, preceded the horse as a servant of man. It is even questioned whether the wild stock from which it was derived survives at the present day, some authorities holding that the flocks of wild asses met with in various parts of Asia and Africa are but the descendants of those which have escaped from the domesticated state.

The domestic ass, *Equus asinus*, is believed to be descended from the wild ass of Africa, *E. asinus*, of which there are two varieties, *Africanus* and *Somalicus*; and the strong disinclination to ford even narrow streams which these animals show, and their delight in rolling in the dust, are regarded as indications that their origin is from some desert-dwelling animal. In former times this species seems to have extended into Arabia.

In the East the ass plays a large part in the life of the people, and has received a corresponding amount of care at their hands. Much trouble is taken in breeding and rearing the young. Darwin distinguishes four different breeds in Syria: 'first, a light and graceful animal (with an agreeable gait), used by ladies; secondly, an Arab breed reserved exclusively for the saddle; thirdly, a stouter animal used for ploughing and various purposes; and lastly, the large Damascus breed, with . . . peculiarly long body and ears.'

The wild asses which roam in small herds over a considerable part of Asia are sometimes regarded as belonging to one species, the *Equus hemionus*; sometimes to three, the *E. hemippus* found in Syria, the *E. onager*, the Onager of Persia, Beluchistan, and parts of Northern India, and the *E. hemionus* of the high table-lands of Tibet. Sven Hedin describes the last-named as resembling a mule. Living at such high altitudes it has unusually large nostrils. These are artificially produced by the Persians, who slit the nostrils of their tame asses when about to use them for transport purposes in mountainous districts. The Syrian species or sub-species rarely enters the N. of Palestine at the present time. Wild asses congregate in herds, each with a leader, and are said to migrate towards the south at the approach of winter. They are so fleet that only the swiftest horses can keep pace with them, a fact recorded both by Xenophon and by Layard; and they are so suspicious that it is difficult to approach within rifle-shot of them. They are eaten by the Arabs and the Persians. N. M.—A. E. S.

ASSABIAS (ΑCΑΒΙΑC [L]), RV SABIAS, 1 Esd. 1 9 = 2 Ch. 35 9, HASHABIAH, 6.

ASSALIMOTH (ΑCCΑΛΙΜΩΘ [really -ΑC CΑΛ. A]), 1 Esd. 8 36 AV = Ezra 8 10, SHELOMITH, 4.

ASSANIAS, RV **Assamias** (ΑCCΑΜΙΑC [B]), 1 Esd. 8 54 = Ezra 8 24, HASHABIAH, 7.

ASSAPHIOTH (ΑCCΑΦΕΙΩΘ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 33 RV = Ezra 2 55, HASSOPHERETH.

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1 The usual rendering of בּאר or בּוֹר in 𝔊.

2 Root חמר, 'to be red.' On the form cp Lag. *Uebers.* 11, Barth, *NB* 1 [illegible]

3 The Ar. [illegible] *atana* = 'contracto brevique gressu incessit'; but this may be denominative. אתן has of course no connection with *asinus*; see Lag. *Arm. St.* 817.

4 Lag. derives ערד from '*arada*, 'he threw a stone far,' referring to the effect of the animal's trampling hoofs (*Uebers.* 38 *f.*). פרא seems to be connected with the notion of swift flight.

1 Cp Plutarch's statement, that the Egyptians execrate the ass διὰ το πυρρὸν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα, καὶ ὀνώδη τὴν χροαν (quoted by Bochart).

2 אתנים צחרות, not strictly *white*, but white spotted with red, as the same word means in Arabic, where it is specially applied to the she-ass.

ASSASSINS, the RV rendering of CIKAPIOI [Ti. WH], *sicarii*—*i.e.*, 'daggermen': Acts 21 38 (AV murderers). They are so called from the *sica* or small curved sword, resembling the Persian acinâces (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 10), which they carried under their cloaks. Though used generally without any political meaning (cp Schür. *GVI* 1 480, note), the term *sicarii* came to be employed to denote the baser and more fanatical associates of the zealots, whose policy it was to eliminate their antagonists by assassination. See ZEALOT.

ASSEMBLY (קָהָל)[1] is frequently used, especially in post-exilic literature, to denote the theocratic convocation of Israel, the gathering of the people in their religious capacity. It thus becomes synonymous with *ἐκκλησία* (so generally Ⓖ; in Nu. 20 4 6 10 12 *συναγωγή*, so Lk. 4 13 14), which in the NT is used of the Christian church, in contrast to the Jewish *ḳahal* of the Mosaic dispensation. See CHURCH, § 1. Closely allied in meaning and usage is עֵדָה (from יעד, 'to appoint': a company assembled together by appointment), employed to denote the national body politic, Mosaic Israel encamped in the desert (cp Kue. *Einl.* § 15, n. 12). Both, *e.g.*, include the *gêr* (cp for 'ע Ex. 12 19, for 'ק Nu. 15 15; see STRANGER AND SOJOURNER), but are sometimes interchanged (cp Nu. 16 46 *f* [17 10 *f.*] 20 6. The distinction between the two, which was doubtless always observed, is clearly seen, *e.g.*, in Lev. 4 13 *f.* ('if the whole *congregation* of Israel shall sin, and the thing be hid from the eyes of the *assembly* . . . when the sin therein is known then the *assembly* shall offer' . . .), where the *ḳahāl* is composed of the judicial representatives, the picked members of the עדה (cp also Dt. 23 1 *f.* where certain classes of the people—*i.e.*, the '*ēdāh*—may not enter into the ḳahāl). See SYNEDRIUM.

Apart from their occurrence in the more secular meaning of 'multitude, number, swarm,' both קָהָל and עֵדָה occur—it rarely in pre-Deuteronomic literature.

קָהָל (1) Ex. 'assembly': cp Lv. 4 16; Lev. 4 13 *ff.* and Jer. 26 17 (*συναγωγή*) 50 9 (-γωγαί) Ez. 23 24 (ὄχλος), etc. (2) EV 'congregation': 1 K. 8 14 65 12 3 (see KINGS, § 5) Ezra 10 8 (cf the *gôlāh*) Pr. 5 14 Mi. 2 5. (3) AV 'congregation,' RV 'assembly': Nu. 15 15[2] 16 47 [17 12][2] Dt. 23 1 *ff.* 31 30 Josh. 8 35; Judg. 21 5 (see JUDGES, § 13) Job 30 28 Ps. 89 5 [6] 107 32. The collocation 'day of assembly' Dt. 9 10 10 4 (Ⓖ om.) 18 16, refers to the day on which the Law was given upon Sinai. For its more secular meaning cp Gen. 35 11 (P)[2] Ex. 17 17 (Ⓖ ὄχλος EV 'company'); Gen. 28 3[2] 48 4 (P)[2] Nu. 22 4 (E),[2] AV 'multitude,' RV 'company' (in Ez. 16 40 23 46, Ⓖ ὄχλος, RV 'assembly'). Cp also 1 S. 17 47; the assembly of Israel present at the fight between David and Goliath (E? see SAMUEL, § 4). The earliest occurrence is probably Gen. 49 6 (Ⓖ *σύστασις*) the *ḳāhāl* of Simeon and Levi (parallel to סוד). Closely related is קְהִלָּה 'assembly,' Neh. 5 7; cp Dt. 33 4[2] (AV 'congregation'), and 1 S. 19 20 (after Ⓖ; cp *SBOT ad loc.* The passage is Midrashic). The verb (Ⓖ *ἐξεκκλησιάζειν, ἐκκλ.*) is equally rare in pre-exilic literature: cp Jer. 26 9 Dt. 4 10 31 12 28 also 1 K. 8 1 *f.* 12 21 (see KINGS, § 5) Judg. 20 1 (see JUDGES, § 13) Ex. 32 1 (E) (*συνιστάναι*) 16 40 (*παρεμβολή*) and 2 S. 20 14 (E? cp under SHEBA).

עֵדָה, 'congregation' (Ⓖ usually *συναγωγή*) EV Ex. 16 1 *ff.* Nu. 20 11, etc. EV 'assembly,' Ps. 22 16 [17] Pr. 5 14; but RV 'congregation,' Lev. 8 4 Nu. 8 9 10 2 *f.* 16 2 20 8 Ps. 86 14. In pre-exilic literature cp Nu. 20 11 (R?); Jer. 6 18 (Ⓖ *ποίμνια*) and Hos. 7 12 (Ⓖ *θλίψεως*) (in both corrupt?) 1 K. 8 5 12 20 (cp above) Judg. 20 1 21 10 13 16 (cp above). In a wholly secular sense, cp Judg. 14 8 swarm (of bees), Ps. 68 30 [31] multitude (of bulls).

'Assembly' also represents the following:—

1. עֲצֶרֶת,[3] עֲצָרָה *ăṣārāh*, *ăṣereth*, apart from Jer. 9 2 [1] where it is used of a 'band' of evil doers (*σύνοδος*, EV 'assembly'; Che. emends to חֶבְרַת, *JQR*, July 1898), is a technical term for some public religious convocation imposing restraints on the individual (EV, SOLEMN ASSEMBLY); cp 2 K. 10 20 (in honour of Baal, *λειμ[ε]α* [BA], *θεραπεία* [L]), Joel 1 14 2 15 (קִדְּשׁוּ צוֹם, *θεραπ[ε]ια* = עֲבֹדָה), Am. 5 21 (parallel to חג *πανήγυρις*), and Is. 1 13 (אִוֶן וְעֲצָרָה, read צוֹם וְעֲצָרָה, and see Jastrow, *Amer. J. Theol.* '98, p. 330; *νηστεία* κ. *ἄγρα*?

Technically, *ăṣārah* is used almost wholly in post-exilic writings (Ⓖ invariably *ἔξοδιον*, finale, close; cp Ⓖ's title Ps. 28 [29]), of (*a*) the assembling upon the seventh day of unleavened cakes, Dt. 16 8[1] (RV[mg.] CLOSING FESTIVAL); (*b*) the eighth or supernumerary day in ecclesiastical language the octave—of the Feast of Booths, Lev. 23 36 Nu. 29 35 (RV[mg.] as above) Neh. 8 18; similarly the eighth day at the close of Solomon's dedicatory festival (2 Ch. 7 9), and (*c*) the Feast of Weeks, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 6 (*ἀσαρθά*) and in the Mishna.

2. מוֹעֵד, *mō'ēd* (Nu. 16 2); קְרִאִים, famous in the congregation, RV, preferably 'called to the assembly'; Ⓖ *βουλή*; cp also Ps. 74 8 RV[mg.] (EV synagogues, Ⓖ *ἑορτή*). The locution אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, 'tent of congregation (RV meeting)' (Ⓖ *σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου*), occurs frequently in P, also Ex. 33 7 Nu. 12 4 Dt. 31 14 (E). Nu. 11 16 (J); and outside Hex. in 1 S. 2 22 *b*; but Ⓖ[B] om.) 1 K. 8 4 (Ⓖ *τὸ σκήνωμα τοῦ μαρτυρίου*) (see KINGS, § 5). Cp also CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF; SYNAGOGUE; and see TABERNACLE.

מוֹעֵד is properly an *appointed time* or *place* (like עֵדָה from יעד); cp Gen. 18 14 (Ⓖ *καιρός*), etc., Lam. 2 6 (Ⓖ *ἑορτή*), etc.; hence used of a sacred season or set feast (Hos. 9 5, Ⓖ *πανήγυρις*, etc.), probably also one set by the moon's appearance (cp Gen. 1 14 Ⓖ *καιρός*). In designating feasts it is employed in a much wider sense than חג (see FEASTS, § 6, DANCE, § 3). It is used not only of the year of Release (Dt. 31 10 Ⓖ *καιρός*), and of the Passover (Hos. 12 9 [10] Ⓖ *ἑορτή*),[2] but also of the Sabbath, New Year, and Day of Atonement (cp Lev. 23 Ⓖ *ἑορτή*).

3. מִקְרָא, *miḳrā'*; Is. 1 13 מִקְרָא, the calling of assemblies (Ⓖ *ἡμέρα μεγάλη*); cp Is. 4 15 (Ⓖ *τὰ περικύκλῳ*). The locution מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ, 'holy convocation' (Ⓖ *κλητή*, or *ἐπίκλητος ἁγία*), only in P (Ex. 12 16 Lev. 23 2 *ff.* Nu. 28 18 25 *f.* 29 1 7 12 *f.*).

4. סוֹד, *sōd*, Jer. 6 11 (Ⓖ *συναγωγή*) 15 17 (Ⓖ *συνέδριον*); Ps. 89 7 [8] 111 1, RV 'council,' Ⓖ *βουλή*; also in Ez. 13 9, AV[mg.] RV 'council,' RV[mg.] 'secret,' Ⓖ *παιδεία*. See COUNCIL, 3.

5. בַּעֲלֵי אֲסֻפּוֹת, *ba'ălē ăsuppōth*, Eccl. 12 11 (Ⓖ *παρὰ τῶν συνθεμάτων*), masters of assemblies, a reference to the convocations of the wise men (cp Ph. בֶּן אֲסֻפָּת, 'member of an assembly'); RV[mg.] 'collectors of sentences'; Tyler, 'editors of collections'; Haupt, 'verses of a collection'; Che. 'framers of collections'—*i.e.*, פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן (*Jew. Rel. Life*, 182).

6. *ἐκκλησία* (cp above) Mt. 16 18 18 17 Acts 19 32 39 41 Heb. 12 23; see CHURCH.

7. *συναγωγή* (cp above) Ja. 2 2 AV, RV[mg.]; RV SYNAGOGUE (*q.v.*).

ASSHUR. See ASSYRIA.

ASSHUR, CITY OF. See TELASSAR.

ASSHURIM (אַשּׁוּרִים, ACOYPIM [A]; ACCOYPIIM [D L]; ACCOYPIIA [E]), the first born of DEDAN (Gen. 25 3). The name is enigmatical. Hommel (*AHT* 239 *f.*) thinks that we should read Ashurim, not Asshurim, and that Ashur is the fuller and older form of SHUR. In a Minæan inscription (Glaser, 1155; cp Wi. *AOF* 2 8 *f.* and see *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 527) Egypt, Ashur and 'Ibi Naharān are grouped together (see EBER). The same territory, extending from the 'River of Egypt' (?) to the country between Beersheba and Hebron, may perhaps be meant in Gen. 25 18, where the gloss 'in the direction

[1] קהל (to call)=Ar. *ḳāla* (to speak); cp Syr. *ḳehal* to call, collect; *kahlinā* brawler. The change from 'calling' to 'assembling' is easy; cp use of Heb. נִצְּחוּ. The relation between קָהָל (assembly) and Ar. *ḳāla* is analogous to that between קִיר, council, etc., and Syr. *sewādhā*, talk, conversation (in Gen. 49 6 they are parallel). 'ק finds an interesting parallel in Sab. קהלת, the assembly of 'Athtar (Ashtoreth). On the usage of *ḳāhāl* see Holzinger, *ZATW* 9 105 *f.* [89].

[2] In these passages Ⓖ has *συναγωγή*.

[3] From עצר, to press, restrain; cp נעצר 'detained' (1 S. 21 7 Jer. 36 5); perh. 'ע a taboo, *tempus clausum*; cp WRS, *Sem.* 456, who notes the proverbial עָצוּר וְעָזוּב 'one under a taboo and one free.' Cp Ass. *eṣeru*, to bind, enclose; *uṣuru*, magical spell, constellation (Muss-Arnolt).

[1] The only pre-exilic occurrence of 'ע in a technical sense; but note that according to St. *GVI* 1 668, דבר 1-4 5-8 are doublet; cp Nowack, *Hos.* 2 154 note.

[2] We., however (*Kl. Proph.*[3]), reads נעוריך, and Now. עֵרֶיךָ

of אשור ("Ashur")' was misunderstood by the authors of the vowel-points. The reference intended was, according to Hommel, to Ashur in S. Palestine; he proposes to read Ashur, not Asshur, also in Nu. 24 22 24. The latter view, at any rate, is very improbable (see BALAAM, § 6). Cp also GESHUR, 2.

ASSIDEANS, RV 'Hasidæans,' RV^mg. 'that is Chasidim' (ΑΣΙΔΑΙΟΙ [ANV]), is a transcription of the Hebrew *ḥasidim*, *pious ones* (AV, generally, *saints*). It is often used of faithful Israelites in the Psalms (17 times in plur., 5 times in sing.), and sometimes unquestionably of the so-called Assideans (*e.g.*, 116 15 149 1 5 9). In 1 Macc. the name appears as the designation of a society of men zealous for the law (1 Macc. 2 42—according to the correct text as given by Fritzsche), and closely connected with the scribes (1 Macc. 7 12 *f.*). It is plain from these passages that this society of 'pious ones,' who held fast to the law under the guidance of the scribes in opposition to the 'godless' Hellenising party, was properly a religious, not a political, organisation. For a time they joined the revolt against the Seleucids. The direct identification of the Assideans with the Maccabee party in 2 Macc. 14 6, however, is one of the many false statements of that book, and directly contradictory to the trustworthy narrative of 1 Macc. 7, which shows that they were strictly a religious party, who scrupled to oppose the legitimate high priest, even when he was on the Greek side, and withdrew from the war of freedom as soon as the attempt to interfere with the exercise of the Jewish religion was given up. We are not to suppose that the Assidean society first arose in the time of the Maccabees. The need of protesting against heathen culture was doubtless felt earlier in the Greek period. The 'former *ḥasidim*,' as a Jewish tradition (*Nedarim*, 10 *a*) assures us, were ascetic legalists. Under the Asmonean rule the Assideans developed into the better known party of the Pharisees, and assumed new relations to the ruling dynasty. It appears, from the *Psalter of Solomon*, which represents the views of the Pharisees, that the party continued to affect the title of 'pious ones' (ὅσιοι), but less frequently than that of 'righteous ones' (δίκαιοι). Indeed, the third Jewish party of the Asmonean period had already appropriated the former name, if we may adopt Schürer's derivation of ESSENE (*q.v.*). See We. *Ph. u. Sadd.* (74), p. 76 *ff.*, whose results WRS adopted, and cp Schür. *Hist. ET* 1 212; Che. *OPs*, 56 (on the use of 'Assideans'), and other passages (index under *khasidim*). W. R. S.—T. K. C.

ASSIR (אסיר, 'prisoner'; but perhaps rather אסיר = Osiris;[1] cp HUR).

1. (In Ex. ασιρ [BF], ασηρ [AL]; in 1 Ch. αρασι, ασερι, ασειρ [B], ασειρ [A], ασηρ ασερ [L]; *Aser*). The eponym of one of the families or divisions of the Korahite guild of Levites; Ex. 6 24 [P]. Cp 1 Ch. 6 22 *f.* 37 [7 *f.* 20], and for the interpretation of these discrepant genealogies see KORAH.

2. Son of Jeconiah (1 Ch. 3 17, ασειρ [BAL]). So AV, following a Jewish view that Assir and Shealtiel are the names of two different sons of Jehoiachin (*Sanhedrin*, 37 *a*; Midrash *Vayikra* par. x.; Midr. *Shir ha-Shirim*, on 8 6; so Kimchi); but the best texts (Ba., Ginsb.) make 'Jeconiah-Assir' the name of one man. Kau. *HS* and *SBOT* rightly restore the article before Assir (the preceding word ends in ם). Render, therefore, 'Jeconiah the captive' (so RV). Cp SHEALTIEL.

ASSOS, or ASSUS (ΑΣΣΟΣ [Ti. WH]), Acts 20 13,[1] a town and seaport in the Roman province of Asia; now *Behram Kalessi*. Strabo, who ranks Assus and Adramyteum together as 'cities of note,' pithily describes the former as lying in a lofty situation, with splendid fortifications, and communicating with its harbours by means of a long flight of steps (610, 614). So strong was the position that it gave rise to a pun by the musician Stratonicus, who applied to it the line

ἄσσον ἴθ', ὥς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἵκηαι.

'Come anigh, that anon thou mayest enter the toils of death' (Hom. *Il.* vi. 143). The joke lay in reading Ἄσσον ἴθ' = 'Come to Assus.' The town was always singularly Greek in character. Leake observes that its ruins give 'perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists.' The material is granite, which partly accounts for their immunity from spoliation. One of the most interesting parts is the Via Sacra, or Street of Tombs, extending to a great distance to the NW. from the gate of the city. It is bordered by granite coffins, some of them of great size. In Roman times, owing to its supposed power of accelerating the decay of corpses (Pl. *HN* 2 98 36 27), the stone of Assus received the name *sarcophagus*. Paul must have entered the city by the Street of Tombs on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20 13 14). The apostle had landed at Troas and walked or rode the 20 m. thence to Assus in time to join his companions, who had meanwhile sailed round Cape Lectum.

A good account of Assos is given in Fellows, *Asia Minor*, 52; Murray's *Handbook of A. M.* 64; for its inscriptions see *Report* of the American Expedition, 1882. W. J. W.

ASSUERUS (ΑΣΥΗΡΟΣ [B] etc.) Tob. 14 15† AV, RV AHASUERUS (*q.v.*, no. 3).

ASSUR (1) (אַשּׁוּר) Ezra 4 2 Ps. 83 8 AV, 4 Esd. 2 8 EV (*Assur* [ed. Bensly]) Judith 2 14 etc. AV, RV ASSHUR; elsewhere RV ASSYRIA (*q.v.*).

2. (ΑΣΟΥΡ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 51, HARHUR.

ASSYRIA

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Shalmaneser II., etc. (§ 32).
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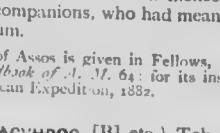
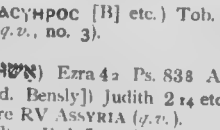
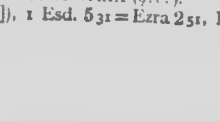
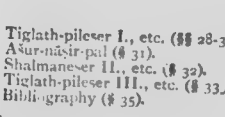
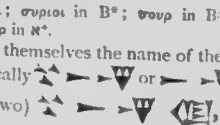
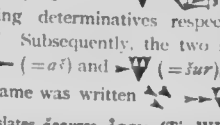
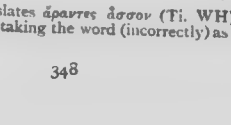
Aššur, the name of the country known to us as Assyria, was written in Hebrew אַשּׁוּר, EV ASSHUR, or more fully אֶרֶץ אַשּׁוּר, in the LXX ΑΣΣΟΥΡ and ΑΣΣΥΡΙΟΣ (𝔊^L sometimes ΑΣΟΥΡ) by Josephus and the Greek historians Ἀσσυρία, in the Greek of the Alexandrian epoch Ἀτουρία, and in Aramaic *Athūr*, *Athuriyā*, in which form the name survived as that of a diocese of the Nestorian Church

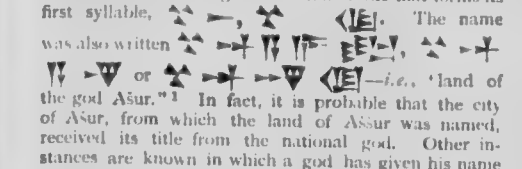
1. Names.

Other forms occurring once in 𝔊 are:—ασουρ in E and in A; ασ τ ιν,μειμ in D, in A, and in L respectively; -ριηλ in E; ασσυρος in A[1]; ασουριμ in A; συριοι in B*; σουρ in Bab ℵaf a.b c.1 (and twice in A); τουρ in ℵ*.

By the Assyrians themselves the name of their country was written phonetically  or  , or (combining the two)  , the signs  and  being determinatives respectively for 'land' and 'place.' Subsequently, the two signs that formed the word,  (= *aš*) and  (= *šur*), were run together and the name was written ,

[1] Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 111; Che. *Proph. Is.*(3) 2 144 300, and on Is. 10 1 in *SBOT*; see also NAMES, § 82.
[2] For literature see BABYLONIA, § 19 *ff.*

[1] In 20 13 Vg. translates ἄραντες ἄσσον (Ti. WH) by *cum sustulissent de Asson*, taking the word (incorrectly) as the name of the city.



, and finally the writing of the name was abbreviated to the single horizontal stroke that forms its first syllable, , . The name was also written , , or —*i.e.*, 'land of the god Aššur."[1] In fact, it is probable that the city of Aššur, from which the land of Aššur was named, received its title from the national god. Other instances are known in which a god has given his name to the country or city that worshipped him. The land of Guti that lay to the E. of Assyria beyond the Lower Zāb appears to have taken its name from Guti its national god, whilst the god Sušinak gave his name to the city of Šušinak or Susa, the principal town on the banks of the Eulæus. The general term among the Greeks for all subjects of the Assyrian empire was *Ἀσσύριοι*, which was more usually shortened into *Σύριοι* or *Σύροι*.[2] The abbreviated form of the word was, however, gradually confined to the western Aramaic nations, being at last adopted by the Aramæans themselves. These people, on becoming Christians, dropped their old name in consequence of the heathen associations it had acquired in their translation of the NT, and styled themselves *Surʿayē*, whence the modern term 'Syriac.' The unabbreviated name was used to designate the district on the banks of the Tigris, and this form of the word, passing from the Greeks to the Romans, finally reached the nations of northern Europe.

2. Biblical references.

References to Assyria or the Assyrians in the OT are very numerous, though they are in the main confined to the historical and the prophetic books; the former describing the relations of Assyria with the later kings of Israel and Judah, the latter commenting on these relations and offering advice. The prophets, in their denunciations and predictions, sometimes refer to the Assyrians by name; at other times, though not actually naming them, they describe them in terms which their hearers could not possibly mistake.

The principal references may be classified under the following three headings: (*a*) Geographical use of the name Assyria: to describe the course of the Tigris in the account of the garden of Eden (Gen. 2 14), and to indicate the region inhabited by the sons of Ishmael (25 18). (*b*) References to matters of history: the foundation of the Assyrian empire (Gen. 10 11), and its classification among the nations (10 22); Menahem's tribute (2 K. 15 19 *f.*); the captivity of northern Israel (Is. 9 1 [8 23]; 2 K. 15 29; 1 Ch. 5 26); the assistance of Ahaz by Tiglath-pileser, followed by the capture and captivity of Damascus (2 K. 16 5-15; 2 Ch. 28 20 *f.*); Hoshea's subjection to Shalmaneser (2 K. 17 3); his treachery and punishment (17 4); the siege and capture of Samaria (17 5 *f.* 18 9-12), and the colonisation of the country by foreigners (17 24 *ff.*); Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine and Hezekiah's payment of tribute, his refusal to submit to further demands, the escape of Jerusalem from the Assyrian vengeance, and Sennacherib's death (2 K. 18 13-19 37; Is. 36 and 37; 2 Ch. 32 1-23); the trade of Assyria with Tyre (Ezek. 27 23); general references to past captivity or oppression by Assyria (Is. 52 4; Jer. 50 17; Lam. 5 6; Ezek. 23 9 *ff.* 23); reference to the punishment that overtook Assyria (Jer. 50 18); reference to the colonization of Palestine by Esarhaddon (Ezra 4 2). (*c*) Prophetic criticism and forecasts: evil or captivity threatened or foretold as coming from Assyria (Nu. 24 22; Hos. 9 3 11 5; Is. 7 17 *ff.* 10 5 23 13; Ezek. 23 23 32 22; Ps. 83 8); the futility of depending on Assyrian help (Hos. 5 13 7 11 *f.* 8 9 *f.* 10 4-6 12 1; Jer. 2 18 36); the participation of Israel in Assyrian idolatry (Ezek. 16 28 23 5 *ff.*); prophecies of the return from captivity in Assyria (Hos. 11 11; Mic. 7 12; Is. 11 11 16; Zech. 10 10); predictions of overthrow or misfortune for Assyria (Nu. 24 24; Mic. 5 5 *f.*; Is. 10 24 *ff.* 14 25 30 31 31 8; Ezek. 31 3 *ff.*; the prophecy of Nahum; Zeph. 2 13; Zech. 10 11); references to Assyria as taking part in the final conversion and reconciliation of mankind (Is. 19 23 *ff.* 27 13). In some of these passages, however, Assyria may stand for SYRIA (*q.v.*).

[1] Throughout the present article the form Aššur is employed for the name of the god and city, Aššur for that of the land. In the inscriptions the name of the land is written with the doubled sibilant, an original Assyrian form that is not inconsistent with the later Greek and Aramaic renderings of the name (see Nöldeke, *ZA* 1 268 *ff.*). The name of the god, however, is written in the inscriptions both with the single and doubled sibilant, of which the former may be regarded as the more correct on the basis of the Greek and Hebrew transliteration of certain proper names, in which the name Aššur occurs (see Jensen, *ZA* 1 1 *ff.* and Schrader, *ib.* 209 *ff.*).

[2] On this see SYRIA.

3. Position and extent.

It is difficult to define exactly the boundaries of Assyria. The extent of the country varied from time to time according to the additional territory acquired in conquest by its monarchs, and the name itself has at times suffered from a somewhat vague and general application. The classical writers employed it in a conventional sense for the whole area watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, including northern Babylonia, whilst its use has even been extended so as to cover the entire tract of country from the coast of the Mediterranean to the mountains of Kurdistan. In a definition of the extent of Assyria proper, however, any vague use of the name may be ignored, for, although at one time the Assyrian empire embraced the greater part of western Asia, the provinces she included in her rule were merely foreign states not attached to herself by any organic connection, but retained by force of arms. In general terms, therefore, the land of Assyria may be said to have been situated in the upper portion of the Mesopotamian valley about the middle course of the river Tigris, and here we may trace certain natural limits which may be regarded as the proper boundaries of the country. The mountain chains of Armenia and Kurdistan form natural barriers on the N. and E. On the S. the boundary that divided Assyria from Babylonia was in a constant state of fluctuation; but the point at which the character of the country changes from the flat alluvial soil of the Babylonian plain into the slightly higher and more undulating tracts to the N. gives a sufficiently well defined line of demarcation. On the W., Assyria in its earliest period did not extend beyond the territory watered by the Tigris; but, finding no check to its advance in that direction, it gradually absorbed the whole of Mesopotamia as far S. as Babylon, until it found a frontier in the waters of the Euphrates.

4. Description.

The chief feature of the country is the river TIGRIS (*q.v.*), which, rising in the mountains of Armenia, runs southward and divides Assyria into an E. and a W. district. That part of Assyria which is situated on the E. or left bank of the Tigris, though the smaller, has always been much the more important. The country on that side of the river consists of a continuous plain broken up by low detached ranges of limestone hills into a series of shallow valleys through which small streams run. All the main tributaries, too, that feed the Tigris rise in the Kurdish mountains, and flow through this E. division of the country. The E. Khābūr, the Great or Upper Zāb, the Little or Lower Zāb, the Adhem, and the Diyalā join the Tigris on its left or E. bank. Being therefore so amply supplied with water, this portion of the country is very fertile, and well suited by nature for the rise of important cities. On the other hand, W. Assyria, which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, is a much drier and more barren region. The fall of the two rivers between the point where they issue from the spurs of the Taurus and the point where they enter the Babylonian alluvium—a distance of six hundred or seven hundred miles—amounts to about one thousand feet, the Tigris having the shorter course, and being, therefore, more rapid. The country between the rivers consists of a plain, sloping gently from the NW. to the SE. In its upper part this region is somewhat rugged; it is intersected by many streams, which unite to form the Belikh and W. Khābūr. The rivers flowing S. join the Euphrates, and the district through which they pass is watered sufficiently for purposes of cultivation. In the SW., however, the supply of water is scanty, and the country tends to become a desert, its slightly undulating surface being broken only by the Sinjār range, a single row of limestone hills. The district

S. of these hills is waterless for the greater part of the year; the few streams and springs are for the most part brackish, while in some places the country consists of salt deserts, and in others vegetation is rendered impossible by the nitrous character of the soil. It is true that on the edges of this waterless region there are gullies (from one to two miles wide) which present a more fertile appearance. These have been hollowed out by the streams in the rainy season, and, being submerged when the river rises, have in the course of time been filled with alluvial soil. At the present day they are the only spots between the hill-country in the north and the Babylonian plain in the south where permanent cultivation is possible. It has been urged that this portion of the country may have changed its character since the time of the Assyrian empire, and it is possible that in certain districts extensive irrigation may have considerably increased its productiveness; but at best this portion of Assyria is fitted rather for the hunter than for the tiller of the soil. The land to the left of the Tigris is, therefore, much better suited for sustaining a large population, and it is in this district that the mounds marking the sites of the ancient cities are to be found.

5. Cities. Aśur, the earliest city of Assyria, is indeed situated to the west of the Tigris, near the spot where Ḳal'at Sherḳat now stands; but its site is within a short distance of the river, and it was the only city of importance on that side of the stream. Apart from its earliest capital, the chief cities of Assyria were Nineveh, Calah, and Dūr-Śargina. Nineveh, whose foundation must date from a period not much more recent than that of Aśur, was considerably to the N. of that city, opposite the modern town of Mosul (*Mawṣil*), on the E. bank of the Tigris, at the point where the small stream of the Khosr empties its waters; its site is marked by the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yūnus (cp NINEVEH). Calah, founded by Shalmaneser I., corresponds to the modern Nimrud, occupying a position to the S. of Nineveh on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Upper Zāb with the Tigris (cp CALAH). Dūr-Śargina, 'the wall of Sargon,' was founded by that monarch, who removed his court thither; the site of the city is marked by the modern village of Khorsabād, to the NE. of Nineveh (cp SARGON). It will be seen that there was a tendency throughout Assyrian history to move the centre of the kingdom northwards, following the course of the Tigris. Other cities of importance were Arba'il or Irba'il (Arbēla) on the E. of the Upper Zāb; Ingur-Bēl (corresponding to the modern Tell-Balawat), situated to the SE. of Nineveh; and Tarbiś, its site now marked by the village of Sherif-Khān, lying to the NW. of Nineveh.

From the above brief description of the country, it may be inferred that Assyria presents considerable differences of climate. E. Assyria was the most favoured region, possessing a good rainfall during winter and even in the spring, and having, in virtue of its proximity to the Kurdish mountains and its abundant supply of water, a climate cooler and moister than was generally enjoyed to the W. of the Tigris. In this latter region the somewhat rigorous climate of the mountainous district in the N. presents a strong contrast to the arid character of the waterless steppes in the centre and the S. The frequent descriptions of the extreme fertility of Assyria in the classical writers may, therefore, be regarded as in part referring to the rich alluvial plains of Babylonia. Not that Assyria was by any means a barren land. She supplemented her rainfall by extensive artificial irrigation, and thus secured for her fields in the hot season a continual supply of water. Her cereal crops were good. Olives were not uncommon, and the citrons of Assyria were famous in antiquity. Fruit trees were extensively cultivated, and, although the dates of Assyria

6. Natural resources.

were much inferior to those of Babylonia, o
lemon, pomegranate, apricot, mulberry, vine, a
were grown successfully. The tamarisk was a
creedingly common shrub; oleanders and myrtles
in the eastern district; but, except along the river
on the mountain slopes, trees were scanty. The
however, included the silver poplar, the dwarf oa
plane, the sycamore, and the walnut. Vegetables
as beans, peas, cucumbers, onions, and lentils
grown throughout the country. Though Assyria
not compete with Babylonia in fertility, her supp
stone and minerals far exceeded that of the sou
country. Dig where you will in the alluvial soil o
south, you come upon no strata of rock or sto
reward your efforts. In Assyria limestone,
stone, and conglomerate rock were common, w
gray alabaster of a soft kind, an excellent materia
sculpture in relief, abounds on the left bank of
Tigris; hard basaltic rock and various marbles
also accessible in the mountains of Kurdistan.
copper, and lead were to be found in the hill cou
not far from Nineveh, while lead and copper
obtained from the region of the upper Tigris in the ne
bourhood of the modern town of Diarbekr. Sulp
alum, salt, naphtha, and bitumen were also comm
bitumen was extensively employed, in place of mo
or cement, in building (cp BITUMEN). Of
wild animals of Assyria the lion and the wild
are those most often mentioned in the historical
scriptions as affording big game for the Assy
kings. Less ambitious sportsmen might content th
selves with the wild boar and the deer, the gazelle,
ibex, and the hare; while the wild ass, the bear, the
the jackal, the wild cat, and wild sheep were to
found. The most common of the birds were the
or eagle, the vulture, the bustard, the crane, the st
the wild goose, wild duck, teal, tern, partridge (red a
black), the sand grouse, and the plover. We kn
from the monuments that fish were common. Of
domestic animals of the Assyrians the principal w
camels, horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, and goa
Dogs, resembling the mastiff in appearance, w
employed for hunting. From the fact that heavy st
weights carved in the form of ducks have been fou
it may be assume : the duck was domesticated.

The Assyrians belonged to the northern family
Semites, and were closely akin to the Phœnicians, t
Aramæans, and the Hebrews. Th
robust physical proportions and fac
characteristics are well known from t
monuments, and tally with what we know of their cha
acter from their own inscriptions and the writings of th
Hebrew prophets. Is. 33 19 describes the Assyrians
'a fierce people'—an epithet that fits a nation who
history is one perpetual warfare. The dividing line b
tween courage and ferocity is easily overpassed, and in
military nation, such as the Assyrians were, it was b
natural that there should be customs which to a late
age seem barbarous. The practice of impaling th
defenders of a captured city was almost universal wit
the Assyrians; the torturing of prisoners was common
and the practice of beheading the slain, whilst adding insu
to the vanquished, was adopted as a convenient metho
of computing the enemy's loss, for it was easier to coun
heads than to count bodies. The difference in characte
between the Assyrians and the milder Babylonians wa
due partly to the absence of that non-Semitic elemen
which gave rise to and continued to influence the more
ancient civilisation of the latter (see BABYLONIA, § 5)
partly, also, to differences of climate and geographica
position. The ferocity and the courage of th
Assyrians are to a great extent absent from the
Babylonian character. It has been asserted that the
Semites never make great soldiers, yet there have been
two prominent exceptions to this generalisation the As-
syrians and the Carthaginians. The former indeed n a

7. National character.

MAP OF SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA

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Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement ignores prefixes: el (the), J. (Jebel, mt.), Kh. (Khirbat, 'ruin'), L. (lake), Mt., N. (Nahr, 'river'), R. (river).

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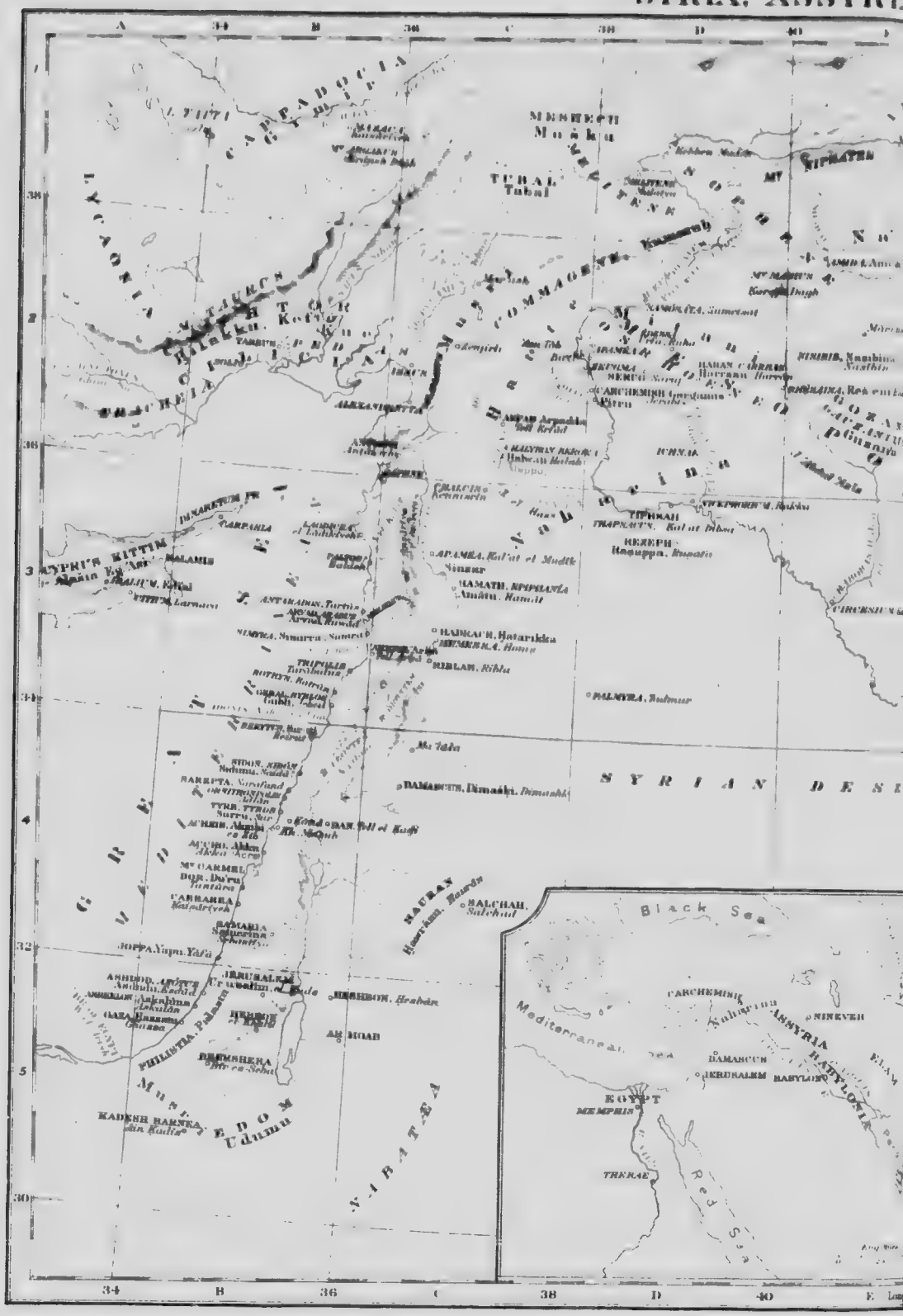
SYRIA, ASSYRI



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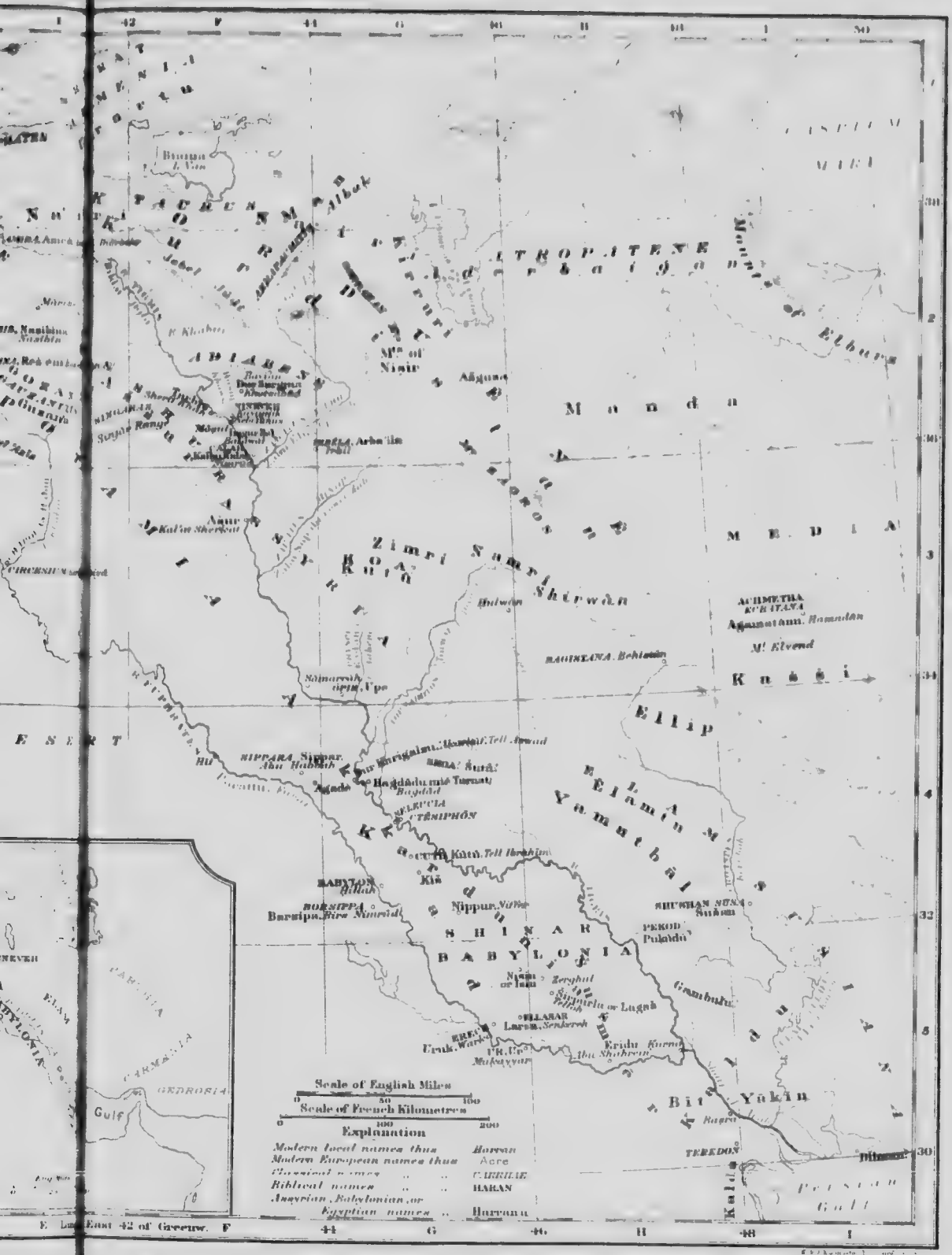

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only displayed the energy of conquest, but also combined with it a great power of administration by which they organised the empire they had acquired. It was, however, the tradition of the Greek historians, and afterwards of the Romans, to paint the Assyrians as a singularly luxurious and sensual nation. Their monarchs, from the founder of the empire down to the last king who held the throne, were said to have given up to pleasure. It is possible that as regards the later empire this tradition contains a substratum of truth, for the growing luxury of Assyria may well have been one of the causes that brought about her fall. For the earlier and the middle period of Assyrian history, however, the statement is proved to be untrue, both by the records of Assyria herself and by the negative evidence of the Hebrew prophets. These contemporaries of Assyria, who hated her with the bitter hatred which the oppressed must always feel for their oppressors, rarely, if ever, denounce her luxury; it was her violence and robbery that impressed her victims. In the language of prophecy the nation is pictured as a lion (Nah. 2 11), and it is not as a centre of vice but as "the bloody city" that Nahum foretells the destruction of her capital (3 1).

The Assyrians spoke a Semitic language, which they inherited from the Babylonians, a language that [illegible] to the [illegible] closest to Hebrew and Aramaic than to Arabic and the other dialects of the S. Semitic group. They wrote a non-Semitic character, one of the varieties of the cuneiform writing (see BABYLONIA, § 5 ff.). Like their language, this system of writing came to them from the Babylonians, who had themselves inherited it from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia. The Assyrians, although retaining the Babylonian signs, made sundry changes in the formation of them, and in some it is possible to trace a steady development throughout the whole period covered by the Assyrian inscriptions. The forms of some of the characters in the inscriptions of almost every Assyrian king display slight variations from those employed by his predecessors. Indeed, in some few cases, the forms used at different periods differ more widely from one another than they do from their Babylonian original. The literature of the Assyrians was borrowed. In a sense they were without a literature, for they were not a literary people. They were a nation of warriors, not of scholars. In this they present the greatest contrast to their kindred in the S. Possessed of abundant practical energy, they were without the meditative temperament which fostered the growth of Babylonian literature, and, although displaying courage in battle and devotion to the chase, they lacked the epic spirit in which to tell the tales of their enterprise. The majority of the historical inscriptions which they have left behind them are not literature: they are merely lists of conquered cities, catalogues of captured spoil, and tallies of the slain. Though not original, however, the Assyrians were far from being illiterate. They took over, root and branch, the whole literature of Babylonia; in the copying, the collection and the arrangement of which they displayed the same energy and vigour with which they prosecuted a campaign. It was natural that the priests and scribes, whose duty it was to copy and collate, should attempt compositions of their own; but they merely reproduced the matter and the methods of their predecessors. In a word, the Assyrians made excellent librarians, and it is to their powers of organisation that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian literature. Since, therefore, the language, the system of writing, and the literature of the Assyrians were not of their own making, but merely an inheritance into which they entered, the description of them in greater detail falls more naturally under the article BABYLONIA (see § 10 ff.).

8. Language, etc.

The religion of the Assyrians resembles in the main that of the Babylonians, from which it was derived. The early colonists from the south carried with them the

[illegible]

9. Religion. [illegible] Governor of Bel [illegible] Assyria is sometimes termed [illegible] Nineveh, "the city of Bel." [illegible] not inconsistent with [illegible] regarded as the result of [illegible] Assyria [illegible] drove out the kings of [illegible] time called them to the throne. [illegible] vision [illegible] them with [illegible] over their enemies. [illegible] the policy they should pursue. The [illegible] "the troops of Asur," the [illegible] undertaken only at his direct command. [illegible] life of the nation was consecrated [illegible] energies were spent in the attempt [illegible] majesty among the nations that surrounded them. His symbol was the winged circle in which was [illegible] enclosed a draped male figure [illegible] three horns and with his hand extended; at other times he is represented as holding a [illegible] bow to its full extent. The symbol may, perhaps, be explained as a visible representation that Asur had no equal, his influence no limit, and his [illegible] no end. This symbol is often to be found on [illegible] the accompaniment of royalty [illegible] the Assyrian king, as Asur's representative [illegible] especial protection, and we find it not only [illegible] above the king's image, but also [illegible] even embroidered on his garment. It is [illegible] that we may trace [illegible] exaltation of the god Asur the Semitic tendency [illegible] theism, the [illegible] tion of wh[illegible] and expr[illegible] in the Hebrew prophets. It [illegible] be supposed however that the new deity stood [illegible] opposition to the other gods. These retained the respect and worship of the Assyrians, and stood by Asur's side, not so powerful as he, but retaining considerable influence and lending their aid without prejudice to the advancement of the nation's interests.

The spouse of Asur was Bêlit, that is, "the Lady" *par excellence*, and she was identified with the goddess Istar (see especially 3 R. 24, 80; 53 n. 2, 30 f.), and in particular with Istar of Nineveh. Another goddess who enjoyed especial veneration in Assyria was Istar of Arbela, who became particularly prominent under Sennacherib and his successors, and was generally mentioned by the side of her namesake of Nineveh. She was especially the goddess of battle, and from Asur-nasir-pal we know the conventional form in which she was represented. This monarch, on the eve of an engagement with the Elamites, feeling far from confident of his success, appealed for encouragement and guidance to Istar of Arbela. The goddess answered the king's prayer by appearing that night in a vision to a certain seer while he slept. On recounting his dream to the king, the seer described the appearance of the goddess in these words: "Istar, who dwells in Arbela, entered! On the left and the right of her hung quivers, in her hand she held a bow; and a sharp sword did she draw for the waging of battle." Besides Asur and Istar, two other gods were held in particular respect by the Assyrians. Nabû, the god of [illegible] Nergal, the god of the chase. Almost all

the Assyrian kings, however, had their own pantheons, to whom they owed especial allegiance. In many cases the names constituting the pantheon occur in the king's inscriptions in a set order that does not often vary.

Such were the principal changes which the Assyrians made in the pantheon of Babylonia, the majority of whose gods they inherited, with their functions and attributes to a great extent unchanged. It is true that our knowledge of Babylonian religion, like that of Babylonian literature, comes to us mainly through Assyrian sources; but though it passed to them, its origin and development are closely interwoven with the history of the older country. The cosmology of the Assyrians and their conception of the universe were entirely Babylonian (see BABYLONIA, § 25); their astrology (*ib.* § 34), their science of omens (§ 32), their system of ritual and their ceremonial observances (§ 29 *f.*) were an inheritance from the temples and worships of the south.

10*b*. Architecture. Though in language, writing, and literature Assyria so closely resembles Babylonia, in her architecture she presents a striking contrast. The alluvial plains of the southern country contained no stone, and the Babylonian buildings were, therefore, mainly composed of brick. The resources of Assyria were not so poor; the limestone and the alabaster with which her land abounded stood her in good stead.

The palace was the most important building among the Assyrians, for the principal builders were the kings. It was erected, usually, on an artificial platform of bricks or earth; in which fact we may possibly see a survival of a custom of Babylonia, where such precautions against inundation were necessary. The platform was generally faced with stone, and was at times built in terraces which were connected by steps. The palace itself was composed of halls, galleries, and smaller chambers built round open courts, the walls of the former being ornamented with elaborate sculptures in relief. It is only from their foundations that our knowledge of the Assyrian palaces has been obtained. From these remains a good idea of their extent can be gathered; but there is no means of telling the appearance they presented when complete. Their upper portion has been totally destroyed: it is a matter of conjecture whether they consisted of more than one story. The paving of the open courts was as a rule composed of brick; but sometimes stone slabs, covered with shallow carving in conventional patterns, were employed.

The temple was subordinate to the palace. Our knowledge of its appearance is based mainly on its representation on the monuments, from which it would appear that the Assyrians inherited the Babylonian *zikkurratu* (temple-tower), a building in stages which diminish as they ascend (see BABYLONIA, § 16, beg.) Unmistakable remains of a building of this description were uncovered on the N. side of the mound at Nimrud. Another type of building depicted on the monuments has been identified as a shrine or a temple; it was a single-storied structure, with a broad entablature supported by columns or pilasters.

The domestic architecture of the Assyrians has perished. The dwellings of the more wealthy must have resembled the royal residence. On the bas-reliefs are to be found villages which bear a striking resemblance to those of modern Mesopotamia; and, having regard to the eternal nature of things eastern, we may regard it as not unlikely that the humbler subjects of Assyria were housed neither better nor worse than the villagers of to-day.

10*c*. Sculpture. It was to adorn their palaces and temples that the Assyrians employed the sculptured slabs and bas-reliefs with which their name is peculiarly associated. The majority of these have come from the palaces of Aŝur-nâṣir-pal, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Aŝur-bâni-pal. The work of the earliest of these kings is distinguished from that of his successors by a certain breadth and grandeur of treatment; but the constant repetition of his own figure, accompanied

by attendants, human or divine, becomes monotonous. The work of Sargon presents a greater variety of subject and treatment; but it is in the sculptures of Sennacherib and Aŝur-bâni-pal that the most varied episodes of Assyrian life and history are portrayed. It was natural that battle-scenes should chiefly occupy the sculptor; yet even here the artist could give his fancy play. Whilst he was bound by convention to depict the vulture devouring the slain, he could carve at the top of his slab a sow with her litter trampling through a reed-bed. Armies in camp or on the march, the siege of cities or battles in the open, the counting of the slain and the treatment of prisoners—all are rendered with absolute fidelity. When an army crosses a river and boats for transport are not to be had, the troops are represented as swimming over with the help of inflated skins[1]—a custom that survives on the banks of the Tigris to the present day.

Though the sculptures of Sennacherib and Aŝur-bâni-pal have much in common, as regards both their matter and the method of their treatment, each king had his own favourite subject for portrayal on his monuments. Sennacherib liked most to perpetuate his building operations; Aŝur-bâni-pal, his own deeds of valour in the chase. Sennacherib erected two palaces at Nineveh—the one at Nebi Yûnus, the other at Kuyunjik—but it is only at Kuyunjik that the palace has been thoroughly explored. On the walls of this latter edifice he caused to be carved a series of scenes in which his builders are represented at their work. Stone and timber are being carried down the Tigris upon rafts; gangs of slaves are collecting smaller stones in baskets, and piling them up to form the terrace on which the palace is to stand; others are wheeling hand-carts full of tools and ropes for scaffolding, or transporting on sledges huge blocks of stone for the colossal statues. The hunting-scenes of Aŝur-bâni-pal may be regarded as marking the acme of Assyrian art. Background and accessories are for the most part absent. Thus, grotesque efforts at perspective, common to the most of early art, are avoided, with the result that the limitations in the methods of the early artist are not so apparent. The scenes portrayed are always spirited. The figures are all in motion. Whilst the elaboration of detail is not carried to an extreme, action is represented with complete success. This series of hunting-scenes contains pieces of great beauty. It is in striking contrast to the large majority of Assyrian sculptures, which tend to excite interest rather than admiration. Still, even the earlier work has not entirely failed in its purpose—ornamentation. The stiff arrangement of a battlefield has often a decorative effect; and the representation of a river with the curves and scrolls of its water contrasting with the stiff symmetrical line of reeds upon its bank, is always pleasing. Indeed, from a decorative point of view, Assyrian art attained no small success. Traces of colour are still to be found on some of the bas-reliefs, on the hair and beards of figures, on parts of the clothing, on the belts, the sandals, etc.; but the question whether the whole stone-work was originally covered

[1] A singular detail may be noticed with reference to the representation of these skins. The soldier places the skin beneath his belly, and by means of his arms and legs paddles himself across the water. Even with this assistance he would need all his breath before his efforts landed him on the opposite bank; but in the sculptures each soldier is represented as retaining in his mouth one of the legs of the inflated skin, into which he continues to blow as into a bagpipe. The inflation of the skin could be accomplished far more effectually on land before he started, and the last leg of the beast could then be tied up so that the swimmer need not trouble himself further about his apparatus, but devote his entire attention to his stroke. This, no doubt, was what actually happened; but the sculptor wishes to indicate that his skins are not solid bodies but full of air, and he can find no better way of showing it than by making his swimmers continue blowing out the skins, though in the act of crossing. This instance may be taken as typical of the spirit of primitive art, which, diffident of its own powers of portrayal, or distrusting the imagination of the beholder, seeks to make its meaning clear by means of conventional devices.

with paint, or only parts of it picked out in colour, cannot be decided.

Even more famous than their sculptured slabs are the colossal winged lions and human-headed bulls of the Assyrians. They fired the imagination of the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel, and they impress the beholder of to-day. These creatures were set on either side of a doorway or entrance, and were intended to be viewed both from the front and from the side—a fact that explains why they are invariably represented with five legs. A very curious effect was often produced by running inscriptions across the bodies of these beasts without regard to any detail of carving or design. Aśur-nāṣir-pal was a great offender in this respect. Not content with scarring his colossi in this manner, he ran inscriptions over his bas-reliefs as well, and displayed a lack of imagination by repeating the same short inscription again and again with but few variations.

Carving in the round was rarely practised. A stone statuette of Asur-nāṣir-pal, a seated stone figure of Shalmaneser II., and some colossal statues of the god Nebo have been found; but, though the proportions of the figure are more or less correct, their treatment is exceedingly stiff and formal. Modelling in clay, however, was common. A few small clay figures of gods have been discovered, and we possess clay models of the favourite hounds of Aśur-bāni-pal. We know, too, that the stone bas-reliefs were first of all designed and modelled on a smaller scale in clay: the British Museum possesses fragments of these clay designs, as well as the rough drafts on clay tablets which the Assyrian masons copied when they chiselled the inscriptions.

11. Metal work.

In their metal work the Assyrians were very skilful. This we may gather both from the monuments and from the actual examples of the art that have come down to us. A good majority of the originals of the metal trappings, ornaments, etc., that are represented on the monuments must have been cast. The metal weights in the form of lions are among the best actual examples of casting that we possess. In the British Museum, moreover, there is to be seen an ancient mould that was employed for casting. It was found near Mōsul, and, although it must be assigned to a period about two centuries subsequent to the fall of Nineveh, it probably represents the traditional form of that class of matrix, and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that such moulds were extensively employed in the Assyrian foundries of at least the later empire. The mould in question is made of bronze, and is formed in four pieces which fit together accurately. Three holes may be observed on the flat upper surface. Into these holes the molten metal was poured. When the mould was opened after its contents had been given time to cool, there would be seen lying within it three barbed arrow-heads.

It was, however, in the more legitimate art of metal-beating that the Assyrians excelled. Much of the embossed work that adorned their thrones, their weapons, and their armour was wrought with the hammer, while the dishes and bowls from Nimrūd and the shields from the neighbourhood of Lake Van are covered with delicate *repoussé* work, the design on the upper side being finished and defined by means of a graving tool. The largest and finest examples of this class of work that have been preserved are the bronze sheathings of the gates of Shalmaneser II., which were excavated at Tell-Balawāt in 1879 and are now to be seen in the British Museum. The bronze gates of nations in antiquity were not cast in solid metal. They would have been too heavy to move, and metal was not obtained in sufficient quantities to warrant such an extravagance. The gate was built principally of wood, on which plates of metal were fastened; the object being to strengthen the gate against an enemy's assault, and especially to protect its wooden interior from destruction by fire. The metal coverings of Shalmaneser's

gate consist of bronze bands which at one time strengthened and adorned it. A brief inscription runs round them, while the space is filled with designs in delicate relief illustrating the battles and conquests of the king and in general treatment resembling the bas-reliefs of stone to which reference has been made.

Iron was used by the Assyrians; but bronze was the favourite substance of the metal-worker. Specimens of the bronze employed have been analysed, and it has been ascertained that it consists roughly of one part of tin to ten parts of copper. We know from the jewels represented on the monuments that ornamental work in silver and in gold was not uncommon, and specimens of inlaid work and of work in ivory have been found at Nimrūd. Many of the examples we possess, however, betray a strong Egyptian influence, apparent in the general method of treatment and in the occurrence of the scarabæus, the cartouche, and a few hieroglyphs. Thus they must be regarded not as genuine Assyrian productions, but rather as the work of Phœnician artists copying Egyptian designs. Enamelling of bricks was extensively employed as a means of decoration. The designs consist sometimes of patterns, and sometimes of scenes in which men and animals take part. The colouring is subdued, and the general effect is harmonious. The fact that the tones of the colouring are so subdued is regarded by some as a proof that they have faded. Some excellent examples of enamelled architectural ornamentation in terra-cotta have been found at Nimrud. They bear the name of Aśur-nāṣir-pal.

12. Seals, etc.

Engraving on gems and the rarer stones and marbles was an art to which the Assyrians especially devoted themselves. There have been found a few gems and seals that are oval in shape; but the general form adopted was that of a cylinder. Those of cylindrical form vary from about an inch and a half to two inches in length and from about half an inch to an inch in diameter. They were pierced along the centre so that the wearer could suspend them from his person by a cord. The use to which they were put was precisely similar to that of the signet ring. A Babylonian or an Assyrian, instead of signing a document, ran his cylinder over the damp clay tablet on which the deed he was attesting had been inscribed. No two cylinder seals were precisely alike, and thus this method of signature worked very well. As every wealthy Assyrian carried his own seal-cylinder, it is not surprising that time has spared a good many of them. (It may be noticed in passing that the class of poorer merchants and artisans did not carry cylinders. When they attested a document they did so by impressing their thumb-nail on the clay of the tablet. Whether a certain social status brought with it the privilege of carrying a cylinder, or whether the possession of one depended solely on the choice or rather on the wealth of its possessor, is a question that has never been solved.)

The work on the cylinders is always intaglio, the engraver aiming at rendering beautiful the seal impression rather than the seal itself. The subjects represented, which are various, include acts of worship, such as the introduction by a priest of a worshipper to his god, mythological episodes, emblems of gods, animals, trees, etc.; the engravings are generally religious or symbolical. The official seal of the Assyrian kings forms the principal exception to this general rule; it is circular and represents a royal personage slaying a lion with his hands. The character of the work itself varies from the rudest scratches to the most polished workmanship, and it may be regarded as a general rule that the more excellent the workmanship the later the date. The earlier seals are inscribed by means of the simplest form of drill and graver, and the marks of the tools employed for hollowing are not obliterated, the heads of the figures being represented by mere holes, while the bodies resemble fish-bones; it should be noted, however, that

early Babylonian seals of great beauty have been found at Telloh.

It is strange that the Babylonian and the Assyrian, living in a land of clay, building their houses of brick and writing on clay tablets -in fact, with plastic clay constantly passing through their hands—produced no striking specimens of pottery. They employed clay for all their vessels; but the forms these assumed do not show great originality, and ornamentation was but niggardly applied. That the Assyrians were glass-blowers is shown by the discovery of small glass bottles and bowls.[1]

13. Pottery.

The domestic furniture of the Assyrians does not demand a detailed description. All that was made of wood has perished. Only the metal fittings survive; but these, with the evidence of the bas-reliefs, point to a high development of art in this direction. Perhaps the most sumptuous specimens of Assyrian furniture that the monuments portray are the throne in which Sennacherib is seated before Lachish, the furniture in the 'garden-scene' of Ašur-bāni-pal (both in the British Museum), and the chair of state or throne of Sargon on a slab from Khorsabad in the Louvre.

14. Furniture and embroidery.

Of the art of embroidery, also, as practised by the Assyrian ladies, the invaluable evidence of the monuments gives us an idea. The clothes of the sculptured figures are richly covered with needle-work, especially on the sleeves and along the bottom of robes and tunics, while the royal robes of Ašur-nāṣir-pal are embroidered from edge to edge. The general character of the designs, whether consisting of patterns or of figures, resembles that of the monuments themselves.

One other subject must be noted in this connection,—it does not strictly fall under the heading either of art or of architecture, though it is closely connected with branches of both,—the knowledge of mechanics that the Assyrians display. To those who have had any experience in the removal or fixing of Assyrian sculpture, and know the thickness of the bas-reliefs and the weight of even the smallest slab, the energy and skill required by the Assyrians to quarry, transport, and fix them in position is little short of marvellous. Yet all this was accomplished with the aid of only a wedge, a lever, a roller, and a rope. Representations of three of these implements in use are to be seen in the building-slabs of Sennacherib.

15. Mechanics.

Among mechanical contrivances may be mentioned the crane for raising water from the rivers to irrigate the fields, and the pulley employed for lowering or raising a bucket in a well. The ingenuity of the Assyrians is apparent also in their various engines of war and the elaborate siege-train that accompanied their armies. The battering-rams, the scaling-ladders, the shields and pent-houses to protect sappers while undermining a wall—not to mention their chariots, weapons, and defensive armour—all testify to their mechanical skill.

The position of Assyria was favourable for commerce. Occupying part of the most fertile valley of W. Asia, she formed the highway between E. and W. Of her two great rivers, the Euphrates approaches within one hundred miles of the Mediterranean coast, yet empties its waters into the Persian Gulf. At the time of the Assyrian empire a highway of commerce must have lain from the Phœnician coast to Damascus and thence along the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. Many important caravan routes also lay through Assyria. Nineveh maintained commercial relations with the districts around Lake Urūmiyah, and with Ecbatāna, while to the west he Phœnician traders journeyed by the Sinjar range to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, thence south to Tadmor and through Damascus into Phœnicia; a second western caravan route lay through Harrān into upper Syria and Asia Minor, while Egypt's trade with Assyria as early as the fifteenth century is attested by the Amarna tablets. The prophet Ezekiel has borne witness to the presence of Assyrian merchants at Tyre in his time; yet it was the nations that traded with Assyria rather than Assyria with the nations, for the Assyrians were essentially a people who preferred to acquire their wealth by conquest rather than in the market-place. The internal trade of Assyria is represented by the contract tablets dating from the ninth century to the end of the empire, that have been found at Kuyunjik. These tablets—not nearly so many as those discovered throughout Babylonia (*q.v.*, § 19, beg.)—deal with the sale of slaves, cattle, and produce, the purchase of land, etc., and bear witness to the internal prosperity of Assyria. They are written more carefully than the majority of those of Babylonia; and the Babylonian device of wrapping the tablet in an envelope of clay on which the contract was inscribed in duplicate, with a view to its safer preservation, was not often adopted.

16. Commerce.

The form of government in Assyria throughout the whole course of her history was that of a military despotism. The king was supreme. He was Ašur's representative on earth and under the special protection of the gods. Whatever policy he might adopt was Ašur's policy, and it was the duty of every subject of Assyria to carry out his will. The nation therefore existed for the monarchy, not the monarchy for the nation. The kingship rested on the army, on which it relied to quell rebellion and maintain authority as well as to conquer foreign lands. The army was in consequence the greatest power in the state. Its commander-in-chief, the *turtan* or *tartan*, held a position next to that of the king himself, in whose absence he led the troops and directed operations (cp TARTAN). The *šaḳu* was an important lower officer; the *rab-ḳiṣir* was his superior; and the *šud-šaḳē* and *rab-šaḳē* were only second to the tartan (cp RABSHAKEH). The titles of many court officers are known; but it is difficult to ascertain their functions. The more important were eligible for the office of the *limmu*, to which they succeeded in order, each giving his name to the year during which he held office (see § 19 and CHRONOLOGY, § 23). In a military state such as Assyria a system of civil administration, it may be said, had almost disappeared. The governors of the various cities in the realm, whose duty it was to maintain order and send periodical accounts to the king, were not civilians. In fact, every position of importance in the empire was filled from the army. Priests and judges exercised a certain authority; but it was small in comparison with that of similar classes in Babylonia.

17. Government.

It was Assyria that at first attracted the attention of explorers, though within recent years Babylonia has enjoyed a monopoly of excavation and discovery

18. Excavations.

[1] They shine with beautiful prismatic tints. Most glass that has been buried for a considerable period, indeed, whether of Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman manufacture, presents this iridescent appearance. It is a popular error to suppose that it possessed these tints from the beginning and that the art by which the colouring was attained has perished with those who practised it. The ancients must not be allowed to take the credit due to nature. The earth and the atmosphere acting on the surface of the glass have liberated the silex, and the process of decomposition is attended with the iridescent appearance.

In the year 1820 Rich, the resident of the East India Company at Baghdād, visited Mōsul and made a superficial examination of the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yūnus. He obtained some fragments of pottery and a few bricks inscribed in cuneiform characters, and he published an account of what he had seen. It was not until 1842 that attention was again attracted to these mounds. Botta, the French Consul at Mōsul, then began to explore Kuyunjik. His efforts, however, did not meet with much success, and next year he transferred his attention to Khorsabad, 15 m. to the N. of Mōsul. There he came across the remains of a large building that subsequently proved to be the palace of Sargon, king of Assyria (722-705 B.C.). The majority of the sculptures that he and Victor Place excavated on this site are to be found in the Louvre; some, however, were obtained for the British Museum by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

In 1845 Sir Henry Layard explored the mounds at Nimrūd

and Kuyunjik, undertaking excavations at these places for the trustees of the British Museum; these diggings were continued by Loftus, Rassam, and others, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was then serving as Consul-General and political agent at Bagdād, and they resulted in the discovery of the principal remains of Assyrian art that have been recovered. At Nimrūd the palaces of Ašur-nāṣir-pal (884-860 B.C.), Shalmaneser II. (860-824 B.C.), and Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) have been unearthed (cp CALAH), and at Kuyunjik (cp NINEVEH) the palace of Sennacherib (705-681), and that of Ašur-bāni-pal (669-625). The bas-reliefs, inscriptions, etc., from that palace are preserved in the British Museum. At Kuyunjik (1852-54) the famous library of Ašur-bāni-pal, from which the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature is derived, was discovered. At Kal'at Sherkāt and at Sherif Khān excavations were successful; important stone inscriptions and clay cylinders of the early kings were found at Kal'at Sherkāt.

The years 1878-79 were times of remarkable discoveries. During this period the 'finds' at Kuyunjik included the great cylinder of Ašur-bāni-pal (*q.v.*), the most perfect specimen of its kind extant; at Nimrūd a large temple dating from the time of Ašur-nāṣir-pal was unearthed, while excavation at Tell-Balawāt resulted in the recovery of a second temple of Ašur-nāṣir-pal and the bronze coverings of the gate of Shalmaneser II. (cp *supra*). Besides the excavators and explorers of Assyria to whom reference has been made, two others should be mentioned —George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge. George Smith, in the years 1873, 1874, and 1875-76, undertook three expeditions to that country, on the last of which he lost his life. The most recent additions to the collection of cuneiform tablets from Kuyunjik were made by Budge in the years 1888 and 1891.

Of the Assyrian antiquities which have been recovered, most of the sculptures of Sargon from Khorsabād are in the Louvre; Berlin possesses a stele of Sargon found at Cyprus (cp SARGON) and a stele of Esarhaddon; a few slabs from the palace of Ašur-nāṣir-pal have found their way into the museums at Edinburgh, the Hague, Munich, Zürich, and Constantinople, and others from Kuyunjik into private galleries; almost all else is to be found within the walls of the British Museum.

19. Chronology.

There are four main sources of information for the settlement of Assyrian chronology—the so-called 'Eponym lists' (see below), the chronological notices scattered throughout the historical inscriptions (see § 20, beg.), the genealogies some of the kings give of themselves (see § 20, end), and lastly those two most important documents which have been styled the 'Synchronous History' (§ 21, beg.) and the 'Babylonian Chronicle' (§ 21, end).

The early Babylonians had counted time by great events, such as the taking of a city, or the construction of a canal (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 2, beg.). This primitive system of reckoning, by which a period or date could be but roughly estimated, gave place among the later Babylonians to the fashion of counting time according to the years of the reigning king.

The Assyrians adopted neither of these methods. They invented a system of their own. They named the years after certain officers, each of whom may possibly have been termed a *limu* or *limmu*, though the majority of scholars agree in regarding this term as referring not to the officer himself, but to his period of office. These officers or eponyms were appointed in a general rotation; each in succession held office for a year and gave his name to that year; the office was similar to that of the archonate at Athens or the consulate at Rome. Lists of the *limmus* have been preserved from the reign of Rammān-nirari II. (911-890 B.C.) down to that of Ašur-bāni-pal (669-625 B.C.). Some of them merely state the name of the eponym; others add short accounts of the principal events during his term of office. Now, it is obvious that the dates of all the years in this known succession will be known if there be any of them that can be determined independently. It fortunately happens that there is such a year. From the list we know that in the eponymy of Pur-Šagali in the month of Sivan (May-June) the sun was eclipsed, and astronomers have calculated that there was a total eclipse at Nineveh on the 15th of June 763 B.C. Hence the year of Pur-Šagali is fixed as 763, and the dates of the eponyms for the whole period covered by the lists are determined (see further CHRONOLOGY, § 24, and cp below, § 32).

For the chronology before this period other sources must be sought. Approximately it can sometimes be

determined by means of data supplied by the inscriptions of the kings in the form of chronological notices or remarks. For example, Sennacherib in his inscription engraved on the rock at Bavian (see *KB* 2 116 *ff.*), in recounting his conquest of Babylon (689 B.C.), adds that Rammān and Šala, the gods of the city of Ekallāti which Marduk-nādin-aḫē, king of Akkad, in the time of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, had carried away to Babylon, he now recovered and restored to their place after a lapse of 418 years (cp below, § 28). According to Sennacherib's computation, therefore, Tiglath-pileser I. must have been reigning in the year 1107 B.C., and from the inscription of Tiglath-pileser himself on his cylinders (cp below, § 28, beg.) we know that this year is probably not among the first five of his reign (cp below, § 28). Moreover, Tiglath-pileser himself tells us that he rebuilt the temple of Anu and Rammān, which sixty years previously had been pulled down by Ašur-dān because it had fallen into decay in the course of 641 years since its foundation by Šamši-Rammān (cp below, § 25). This notice, therefore, proves that Ašur-dān must have been on the throne about the years 1170 or 1180 B.C., and further approximately fixes the date of Šamši-Rammān as about the year 1820. The date of one other Assyrian king can be fixed by means of a reference made to him by one of his successors. Sennacherib narrates (cp below, § 27) that a seal of Tukulti-Ninib I. had been brought from Assyria to Babylon, where after 600 years he found it on his conquest of that city. Sennacherib conquered Babylon twice, once in 702 and again in 689; it may be concluded, therefore, that Tukulti-Ninib reigned in any case before 1289 B.C., and possibly before 1302 B.C. We thus have four settled points or pegs on which to hang the early history of Assyria.

20. Earlier period.

Further assistance in the arrangement of the earlier kings is obtained from genealogies. Rammān-nirari I., for example, styles himself the son of Pudil (=Pudi-ilu), grandson of Bēl-nirari, great grandson of Ašur-uballiṭ, all of whom, he states, preceded him on the throne of Assyria. Most of the Assyrian kings of whom we possess inscriptions at least state the name of their father, while in one instance we know the relationship between two earlier kings from a considerably later occupant of the throne, Tiglath-pileser I., informing us that Šamši Rammān was the son of Išmi-Dagan and that each was an early *patesi* of Assyria. We thus know to a great extent the order in which the kings must be arranged, and in cases where a son succeeds his father we can assign approximately the possible limits of their respective rules.

A further aid is found in the 'Synchronous History' of Assyria and Babylonia. This inscription was an official document drawn up with the aim of giving a brief summary of the relations between Babylonia and Assyria from the earliest times in regard to the boundary line dividing the two countries. The chief tablet on which this record is inscribed is, unfortunately, broken; but much still remains which renders the document one of the most important sources for Babylonian and Assyrian history. From it we ascertain for considerable periods which kings of Babylonia and Assyria were contemporaries.

21. Synchronous history, etc.

Similar information for the period from about 775 to 669 B.C. is obtained from the Babylonian Chronicle.

Now, we know the order and the length of the reigns of a great majority of the Babylonian kings from the Babylonian lists of kings that have been discovered, and the dates of some can be fixed, like those of the earlier Assyrian kings, from subsequent chronological notices (cp BABYLONIA, § 38). The dates and order, therefore, of the kings of both Babylonia and Assyria can to some extent be approximately settled independently of one another, and each line of kings can be controlled

from the other by means of the bridges thrown across between the two by the 'Synchronous History' and the 'Babylonian Chronicle.'

A further means of control is supplied by the points of contact that we can trace between Assyria and Egypt. Such are the Egyptian campaigns of Aššur-bāni-pal recounted on his cylinder inscription and the letter from Aššur-uballiṭ to Amenophis IV., recently found at Tell el-'Amārna, and now preserved in the Gizeh Museum. These points of contact are not, however, sufficient to warrant a separate classification; and to go to Egyptian chronology to fetch help for that of Assyria would be to embark on an explanation *ignoti per ignotius* (cp EGYPT, § 55 *f.*, and CHRONOLOGY, § 19).

Assyrian chronology, therefore, unlike that of early Babylonia, may be regarded as tolerably fixed. The dates of the later Assyrian kings, with the exception of the successors of Aššur-bāni-pal, can be settled almost to a year, while the dates assigned by various scholars to the earlier Assyrian kings, though differing, do not differ very widely. The data summarised above, which must form the basis of every system of Assyrian chronology, are not elastic beyond a certain point. Thus, whilst no two historians agree precisely as to the dates to be assigned to many of these earlier kings, the maximum of their disagreement is inconsiderable, and the results arrived at by almost any one of them may be considered approximately correct.

22. Names. With the Semitic races in general and the Babylonians and Assyrians in particular proper names retained their original forms with great persistency. Among these two nations, in fact, many names consist of short sentences, complete and perfectly grammatical; indeed, were it not for the determinatives placed before them to show that they are names (𒀭 for males, 𒊩 for females) the difficulty of reading Assyrian texts would be considerably increased.

The following are translations of some of the names of Assyrian kings the interpretation of which may be regarded as certain. Where the real Assyrian form of the name differs from the form now in common use it is added in brackets:

Išmi-Dagan . . . . 'Dagon hath heard.'
Šamši-Rammān . . . 'My sun is Rimmon.'
Aššur-bēl-nišīšu . . . 'Aššur is lord of his people.
Puzur-Aššur . . . . 'Hidden in Aššur.
Aššur-nādin-aḫē . . . 'Aššur giveth brethren.'
Aššur-uballiṭ . . . . 'Aššur hath quickened to life.
Bēl-nirari . . . . . 'Bēl is my helper.'
Rammān-nirari . . . 'Rimmon is my helper.
Shalmaneser (Šulmanu-ašaridu) 'Šulman is chief.
Tukulti-Ninib . . . 'My help is Ninib.'
Bēl-kudur-usur . . . 'Bēl, protect the boundary!
Ninib-pal-Ešara . . . 'Ninib is the son of Ešara.'
Aššur-dān . . . . . 'Aššur is judge.'
Aššur-rēš-iši . . . . 'Aššur, raise the head!'
Tiglath-pileser (Tukulti-pal-Ešara) 'My help is the son of Ešara.'
Aššur-bēl-kala . . . . 'Aššur is lord of all.'
Aššur-nāṣir-pal . . . 'Aššur protecteth the son.'
Aššur-nirari . . . . 'Aššur is my helper.'
Sargon (Šarru-kīnu) . 'The legitimate king.'
Sennacherib (Sin-ahe-erba) 'Sin (*i.e.*, the Moon-god) hath increased "brethren."'
Esarhaddon (Aššur-a'i-iddina) 'Aššur hath given a brother.'
Aššur-bani-pal . . . 'Aššur is the creator of a son.'
Aššur-etil-ilāni . . . 'Aššur is prince of the gods.'
Sin-šar-iškun . . . . 'Sin hath established the king.'

23. History. The beginnings of the Assyrian empire are not, like those of Babylonia, lost in remote antiquity. It is far more recent in its origin. The account contained in Gen. 10 11 to the effect that the Assyrians went forth from the Babylonians and founded their own cities is supported by all the evidence we can gather from the inscriptions. It is true that no actual account of this emigration has yet been found among the archives of either nation; but every indication of their origin tends to support the biblical account, for the Assyrians in all that they have left behind them

betray their Babylonian origin. Their language and method of writing, their literature, their religion, and their science were taken over from their southern neighbours with but little modification, and their very history is so interwoven with that of Babylonia that it is often difficult to treat the two countries separately.

24. Settlement. The period at which the Assyrian offshoot left its parent stem, though not accurately known, can be set within certain limits. It must have been at least before 2300 B.C. The Babylonian emigrants, pushing northwards along the course of the Tigris, formed their first important settlement on its W. bank some distance to the N. of its point of junction with the Lower Zāb. Here they founded a city, and called it Aššur after the name of their national god,—a city that long continued to be the royal capital of the kingdom.

The oldest Assyrian rulers did not bear the title of king. They bore that of *iššakku*, a term equivalent to

25. Earliest rulers. the title *patesi*, assumed by many rulers of the old Babylonian cities in the S. The phrase '*iššakku* of the god Aššur' is not to be taken in the sense of 'priest.' In all probability it implies that the ruler was the representative of his god—an explanation that is quite in accordance with the theocratic feeling of the period.

The earliest iššakkus at present known to us are Išmi-Dagan and his son Šamši-Rammān. The latter built a temple to the gods Anu and Rammān, which, Tiglath-pileser I. tells us, fell into decay; 641 years afterwards Aššur-dān pulled it down, and 60 years later it was rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser himself. This reference enables us to fix the date of Šamši-Rammān at about 1820, and it is usual to assign to Išmi-Dagan, his father, a date some twenty years earlier, *circa* 1840 B.C. In addition to his buildings at Aššur, Šamši-Rammān restored a temple of Ištar at Nineveh. The names of other iššakkus are known, although their dates cannot be determined.

Bricks, for example, have been found at Kal'at-Sherkāt, the site of the ancient city of Aššur, which bear the name of a second Šamši-Rammān, the son of Igur-kapkapu, and record that he erected a temple to the national god in that city. Another brick from the same place is inscribed with the name of Irišum, the son of Hallu, commemorating his dedication of a building to the god Aššur for the preservation of his own life and that of his son.

There are no data for determining the relation of Assyria to Babylonia at this period. Whether the early iššakkus still owed allegiance to their mother country or had already repudiated her claims of control is a question that cannot be decided with certainty. It is generally supposed, however, that at some period between 1700 and 1600 B.C. Assyria finally attained her independence.

The oldest Assyrian king whose name is known to us is Bēl-kapkapu. Rammān-nirari III., in an obscure

26. First kings. passage in one of his inscriptions, mentions Bēl-kapkapu as one of his earliest predecessors on the throne of Assyria. This passage is, however, the only indication we possess of the time at which he ruled. The first Assyrian king of whom we have more certain information is Aššur-bēl-nisīšu. With this king our knowledge of Assyrian

circa 1480. history becomes more connected, and we can trace in greater detail the doings of the various kings and the relations they maintained with Babylonia. The source of information that now becomes available is the 'Synchronous History' (see above, § 21).

From this document we learn that Aššur-bēl-nisīšu was on friendly terms with Kara-indaš, a king of the third Babylonian dynasty, with whom he formed a compact and determined the boundary that should divide their respective kingdoms. These

circa 1440. friendly relations were maintained by Puzur-Aššur, king of Assyria, who concluded similar treaties with Burna-Buriaš [illegible] of Babylonia. Puzur-Aššur was probably succeeded by A[illegible]ain-ahē (*circa* 1420). This king is mentioned in a letter of Aššur-uballiṭ to Amenophis IV., king of Egypt, in which he refers to Aššur-nādin-ahē as his father. How long the friendly relations between Assyria and Babylonia continued we

cannot say; but it was impossible that friction should always be avoided. Assyria was proud of her independence, while Babylonia could not but be jealous of her growing strength. Thus it was not long before their relations became hostile. It is under *circa* 1410. Aśur-uballiṭ that we first find the two nations in open conflict. Aśur-uballiṭ, to cement the friendship with Babylonia, had given his daughter Muballiṭat-Śerua in marriage to a Babylonian king, and Kara-hardaś, the offspring of this union, in time succeeded his father on the throne. He was slain, however, in a revolt, and Naẓi-bugaś, a man of unknown origin, was set up in his stead. To avenge the death of his grandson, Aśur-uballiṭ invaded Babylonia, slew Naẓi-bugaś, and set the youngest son of Burna-Buriaś, Kurigalzu II., on the throne. (Such is the account given in the 'Synchronous History' of Aśur-uballiṭ's intervention in Babylonian affairs. It may be mentioned, however, that a parallel text contains a somewhat different version of the affair, with which the account in the 'Synchronous History' has not yet been satisfactorily reconciled.) Kurigalzu did not long maintain friendship with Assyria. Soon we find him at war with Aśur-uballiṭ's son *circa* 1380. and successor, Bêl-nirari. Bêl-nirari, however, defeated him at the city of Sugaga, and after plundering his camp advanced to the Assyrian territory half of the country from the land of Šubari to Babylonia. Bêl-nirari's son Pudi-ilu (*circa* 1350) retained what his father had acquired, but did not attempt to make further encroachments on the S. He undertook successful expeditions, however, against the tribes on the E. and SE. of Assyria. We possess an inscription on a brick from his palace at Aśur, and another inscription of his on a six-sided stone (in the British Museum) records that he erected a temple to Šamaś the Sun-god. His son Rammân-nirari II., after strengthening the Assyrian *circa* 1345. rule in the territory recently acquired by his father, turned his attention to his S. boundary. He conquered the Babylonian king Naẓi-maruttaś in Kar-Ištar-Akarsallu, and added considerably to his empire.

Rammân-nirari was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser I. He has left us no account of the expeditions he *circa* 1330. undertook; but that he was a great conqueror we gather from a reference in the

27. Shalmaneser I., etc.

annals of Aśur-nasir-pal. This king relates that in his reign the Assyrians whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded him, had settled in the city of Ḫalziḫapha revolted under Ḫulai, their governor, and took the royal Assyrian city of Damdamusa. These places lay on the upper course of the Tigris; and it is evident from Aśur-nâṣir-pal's account that Shalmaneser had formed a sort of military outpost at this spot which shows that he must have undertaken successful expeditions against the countries to the NW. of Assyria. We may conclude that it was in consequence of this extension of his territory along the Tigris that Shalmaneser transferred his capital from Aśur in the south, which had formed the royal residence of Assyria, to Calah, a city of which he was the founder, as we learn from Aśur-nasir-pal. This new capital was situated about eighteen miles S. of Nineveh (cp CALAH). Shalmaneser, however, did not neglect the older capital. He enlarged its royal palace and restored the great temples. We know also that he restored the great temple of Ištar at Nineveh.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninib, who, like his father, busied himself in extending the NW. limits of his kingdom. At the *circa* 1290. sources of the Subnat, a river that joins the Tigris some distance above the modern Diar-bekr, he caused an image of himself to be hewn in the rock. He conquered Babylonia, and for seven years governed the country by means of tributary princes. Though we have not recovered any actual inscription of this king, we possess a copy of one made by the orders of Sennacherib, on a clay tablet in the British Museum. The original was inscribed on a seal of lapis lazuli, and Sennacherib tells us it had been carried from Assyria to Babylon. Six hundred years later, says Sennacherib, on his conquest of that city, he found the seal among the treasures of Babylon and brought it back (cp above, § 20). The inscription itself is short, merely containing the name and titles of Tukulti-Ninib, and calling down the vengeance of Aśur and Rammân on any one who should destroy the record. How or at what period the seal was brought to Babylon cannot be said with certainty; but it is not improbable that it found its way

there during Tukulti-Ninib's occupation of the country. This occupation was not permanent. At the end of seven years the nobles of Babylon revolted, and set Rammân-šum-usur, or Rammân-šum-nasir (the name may be read in either way), on the throne there as an independent king. Tukulti-Ninib was not a popular ruler, for he was slain in a revolt by his own nobles, who set his son, Aśur-nasir-pal, upon the throne. We possess an Assyrian copy of a letter written by a Babylonian king named Rammân-šum-nasir to Aśur-nârara and Nabu-dân, kings of Assyria. If, as has been suggested, the writer of this letter and the king who succeeded Tukulti-Ninib on the throne of Babylon are identical, we obtain the names of two other Assyrian kings of this period.

A few years later, under Bêl-kudur-usur (*circa* 1210), we find the Assyrians and Babylonians again in conflict. Bêl-kudur-usur, the Assyrian king, was slain in the battle; but Ninib- *circa* 1205. pal-Ešara retreated with the Assyrian army, and when the Babylonians followed up their advantage by an invasion of Assyria he defeated them and drove them from the country. The Babylonians, however, though repulsed, appear to have retained a considerable part of their former territory from the Assyrians. The next occupant of the throne was Aśur-dân, the son of Ninib-pal-Ešara. He retrieved *circa* 1200. the disasters which his father had sustained at the hands of the Babylonians. He invaded Babylonia against Zêr-ana-šum-iddin, captured the cities of Zaban, Irria, and Akarsallu, and returned with rich booty to Assyria. The only other fact that we know of this king was that he pulled down the temple of Rammân and Aśur which had been erected by Šamši-Rammân, but had since fallen into decay. His must have been an energetic reign, to justify the eulogy pronounced on him by his great-grandson Tiglath-pileser I. This monarch describes him as one 'who wielded a shining sceptre, who ruled the men of Bêl, whose deeds and offerings pleased the great gods, and who lived to a good old age.' Ashur dân was succeeded by his son Mutakkil-Nusku (*circa* 115), of whose reign we know nothing. He in turn was succeeded by his son *circa* 1140. Aśur-rêš-iši, whom Tiglath-pileser calls 'the mighty king who conquered the lands of the foe and overthrew all the exalted'; and from a clay bowl of his, bearing an inscription, we learn that the peoples of Lullumi and Kuti were among those he overthrew. He was victorious against the Babylonians. The Babylonian king, Nebuchadrezzar I., desiring to extend the northern limits of his country invaded Assyria and besieged a border fortress. Aśur-rêš-iši, however, summoned his chariots of war, and on his advance the Babylonians retreated, burning their siege-train. Nebuchadrezzar, with fresh chariots and troops, soon returned; but Aśur-rêš-iši, after reinforcing his own army, gave him battle and inflicted on him a crushing defeat. The Babylonian camp was plundered, and forty chariots fell into the hands of the Assyrians.

On the death of Aśur-rêš-iši the throne passed to his son Tiglath-pileser I., whose reign marks an *circa* 1120. epoch in Assyrian history. He is, moreover, the first Assyrian monarch who has left us a detailed record of his achievements. The great

28. Tiglath-pileser I.

inscription of this king is contained on four octagonal cylinders of clay which he buried at the four corners of the temple of Rammân at Aśur to serve as a permanent record of his greatness and of the extent of the Assyrian empire during his reign. Each of the four cylinders contains the same inscription. Where one is broken or obscure the text can be made out from the others.[1]

In the course of the introduction with which he prefaces the account of his expeditions he gives the following description of himself: 'Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, the king of hosts who has no rival, the king of the four quarters, the king of all rulers, the lord of lords, . . . the king of kings, the excellent priest who, at the command of the Sun-god, was entrusted with the shining sceptre and has ruled all men who are subject to Bêl, the true shepherd whose name has been proclaimed unto the rulers, the exalted governor whose weapons Aśur has commanded and whose name for the rule of the four quarters he has proclaimed for ever, . . . the mighty one, the destroyer who like the blast of a hurricane over the hostile land has proved his power, who by the will of Bêl has no rival and has destroyed the foes of Aśur.' On the conclusion of this preface the inscription goes on to recount the various campaigns in which Tiglath-pileser was engaged during the first five years of his reign. He first advanced against the inhabitants of Muśku (the Meshech of the OT; see TUBAL), who had overrun and conquered the land of Kummuḫ, which lay on both sides of the Euphrates to the NW. of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser, therefore, crossed the intervening mountainous region and defeated their

[1] Translation in *KB* i. 17-47.

five kings with great slaughter. 'The bodies of their warriors,' he says, 'in the destructive battle did I cast down like a tempest. Their blood I caused to flow over the valleys and heights of the mountains. Their heads I cut off, and around their c[illegible] heaped them like . . . Their spoil, their possessions, th[illegible] property without limit, I brought out. Six thousand men, the remainder of their armies, who before my weapons had fled, clasped my feet (*i.e.*, tendered their submission). I carried them away and reckoned them as the inhabitants of my land.' Tiglath-pileser then attacked the land of Kummuḫ, burnt the cities, besieged and destroyed the fortress of Šeriše on the Tigris, and captured the king. He defeated the tribes that came to the assistance of Kummuḫ, and after receiving the submission of the neighbouring city of Urartinaš returned to Assyria with great booty, part of which he dedicated to the gods Aššur and Rammān. This expedition was followed by one against the land of Šubari (or Šubarti), in the course of which he defeated four thousand warriors of the Ḫatti (see HITTITES) and captured one hundred and twenty chariots. Another campaign in the mountainous regions of the NW. met with similar success, and resulted in the submission of many small states and cities. Tiglath-pileser now devoted his energies to extending his border in another direction. He crossed the Lower Zāb and overran the districts of Murattaš and Sarada'uš to the S. of Assyria. Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to the N., whence he brought back with him the captured images of twenty-five gods, which he set up as trophies in the temples of his own land. Tiglath-pileser next extended his conquests still farther north into the district around the upper course of the Euphrates. The mountains he passed with great difficulty, and crossed the Euphrates itself on rafts which his troops constructed out of the trees that clothed the hill-sides. Here twenty-three kings of the land of Na'iri, alarmed at his approach, assembled their combined forces to give him battle. 'But,' writes Tiglath-pileser, 'with the violence of my mighty weapons I oppressed them, and the destruction of their numerous host I accomplished like the onslaught of the Storm-god. The corpses of their warriors I scattered in the plains and on the mountain-heights.' After completing the subjugation of the district he restored the kings he had captured, and in addition to the spoil he had taken he received from them as tribute twelve thousand horses and two thousand oxen. The Assyrian king now turned his troops against the region of the W. Euphrates. He subdued the district around the city of Carchemish, and even extended his conquests beyond the river, which his army crossed on rafts buoyed up by inflated skins. The last campaign of which we have a detailed account is that against the land of Muṣri to the N. of Assyria, the inhabitants of which, when at length driven into their chief city of Arini, tendered their submission. Tiglath-pileser then marched through the neighbouring country carrying with him fire and sword, burning the cities he took and digging up their foundations. The royal scribe, speaking in his master's name, concludes his record of these early conquests of Tiglath-pileser with the following summary: 'In all forty-two lands and their kings from beyond the Lower Zāb, from the border of the distant mountains as far as the farther side of the Euphrates up to the land of Ḫatti and as far as the upper sea of the setting sun (*i.e.*, Lake Van), from the beginning of my sovereignty until my fifth year, has my hand conquered. One command have I caused them to bear; their hostages have I taken; tribute and tax have I imposed upon them.'

The cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-pileser does not recount the later expeditions of his reign. From the 'Synchronous History,' however, which deals with his relations with Babylonia, we learn that Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and Marduk-nādin-aḫē, king of Babylonia, had 'a second time' set in battle array their chariots of war that were assembled above the Lower Zāb in Arzuḫina. 'In the second year' they fought in Akkad, where Tiglath-pileser 'captured the cities of Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar of the Sun-god, Sippar of Anunitu, Babylon, Opis, the great cities together with their fortifications; at the same time he plundered Akarsallu as far as the city of Lubdi, and the land of Sa'ali (on the Euphrates to the NW. of Babylon) in its entirety up to the city of Rapiqu he subdued.'[1] The phrase 'a second time' is puzzling, for the 'Synchronous History' does not relate a previous campaign of Tiglath-pileser against Babylon. Some scholars therefore suggest that it refers merely to the former struggle of Aššur-rēš-iši, Tiglath-pileser's father, with the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar I.; but it must be remembered that Tiglath-pileser did not meet with unvarying success in his relations with Babylonia, for Sennacherib mentions that during his reign Rammān and Šala, the gods of the city of Ekallāti, had been carried off by Marduk-nādin-aḫē, king of Akkad (cp above, § 29). The question whether this conquest of Ekallāti was before or after Tiglath-pileser's successful Babylonian campaign is still indeed an open one; but the supposition is plausible that Marduk-nādin-aḫē's advance against Assyria was in the first year of hostilities between the two countries, and that his success was merely temporary, being followed 'in the second year' by Tiglath-pileser's extensive conquests in Babylonia as related in the 'Synchronous History.'

Tiglath-pileser was a great hunter. He kept a record of the beasts he slew in the desert. This was inserted in the cylinder-inscription after the account of his campaigns. From it we learn that with the help of the gods Ninib and Nergal

[1] *KB* I 193.

he slew 'four wild oxen, mighty and terrible in the desert of the land of Mitāni and in Araziḫi, which is in front of the land of Ḫatti,' ten elephants in the district of Harrān and on the banks of the Ḫābūr, one hundred and twenty lions on foot, and eight hundred with spears while in his chariot. He caught four elephants alive, and brought them back, together with the hides and tusks of those he had slain, to the city of Aššur. No less energetic was the king in his building operations. The temples of the gods in Aššur that were in ruins he restored; he repaired the palaces throughout the country that his predecessors had allowed to fall into decay; he extended his water-supply by the construction of canals; he accumulated considerable quantities of grain. As a result of his conquests, he kept Assyria supplied with horses, cattle, and sheep, and brought back from his campaigns foreign trees and plants, which became acclimatised.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser was a period of great prosperity for Assyria. He pushed his conquests until the bounds of his empire extended from below the Lower Zāb to Lake Van and the district of the Upper Euphrates, and from the mountains to the E. of Assyria to Syria on the W., including the region watered by the Ḫābūr. He was a good warrior; yet he did not neglect the internal administration of his realm, devoting the spoil of his campaigns to the general improvement of the country. In fact, the summary he gives of his own reign is a just one: 'To the land of Aššur I added land; to its people I added people. The condition of my people I improved': I caused them to dwell in a peaceful habitation.'

The prosperity which Assyria had enjoyed under Tiglath-pileser does not appear to have long survived his death.

At the time of Aššur-bēl-kala, Tiglath-pileser's son, relations between Assyria and Babylonia were of a friendly nature. Aššur-bēl-kala at first made treaties with Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti, king of Babylon; and later, when Rammān-apla-iddina, a man of obscure extraction, ascended the throne of Babylonia, he further strengthened the connection between the two countries by contracting an alliance with the daughter of the Babylonian king. Šamši-Rammān, another son of Tiglath-pileser I., also succeeded to the throne, but whether before or after his brother Aššur-bēl-kala cannot be determined. The only inscription of this king that we possess records that he restored the temple of the goddess Ištar in Nineveh.

Such are the only facts we know concerning the immediate successors of Tiglath-pileser I., and at this point a gap of more than one hundred years occurs in our knowledge of the history of Assyria. We may surmise that the period was one of misfortune for the empire. What little can be gathered from the inscriptions concerning these years speaks of disaster.

29. Gap. *circa* 1070-950.

Shalmaneser II., in his monolith-inscription,[1] states that he recaptured the cities of Pethor and Mutkinu (beyond the Euphrates), which had been originally taken by Tiglath-pileser I., but had meanwhile been lost by Assyria in the time of a king named Aššur- . . . (the latter half of the name being broken). This king may be identified with Aššur-erbi, and in that case he must have met with at least some success in the W., for we know that at a place on the coast of Phœnicia Aššur-erbi cut an image of himself in the rock, near which at a later time Shalmaneser II. caused his own to be set. The names of two other kings are known: Erba-Rammān and Aššur-nādin-aḫē, whose reigns must have fallen during this period. They are mentioned in the so-called 'hunting inscription' of Aššur-nāṣir-pal as having erected buildings in the city of Aššur, which were restored by Aššur-nāṣir-pal.

No direct light is thrown on this dark period by the 'Synchronous History.' As, however, it is written with a strong Assyrian bias, its silence is an additional testimony that during this period Assyria must have suffered misfortunes.

When we once more take up the thread of Assyria's history, our knowledge of the succession of her kings is unbroken down to the time of Aššurbānipal.

30. Predecessors of A. *circa* 930.

Tiglath-pileser II. heads this succession of rulers; but of him we know nothing beyond his name, which occurs in an inscription of his grandson Rammān-nirari II.,[2] who styles him 'king of hosts, king of Assyria.' Tiglath-pileser II. was succeeded by his son Aššur-dān II. Of this king we know that he constructed a canal, which, however, in the course of thirty years fell into disrepair, and was therefore made good by Aššur-nāṣir-pal. Rammān-nirari II., who succeeded his father, has left behind him only the short inscription (just

[1] *KB* I 159 *ff.* [2] *KB* I 145.

mentioned) recording his own name and those of his father and grandfather. He was an energetic ruler, as is evinced by the 'Synchronous History,' which records various successes of his against the Babylonians—first against the Babylonian king, Šamaš-mudammiḳ, and later against his successor, Nabû-šum-iškun, who had set himself by force upon the throne. From this latter monarch he captured many cities and much spoil. He did not, however, press his victory. He concluded a truce with the Babylonian king, either Nabû-šum-iškun or his successor, and each added the other's daughter to his harem. His

800. son, Tukulti-Ninib, succeeded him; and from an inscription of this monarch at Sebeneh-Šu we may infer that he undertook successful expeditions to the N. of Assyria, at least.

Tukulti-Ninib was succeeded by his son Aššur-nâṣir-pal,

884. one of the greatest monarchs Assyria ever produced. The annals of his reign he inscribed on a slab of stone, which he set up in the temple of the god Ninib at Calah. In this inscription,[1] one of the longest historical inscriptions of Assyria, he gives an account of the various campaigns he undertook.

31. Aššur-nâṣir-pal.

In the first years of his reign, he tells us, he went against the land of Numme, a mountainous tract of country to the N. of Assyria, and subdued the lands and cities in its neighbourhood. The king then proceeded against the district of Kirruri that lay along the W. shores of Lake Urûmyah. Turning W. from Kirruri, he passed through the land of Kirni on the Upper Tigris, and city after city fell into his hands. He returned to Assyria with the booty he had collected, and brought with him Bûbu, the son of Bubâ, the governor of Nîšun, a city where he had met with an obstinate resistance. This wretch he flayed alive in Arbêla, nailing his skin to the city wall. In the same year he again repaired to the region of the Upper Tigris, against the cities at the foot of the mountains of Nipur and Paṣatu. He then passed westward to the land of Kummuḫ, quelling a revolt in the city of Sûru on the Khâbûr, and seizing the rebel leader Ahiabala who was brought back to Nineveh, where he was flayed. The tribes surrounding the disaffected region tendered their submission. In the next year the first act of the king was to stamp out another rebellion. News was brought to him that the city of Halzidipha, which Shalmaneser II. had colonised (see above, § 27, beg.), was in a state of revolution, and had attacked the Assyrian city of Damdamusa. While on his way against the rebels he set up an image of himself, at the source of the river Subnat, beside images of two of his predecessors, Tiglath-pileser I. and Tukulti-Ninib. He then defeated the rebels at the city of Kinabu, which he captured, and proceeded to punish the revolt with severity, flaying the rebel leader Ḫulai. Next he attacked the city of Têla and burnt it, mutilating the prisoners by cutting off their ears and hands and putting out their eyes. These wretches, while still alive, he piled up in a great heap; he made another heap out of the heads of the slain, while other heads he fastened to trees round the city; the youths and maidens he burnt alive. These details may suffice to show the brutal practices of this great conqueror. Aššur-nâṣir-pal next proceeded to the city of Tušḫa, which had been deserted by the Assyrians in consequence of a famine. After restoring and strengthening its walls, he built a palace for himself and brought back the former inhabitants of the city. After his return he again undertook a pillaging expedition in the mountainous regions of the north. The next two years were mainly taken up with campaigns in Dagara and Zamua, which were in a state of insurrection, Nûr-Rammân, the chief of Dagara, leading the revolt. The war was a protracted one, and three expeditions were required before order was completely restored. These expeditions were followed by others in the region of Kummuḫ, and in the land of Na'iri. From his residence at Tušḫa, the king then crossed the Tigris and captured Pitura and certain towns round the city of Arbaki. Aššur-nâṣir-pal records at this point the death of Ammeba'la, one of his nobles, who was murdered by his subordinates. The king's anger, however, was appeased by a large tribute, although, according to one account, he flayed Bur-Rammân, the chief rebel, and nailed his skin to the wall of Sinabu.

One of the most important campaigns in the reign of Aššur-nâṣir-pal was that against the land of Suḫi. Although Šadudu, the ruler of that land, obtained help from Nabû-aplu-iddina, king of Babylonia, his capital Sûru was taken and he himself escaped only by flight. A second campaign led to the subjugation of the whole district and a considerable extension of the Assyrian sphere of influence along the Euphrates. Aššur-nâṣir-pal next crossed the river and carried his arms into N. Syria. He first made his way to Carchemish and received the submission of Sangara, king of the land of Hatti. Proceeding SW. and exacting tribute from the districts through which he passed, he crossed the Orontes and marched S. into the district of Lebanon. The cities on the coast of the Mediterranean, including Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arma' (Arvad), sent presents. In the N. districts he cut down cedars, which he used on his return in building temples to the gods. One more expedition Aššur-nâṣir-pal undertook on the N. of Assyria, traversing the land of Kummuḫ and again penetrating to the upper reaches of the Tigris.

[1] *KB* 1 50 *ff.*, *KP*(2) 2 134 *ff.*

Aššur-nâṣir-pal firmly established the rule of Assyria in the NW. and the N., while he extended his empire eastwards and laid the foundations of Assyria's later supremacy in the W. on the coast of the Mediterranean. He was one of Assyria's greatest conquerors; but his rule was one of iron, and his barbarity was exceptional even for his time. He was a great builder. At Nineveh he restored the royal palace and rebuilt the temple of Ištar. The city of Calah, which Shalmaneser I. had founded, he rebuilt, peopling it with captives taken on his expeditions. He connected it with the Upper Zab by means of a canal, and erected two temples and a huge palace, from which his bas-reliefs, now in the British Museum, were obtained (cp above, § 18).

Aššur-nâṣir-pal was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser II. who extended the kingdom of his father beyond Lake

860. Van and Lake Urûmyah. He exercised a protectorate over Babylonia in the S., and his kingdom included Damascus, which he had conquered. During his reign, for the first time in history, Assyria came into direct contact with Israel: he mentions Ahab of Israel as one of the allies of Benhadad of Damascus (cp SHALMANESER II. 1). His later years were troubled by the revolt of his son Aššur-dânin-pal; but his younger son, Šamši-Rammân, put down the rebellion, and on his father's death succeeded to the throne.

32. Shalmaneser II. and successors.

On a monolith of Šamši-Rammân II., now in the British Museum, is an inscription in archaistic characters narrating

824. four campaigns of this monarch. He restored order to the kingdom, which had been thrown into confusion by the rebellion of his brother, and, having established his own authority over the territory subjugated by his father, extended it on the E. He routed the Babylonian king, Marduk-balaṣu-iḳbi, in spite of the large army the latter had collected, comprising drafts from Elam and Chaldea in addition to his regular troops.

Šamši-Rammân II. was succeeded by his son, Rammân-nirari III.

Two inscriptions on stone slabs from Calah, an inscription on some statues of the god Nebo, and an inscription on a brick

811. from the mound of Nebi-Yûnûs, are the records actually dating from his reign; but these are supplemented by a short notice in the 'Synchronous History,' and by the Eponym Canon, which adds short notices of the principal events during each year of his reign.

Rammân-nirari III. undertook expeditions in Media, Parsua, and the region of Lake Urûmyah on the E.; conquered the land of Na'iri on the N.; and subjugated all the coastlands on the W., including Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, and Philistia. Mari', king of Damascus (see BENHADAD, § 3), attempted no defence of his capital. He sent to Rammân-nirari his submission, paying a heavy tribute in silver, gold, copper, and iron, besides quantities of cloth and furniture. A considerable portion of Babylonia also owned the supremacy of Rammân-nirari. In his inscription on the statues of Nebo, he mentions the name of his wife Sammuramat (the Assyrian form of the Greek Semiramis). He was a great monarch. His energetic rule and extensive conquests recall those of Shalmaneser II. his grandfather.

Of the three kings that follow not much is known.

782. Shalmaneser III. succeeded Rammân-nirari, and from the Eponym Canon we gather that he undertook campaigns against Urartu (Armenia), Itu', Damascus, and Hatarika (Hadrach). He was succeeded

772. by Aššur-dân III. This king made foreign expeditions. His was a troubled reign. The most important event recorded in his time was the eclipse of the sun in 763 (cp above, § 19, end; AMOS, § 4. ECLIPSE, § 1). The same year saw the outbreak of civil war: the ancient city of Aššur had revolted. In 761 the rebellion was joined by the city of Arapḫa, and in 759 by the city of Gozan. In 758, however, after it had lasted six years, the revolt was brought to an end; Gozan was captured, and order once more restored. The troubles of Assyria during the reign of Aššur-dân

were aggravated in the years 765 and 759 by visitations of the plague. On his death he was succeeded by Aśur-nirari.

754. Although at the beginning of his reign this king undertook expeditions against Hadrach and Arpad, and later two campaigns against the Zimri, for the greater part of his reign he was inactive. In 746 the city of Calah revolted, and next year a man of

33. Tiglath-pileser III. and successors.

745. unusual energy usurped the throne, and, assuming the name of Tiglath-pileser, extended Assyrian supremacy farther than it had ever reached. In the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. Assyria came into close contact with the Hebrews, a contact that continued under each of his successors until the reign of Esarhaddon. The events of their reigns and the influence they exerted on the history of Israel and Judah are described in the separate articles on these successive kings.

Tiglath-pileser III. was succeeded in 727 by SHALMANESER IV. (*q.v.*), and he in 722 by the usurper SARGON (*q.v.*), to whom succeeded

727-669. in 705 his son SENNACHERIB (*q.v.*), in 680 his grandson ESARHADDON (*q.v.*), and in 669 his great-grandson Aśur-bani-pal. For the expeditions of the last-named monarch in Egypt, Elam, Arabia, etc. see AŠUR-BANI-PAL. His literary tastes found expression in the collecting of a great library at Nineveh. The Eponym list and his own inscriptions cover only the first part of his reign; his later years are clouded in uncertainty, and the date of his death is a matter of

34. Decline and fall.

conjecture. The period from his death until the fall of Nineveh is equally obscure. We know the names of two of his sons, Aśur-etil-ilāni and Sin-śar-iśkun, who both occupied the throne; but the length of their respective reigns and even the order of their succession are matters of dispute. It used to be assumed that during this period Assyria was entirely stripped of her power and foreign possessions; but this view has now been modified in consequence of recently discovered contract-tablets dated from both northern and southern Babylonian cities according to the regnal years of the last two Assyrian kings. These prove that the Assyrian supremacy in Babylonia continued for some little time at least. Assyria's power, however, was waning. A long career of conquest had been followed by an age of luxury, and her strength was sapped. The Scythian hordes that had swept across W. Asia had further weakened her. Thus, when Nabopolassar, repudiating Assyrian control, allied himself with Cyaxares, king of Media, and their combined forces invaded the country, her resistance met with no success.

circa 606. Though Nineveh held out for two years, the city was at last captured and destroyed, and Assyria was annexed to the empire of the Medes.

The most recent, and at the same time most scientific, work on Assyrian art and architecture is Perrot and Chipiez's *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vol. ii., *Chaldée et Assyrie*, Paris, 1884. Of works which appeared soon after the discovery of the remains of Assyrian art, and do not attempt a scientific treatment,

35. Bibliography.

one of the earliest was Botta and Flandin's *Monument de Ninive*, 5 vols., Paris, 1849-50. The two works of Sir Henry Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* and *Monuments of Nineveh*, contain a good account of his discoveries. In *Assyrian Discoveries*, Lond. 1875, George Smith has described the results of his own explorations.

For the history of Assyria the principal work is Tiele's *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* Gotha, 1886-88. Reference may also be made to Hommel's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* Berlin, 1885-88, the *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* by Murdter and Delitzsch, Calw and Stuttgart, 1891, and Winckler's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* Leipz. 1892. Among English works dealing with the history of Assyria, see George Smith's *Assyrian ONPCK*, Oxf. 1875), and Prof. G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. i. and ii. Lond. 1871. Both these works have been superseded on several points in consequence of later discoveries.

Assyrian history can be rightly understood only if followed in the inscriptions themselves. Translations of most of the historical inscriptions of Assyria are given in Schrader's *KB* i. and ii. Berlin, 1889-90, each of which contains an explanatory map. A series of popular English translations of Egyptian and Assyrian monuments was founded and edited by Dr. S. Birch of the British Museum and entitled *RP* (12 vols. Lond. 1873-81), of which vols. i. iii. v. vii. ix. and xi. deal with Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. These translations have now, of course, been superseded. In a new series edited by A. H. Sayce (6 vols. Lond. 1888-92) the old methods and plan were not modified. As a collection of all the points in the OT illustrated or explained by the monuments, Schrader's *COT* is still unrivalled.

For works treating of the religion of the Assyrians see BABYLONIA, § 71.

For the student who would gain a more than superficial knowledge of Assyriology it is needless to give a list of works, as this has already been done in Bezold's *Bab. Ass. lit.* Leipz. 1886; the literature since 1886 can be ascertained from the bibliographies appended to the *ZA* and to the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, and from the *Or. Bibliographie*.

L. W. K.

ASTAD (ΑCΤΑΔ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 13 RV = Ezra 2 12, AZGAD.

ASTAROTH (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת), Dt. 1 4; RV ASHTAROTH.

ASTARTE. See ASHTORETH.

ASTATH (ΑCΤΑΘ [BA] ΑZΓΑΔ [L]), 1 Esd. 8 38 = Ezra 8 12, AZGAD.

ASTEROLOGER (Dan. 1 20 etc., אַשְׁפָּ), RV ENCHANTER; and Is. 47 13† (חֹבְרֵי שָׁמַיִם), RV^mg 'divider of the heavens.' See STARS, § 5; also DIVINATION, § 2 (5) and MAGIC, § 3 (4).

ASTYAGES (ΑCΤΥΑΓΑC [BAQ]), according to Theodotion's text of Bel and the Dragon 1, was the predecessor of Cyrus in the kingdom of Persia. See CYRUS.

ASUPPIM and HOUSE OF ASUPPIM (1 Ch. 26 17, לָאֲסֻפִּים; ΕΙC ΤΟ ΑCΑΦΕΙΝ [A], Ε.Τ. ΕCΕΦ. [B]; ΤΟΙC ΑCΑΦΕΙΜ [L]; v. 15 בֵּית הָאָסֻף, ΟΙΚΟΥ ΑCΑΦΕΙΝ [A], Ο. ΕCCΦCΙΝ [B], Ο. ΑCΑΦ [L]; ܒܝܬ ܐܣܦܐ [Pesh.]; RV in each case 'the storehouse.' In Neh. 12 25† AV renders the same word 'the thresholds' [marg. 'treasuries,' 'assemblies']; ⅋ΕΒΡΑΙ, ἐν τῷ συναγαγεῖν με [different vocalisation]; RV 'the storehouses'), a word used by the Chronicler to describe certain storehouses situated at the temple gates (Neh. 12 25), perhaps specially the southern gate (1 Ch. 26 15). See TEMPLE.

ASUR (ΑCΟΥΡ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 RV = Ezra 2 51, HARHUR.

AŠUR-BANI-PAL. Though mentioned by name only once or twice in OT (see ASNAPPER), Aśur-bāni-pal is important to OT literature from his deportation of troublesome populations to the region of Samaria (see SAMARIA, SAMARITANS, and cp below, § 12); also from references to his campaigns in Egypt and Arabia in the prophecies (see ISAIAH, ii. § 9, and NAHUM, § 2). He was one of Assyria's greatest kings, and famous not less for his devotion to art and literature than for his extensive conquests. His name, which is best read Aśur-bāni (or bani)-apli, means 'Aśur is the creator of a son.' He was the eldest son of Esarhaddon, and ascended the throne in 668 B.C. His succession had been secured by his having been publicly proclaimed king before his father's death, while his brother, Šamaš-śum-ukin, was installed in Babylon as viceroy or tributary prince.

From the moment of his accession he was plunged into a prolonged war in Egypt, for Tarḳū (TIRHAKAH),

1. 1st Egyptian campaign.

king of Ethiopia, in the words of Aśur-bāni-pal, 'forgot the might of Aśur, Iśtar, and the great gods my lords, and trusted in his own strength': that is, he raised a large army and descended upon Egypt. The prefects and governors appointed by Esarhaddon fled at Tarḳū's approach. He captured Thebes, descended the Nile to Memphis where he fixed his capital, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt. On receiving the news of this disaster, Aśur-bāni-pal determined to recover Egypt. During the passage of his army through Syria and along the coast of the Mediterranean, reinforcements in men and ships, in addition to the customary tribute, were received from twenty-two subject kings of

Palestine and Cyprus, among whom Manasseh, king of Judah, is mentioned (cp ESARHADDON). Tarḳû, hearing of the advance of the Assyrians, sent out his own forces from Memphis. At Karbaniti, within the Egyptian border, the forces of Tarḳu were utterly routed, while the king himself abandoned Memphis and escaped by boat to Thebes, leaving his capital and the whole of Lower Egypt in the hands of the Assyrians. The various governors and petty kings, who had formerly been tributary to Esarhaddon and had been expelled by Tarḳû, now returned, and joined their own forces to those of the Assyrians, upon which the combined armies ascended the Nile in a fleet of boats to dislodge Tarḳu from Thebes. In forty days the journey was accomplished. Tarḳû abandoned the city without striking a blow, and retreated into Ethiopia, leaving the whole of Egypt in the hands of the Assyrians.

2. Revolt suppressed.

He did not, however, abandon his designs upon Egypt, and, as his former attempt at open opposition had proved unsuccessful, he now resorted to stratagem. Perceiving that the native Egyptian princes were far from contented under the military sway of the Assyrians, he opened secret negotiations with them. Nikû (NECHO), Šarruludâri, and Pakruru leading the conspiracy on the Egyptian side. It was agreed that they should transfer their allegiance to Tarḳu, who in return would leave them in undisturbed possession of their principalities, and that, while he attacked Egypt from the south, they would raise a revolt in the interior. The Assyrian generals, however, suspecting that some treachery was afoot, intercepted their messengers, and learnt the full extent of the plot. Nikû and Šarruludâri were bound hand and foot and sent to Nineveh, while their fellow-conspirators were slain. The revolt, thus prematurely hastened, was quelled without difficulty. Tarḳû was once more driven from Upper Egypt, and soon afterwards died.

Ašur-bâni-pal, in restoring the country again to order, appears to have mitigated his former rigour, seeking to conciliate rather than to suppress the native rulers. Nikû was pardoned. He was clothed in costly raiment; a ring was set upon his finger, and a fillet of gold about his head (as an emblem of his restoration); and with presents of chariots, horses, and mules, he returned to Egypt, where he was once more installed as governor in Sais, while his son Nabû-šêzibanni was appointed governor of Athribis.

3. 2nd Egyptian expedition.

Ethiopia, however, could not long keep her eyes from Egypt; and, although Tarḳû was dead, the ambitions of his country did not die with him. It was not long before Urdamanê, his successor, marched northwards and took Upper Egypt (cp EGYPT, § 66). He advanced from Thebes to meet the Assyrian expedition sent against him, but was worsted in the battle, returned to the city, and thence fled farther south to Kipkip. The Assyrians marched on Thebes, and the city itself, together with immense booty, fell into their hands. They carried back with them to Assyria two huge obelisks, and thus set the fashion, adopted by all the later conquerors of Egypt, of perpetuating their victory by means of the monuments of the conquered country itself. 'With full hands,' writes Ašur-bâni-pal, 'I safely returned to Nineveh, the city of my rule.' This successful expedition, however, had no lasting effect. Egypt was too far off to remain for any length of time the vassal of Assyria. Psammetichus, the son of Nikû, obtained the supremacy over the whole country, and permanently shook off the Assyrian yoke.

4. Siege of Tyre.

After his second Egyptian campaign Ašur-bâni-pal directed his forces against Ba'al, king of Tyre, 'who dwelt in the midst of the sea'—a good description of the city (see TYRE). Like his predecessors, Ašur-bâni-pal failed to capture a stronghold so favoured by nature. He erected towers and earthworks, however, and attempted to cut off communication from the sea as well as from the land, and maintained so effectual a blockade that Ba'al, at last reduced to extremities, sent Yaḥi-milki to

ask for terms. Ašur-bani-pal contented himself with levying tribute on the city, and with demanding the king's daughter and nieces for his harem, together with their dowries. After humbling Tyre, it was no hard matter to obtain the submission of the less important [illegible] of the Mediterranean coast. Among these were Yakinlû, king of the island-city of ARVAD, Mugallu, king of Tabal, and Sandasarmû, king of CILICIA (CILICIA, § 2).

Gyges (Gugu), king of Lydia, also appears to have heard of the success of the Assyrians, and to have sent in his submission.

5. Gyges of Lydia, etc.

For some years he maintained these friendly relations, and to this fact attributed his success over the Cimmerians, in proof of which he sent to Nineveh two captive Cimmerian chiefs bound hand and foot with fetters of iron. Towards the end of the reign of Ašur-bani-pal, however, Gyges severed his connection with Assyria, and aided Psammetichus (Psametik) in his struggle for Egyptian independence (cp EGYPT, § 67).

Ašur-bani-pal was now free to turn his attention to the eastern borders of his kingdom.

During the absence of the Assyrian army in its distant [illegible], the E. frontier of Assyria had been constantly [illegible] by the king of Mannai (see MESAI). Ašur-bani-pal [illegible] to chastise Aḫšeri. He marched northwards, and foiled an attempt of his opponent to surprise the Assyrians by a night attack. Aḫšeri fled to his capital Izirtu, while Ašur-bani-pal laid waste the country. On his death in a revolt he was succeeded by his son Uallî, who bought terms of peace from Ašur-bani-pal.

The most warlike nation on the E. of Assyria, however, and indeed her most powerful enemy, was ELAM (q.v.).

6. Elam.

Urtaku its king had shown his hostility to Assyria already in the reign of Esarhaddon, by attempting to stir up a rebellion in Chaldea; and although, when his people were suffering from famine, he had received assistance from Ašur-bani-pal himself, he now proposed an invasion of Babylonia, hoping thereby to cripple the Assyrian power.

Acting on the advice of his general, Marduk-šumi-ibni, he formed an alliance with Bel-ibni, king of Gambulu, a country situated in the lower basin of the Tigris, on the shores of the Persian Gulf—and having won over to his side Nabû-šumu-iškun, a governor in Chaldea, he crossed the Babylonian border. On news being brought to Ašur-bani-pal that the Elamites had advanced 'like a flight of locusts' and were encamped against Babylon, he set on foot an expedition, and, marching southwards, drove Urtaku beyond the frontier.

On the death of Urtaku, shortly afterwards, the throne was seized by Teumman, who immediately sought to rid himself of the sons of the former kings, Urtaku and Ummanaldaš I. His intended victims, however, escaped with their friends to the court of Ašur-bani-pal, where they were in kindliness received, and protected. This incident caused a renewal of the war between Elam and Assyria. An interesting fact, which throws light on Assyrian prophecy, is related. On the eve of the campaign Ašur-bani-pal prayed solemnly to the goddess Ištar, who to encourage him appeared in a vision to a seer, and promised victory to the Assyrian arms.[1] Confident of success, Ašur-bani-pal set out for Elam, and pressed on up to the walls of Susa. Here, on the banks of the Eulæus, there was a decisive battle, in which the Elamites were utterly routed.

'The land of Elam,' writes Ašur-bani-pal, 'through its extent I covered, as when a mighty storm approaches; I cut off the head of Teumman, their king, the rebel who had plotted evil. Beyond number I slew his warriors; alive in my hands I took his fighting men: with their corpses as with thorns and thistles I filled the vicinity of Susa; their blood I caused to flow in the Eulæus, and I stained its waters like wool.'[2]

Ašur-bani-pal divided the land, proclaimed as vassal kings Ummanigaš and Tammaritu, the two sons of Urtaku who had cast themselves on his protection, and,

[1] See the striking passage in the annals (Smith, *Hist. of Assurb.* 123-126).

[2] [5 R 3, 43, *aṣrup kima nabâsi*. *Nabâsu* = 'red-coloured wool.' The adverb *nabâsiš*, 'like red wool,' acc. to Ruben, [illegible] 10 553, is an Ass. loan-word in the Song of Deborah, corrupted in our text.]

returning by way of Gambulu, exacted a terrible vengeance from that land.

We now approach the greatest crisis in the history of Ašur-bāni-pal. On ascending the throne of Assyria he had appointed his younger brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn king of Babylon, without renouncing his own suzerainty. Šamaš-šum-ukīn, however, was dissatisfied with his dependent position, and resolved to revive, if possible, the relations between Assyria and Babylon. His own resources being insufficient for subjugating Assyria, he began to form a coalition of the neighbouring nations, all glad of an opportunity to strike a blow at their powerful neighbour. The Chaldeans and the Aramean tribes of the coast gave assistance; Ummanigaš, king of Elam, threw over his patron Ašur-bāni-pal, and joined the revolt; Arabia, Ethiopia, and possibly Egypt, sent help. Ašur-bāni-pal did not lose an instant but set out with the whole of his force to the SE., where he successfully kept his enemies in check.

7. Revolt of Babylon suppressed.

Fortune favoured him by neutralising to some extent the assistance which Šamaš-šum-ukīn expected to receive from Elam, his most powerful ally. That country was thrown by internal revolution into a state bordering on anarchy, Ummanigaš and the whole of his family having been slain by Tammaritu, who in turn was dethroned by Indabigaš, and only saved his life by flight to Assyria.

Ašur-bāni-pal hastened to attack the allied forces, easily defeated them, and proceeded to besiege the four cities—Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha—in which they had sought shelter after their defeat. The defenders held out stubbornly for some time. When all was over, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, to avoid his brother's vengeance, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames.

After stamping out the rest of the rebellion and restoring order throughout Babylonia and Chaldea, Ašur-bāni-pal directed his forces against Elam, where for the next two or three years he carried on a war with Ummanaldaš II., who had ascended the throne of Elam after slaying Indabigaš, his predecessor. It is true that for a short time during this period Ummanaldaš was driven into the mountains by Ašur-bāni-pal, who set Tammaritu on the throne of Elam in his stead; but, as soon as the Assyrian army had withdrawn, Ummanaldaš came out from his retirement, gathered his forces, and compelled Ašur-bāni-pal again to take the field against him. On the appearance of the Assyrian army Ummanaldaš retired, allowing Ašur-bāni-pal to capture the cities and lay waste the country on his march. At length, however, he hazarded a battle. He met with a signal defeat and was again driven to take refuge in the mountains, while Susa and its accumulated riches fell into the hands of the conquerors.

8. Subjugation of Elam.

'By the will of Ašur and Ištar,' boasts Ašur-bāni-pal, 'into its palaces I entered and sat myself down rejoicing. Then opened I their treasure-houses, within which silver and gold, furniture and goods, were stored, which the former kings of Elam and the kings who had ruled even to these days had collected and placed therein, whereon no other foe besides myself had set his hands: I brought it forth and as spoil I counted it.' He recovered also all the treasures with which Šamaš-šum-ukīn and his predecessors had purchased Elamite support. Susa itself was rased to the ground; the royal statues were carried to Assyria; the groves were cut down and burnt, and the temples violated.

After the subjugation of Elam the annals of Ašur-bāni-pal relate a series of conflicts with Arabia (Smith, *Hist. of Assurb.* 256 *ff.*). This was the last great war in which this monarch is known to have engaged. At the beginning of his reign he appears to have had friendly relations with the Arabian king Uaite'; but on the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn the latter joined the coalition against Assyria. Uaite' himself attacked Palestine, overrunning Edom and Moab, and penetrating almost as far N. as Damascus. Here, however, he was defeated by the Assyrians.

9. Arabia.

Leaving his camp standing, Uaite' fled alone to Nabataea. He

appears, however, to have surrendered to Ašur-bāni-pal, who threw him into chains, and kept him a prisoner in a kennel with his hounds. Adiyā his wife, and the king of Kedar, his ally, sharing the same fate. The other division of the Arabian army, which had joined the forces of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, shared his defeat and perished in Babylonia. Abiyate', their leader, surrendered to Ašur-bāni-pal, kissed his foot in token of submission, and was appointed king of Arabia in the place of Uaite'. No sooner, however, had he returned to his country, than he associated himself with the Nabataeans in a series of joint attacks on the frontier of Assyria. Ašur-bāni-pal, therefore, crossed the Tigris with his army, and embarked on a difficult march through the Syrian desert. The Assyrians, after some minor conflicts in which they were successful, eventually engaged the main body of the Arabian army in the mountains of Hukkuruna, to the SE. of Damascus. The Arabians were defeated, Abiyate' and Ayamu were taken, and Ašur-bāni-pal set out for Assyria with immense numbers of captives and herds of cattle; on his return camels were distributed throughout Assyria 'like sheep.

The annals conclude their record of the wars of Ašur-bāni-pal with an account of his triumphal procession through Nineveh in celebration of his victories.

10. Closing years.

Ummanaldaš, the Elamite, who had shortly before been captured, Tammaritu and Pa'e, two other captive Elamite kings, with Uaite', the king of Arabia, were fastened to the yoke of the chariot in which he rode. He then entered the temple of his gods, offering sacrifices and praising them for the triumphs they had vouchsafed him over his enemies.

Ašur-bāni-pal probably reigned till 625 B.C.; but of his later years the royal records do not speak. It is impossible to assign with certainty a reason for this silence. Possibly the kingdom, which had been shaken to its foundations by the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn during these years, showed signs of its approaching end. It is certain, at any rate, that the Medes, whom Ašur-bāni-pal had earlier in his reign defeated, again showed signs of activity (see PERSIA); and it is probable that during his reign the wild hordes of the Scythians descended from the N. and the NE., slaying and plundering and carrying all before them. The question whether the empire of Assyria declined only under Ašur-bāni-pal's successors, or had already become disintegrated before his death, is one that cannot be answered with certainty.

Turning from foreign politics to the internal condition of Assyria during the reign of Ašur-bāni-pal, we find the country superficially, at least, prosperous. Though the constant wars of Ašur-bāni-pal must have been a great drain on the manhood of the nation, his almost unvarying success resulted in a great accumulation of wealth—the spoil of the conquered cities. Not only did his generals carry off the gold and silver, and anything else of value that was portable; not only did they drive to Assyria the flocks and herds of the whole country: the population itself they deported. It was the Assyrian policy (see above, § 1) to weaken the patriotic feeling of the conquered races in this way, and so to lessen the chances of revolt. A secondary object of the conquerors, however, had reference to Assyria herself, for huge bands of captives were brought back in chains to replenish the labouring populace at home. Many of these wretches found their way into the possession of private owners; but the majority of them were retained as slaves by the king himself, who, like his predecessors, sought to gratify his desire for splendour and to perpetuate his name by the erection of huge buildings in the capital. The most important of these buildings of Ašur-bāni-pal was his own palace, which he built to the north of that of his grandfather Sennacherib—the remains exist at the present day in the mound of Kuyunjik opposite the modern town of Mōsul. The walls of its chambers he lined with sculptures in relief, representing his own exploits on the field of battle and in the chase, in which the details are most carefully and elaborately carved, while the designs themselves mark the acme of Assyrian art. Ašur-bāni-pal restored the palace of Sennacherib, strengthened the fortifications of Nineveh, and built

11. Policy and buildings, etc.

or restored various temples throughout Assyria and Babylonia.

It was the custom of the classical historians to represent Asur-bâni-pal as of an effeminate and luxurious disposition, spending his life at Nineveh in idleness and dissipation. The Assyrian records have dissipated this illusion. Though it is probable that many of his campaigns were conducted by his generals, the king's personal valour in the field and in the hunt is undoubted. His skill as an administrator is testified by his organisation of the immense territory acquired in his victorious campaigns. His palaces and buildings, even to this day, bear witness to his love for art and architecture. It is for none of these things, however, that his memory is honoured above that of other kings of Assyria. He was the first of his nation to make a systematic and universal study and collection of his country's literature, and it is to the library he collected in his palace that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature and language. L. W. K.

ASYLUM, a sanctuary, within whose precincts those who take refuge may not be harmed without sacrilege.

1. General principle. In early times, holy places, as the homes or haunts of the gods, extended over everything in them the protection of their own inviolability. Wild animals, and sometimes even domestic animals which strayed into them, shared this protection with debtors, fugitive slaves, and criminals, as well as the victims of unjust pursuit or violence. Manslayers sought refuge in them from the sword of the avenging kinsmen, and the right of asylum had an especial importance among those peoples in which the primitive law of blood vengeance was most persistently maintained.[1] The right of asylum was possessed by different sanctuaries in various degrees, depending on prescription, the holiness of the place, and other circumstances; it sometimes extended to an entire city, or even to a mark beyond its walls. Even within the same sanctuary it was, of course, a greater sacrilege to drag the suppliant away from the altar or from the image of the god, or to slay him there, than merely to violate the sacred precincts. In later times the abuse of these privileges led to legal regulation and restriction (cp, e.g., Tac. *Ann.* 36–64 4 14).

2. Early practice. In Israel the oldest law (Ex. 21 12-14) recognises the right of asylum, but denies its protection to the murderer with malice aforethought: 'from beside my altar thou shalt take him to die.' Doubtless every altar of Yahwè (Ex. 20 24 *f.*) was an asylum; but not all were equally venerated, nor would the village high-place protect the suppliant as securely as the more famous sanctuaries. The only historical instances in the OT in which men who fear for their lives take refuge at God's altar are those of Adonijah (1 K. 1 50-53) and Joab (1 K. 2 28-34; on the text cp 𝔊 and Klo.). Adonijah was persuaded to leave the asylum; Joab, by Solomon's orders, was slain at the very altar.

3. In Dt. When the drastic reforms of Josiah (621 B.C.) destroyed and desecrated all the old holy places of Yahwè in his kingdom except the temple in Jerusalem, one of the necessary measures of the reform laws was to provide a substitute for the asyla thus abolished; since it was obviously impossible that manslayers from the remote parts of the land should escape to Jerusalem. Accordingly, six cities of refuge are appointed—three E. of the Jordan (Dt. 4 41-43),[2] three W. of it (Dt. 19 2 *f.*)—with eventual provision for three more, in Philistia, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria (Dt. 19 8-10). The distinction between manslaughter and murder is clearly defined and illustrated, the case is tried at the place where the offence was committed, and if the verdict be murder the elders of the city in whose territory the defendant resides are empowered to take him from the asylum and deliver him to the next kinsman of the murdered man, as the natural executor of the sentence.[1]

4. In P. The post-exilic law also (Nu 35 *ff.*, cp Josh. 20 *f.*) appoints six cities of refuge (מִקְלָט, מָקוֹם), and defines the crimes in substantially the same way; but it differs radically from the Deuteronomic law in providing (1) that the manslayer shall be brought from his asylum to be tried before the 'congregation' (*edah*)—*i.e.*, the religious community of the post-exilic Jerusalem (Nu 35 12 24 *f.*)—and (2) that at the death of the high priest the manslayer may without peril return to his home and estates (vv. 25 28).[2] Further, it is explicitly forbidden to compound the crime by taking a bloodwite, or to allow the homicide upon payment of a fine to leave the city of refuge before the death of the high priest.

5. Cities of refuge. The cities designated are, E. of the Jordan, Bezer, Ramoth in Gilead, and Golan in Bashan (Dt. 4 41-43 Josh. 20 8); W. of the Jordan, Kedesh in Galilee, Shechem, and Hebron (Josh. 20 7). The last three were all venerable sanctuaries, older, indeed, than the Israelite invasion, and were probably chosen not only on account of their location, but also because they were already asyla of established sanctity. It may be assumed that this was the case also with the cities of refuge E. of the Jordan, of which, with the exception of Ramoth, we know little. Jewish scholars, with some plausibility, maintain that, besides those, all the other Levitical cities, of which there were forty-four, many of them seats of ancient sanctuaries, possessed the right of asylum in a lower degree.[3] Whether this system was ever actually introduced in its whole extent is doubtful. Neither in the brief year between Josiah's reform and the fall of the Judæan kingdom nor after the restoration did Judah possess more than a small part of the territory contemplated by those laws.

6. Parallels. In the Greek period, and later (under Roman rule) many Hellenistic cities in Syria enjoyed the privileges of asylums. Not to speak of the famous sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne, near Antioch, where the Jewish high priest, Onias, is said to have taken refuge (2 Macc. 4 33 *ff.*, cp Strabo. xvi. 26), the title ἄσυλος appears on coins of Cæsarea, Panias, Diocæsarea (Sepphoris) in Galilee, Ptolemais (Acco), Dora (Dor), Scythopolis (Beth-shean), Gadara and Abila in the Decapolis, and others. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 2 3), this character was conferred on Jerusalem by Demetrius I.; but 1 Macc. 10 31 knows nothing of it. Cp. ASHTORETH, ASHERAH.

There is no recent and adequate work on this subject. *The Law of Asylum in Israel*, by A. P. Bissell (Leipsic, 1875) is a laboured attempt to prove that the laws must all have originated in the age of Moses. See also S. Ohlenburg, *Die biblischen Asyle in talmudischem Gewande*, 1895; and compare Steugel, art. 'Asylon' in *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encycl. der class. Altertumswiss.* On the wide diffusion of the fundamental conception of asylums, and on its possible origin, see J. G. Frazer's article on 'The Origin of Totemism and Exogamy' in *Journ. Anth.*, April 1899. G. F. M.

ASYNCRITUS (ΑΣΥΓΚΡΙΤΟΣ [Ti.], -ΥΝΚ. [WH]) is one of five who, with 'the brethren that are with them,' are saluted in Rom. 16 14. They seem to have been Christian heads of households, or perhaps class leaders of some sort.

Asyncritus figures in the list of the 'seventy disciples' by the

[1] So, *e.g.*, in Greece; while in Rome, where blood vengeance was early abolished by law, the right of asylum was almost exclusively reserved for slaves.

[2] These verses are out of place, and probably secondary; see DEUTERONOMY, § 20.

[1] In all these particulars there is a striking and instructive resemblance to the Athenian code of Draco (624 B.C.).

[2] In this provision it is evident that the sojourn in the city of refuge is regarded as a species of exile, a punishment which was removed by a general amnesty at the ascension of the new high priest, the real sovereign. Accordingly, in the Mishna, and in Jewish jurisprudence generally, residence in the city of refuge is called *galût*, 'exile,' cp *e.g. Makkoth*, 3 1

[3] See Maimonides, *Yad Hazaka*, Hilkoth Roseah, ch. 5.

Pseudo-Dorotheus as bishop of 'Urbania,' and in that of the Pseudo-Hippolytus as bishop of 'Hyrcania' (doubtless the preferable reading). In the great Greek *Menæa* he is commemorated along with Herodion and Agabus on 8th April.

ATAD (הָאָטָד), Gen. 50 10. See ABEL-MIZRAIM.

ATAR (αταρ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 RV = Ezra 2 42, ATER, 8.

ATARAH (עֲטָרָה, 'crown'; ατapa [BL], ετepa [A]), second wife of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2 26). In genealogical phraseology this signifies that the clan occupied a new region (cp Caleb's wife Ephrath; and see AZUBAH, CALEB), and presumably, like Caleb, it moved farther N., in which case we may compare Atarah with ATROTH-BETH-JOAB, mentioned along with Bethlehem, etc., in 1 Ch. 2 54.

ATARGATIS, TEMPLE OF (το ατερgατιον [AV]), 2 Macc. 12 26; cp 1 Macc 5 43 f. In the walled enclosure of this trans-Jordanic temple the Ammonites and Arabians defeated by Judas the Maccabee, after throwing away their arms, took refuge (see ASHTAROTH, § 1). It was in 164 B.C., the year after the re-dedication of the temple at Jerusalem, which had animated the foes of the church nation to a deadly persecution (1 Macc 5 2). Judas had already acted with the severity of the old Israelitish law of war, dealing with the trans-Jordanic towns and the heathen part of their peoples as Joshua had dealt with Jericho (1 Macc. 5 44 ff.; cp Josh 6 24, 11 11), but with the added zeal against idolatry justified by Dt 7 5 12 1. Naturally, this champion of monotheism, like his successor Jonathan at Ashdod (1 Macc 10 83), had no scruple in violating the temple precincts. The unarmed multitude he slew (2 Macc.), and the temple buildings, with all the objects polluted by idolatry, he burned (1 Macc.).

Atargatis (עתרעתה; cp Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* n. 3; also עתרגתי; cp *ZDMG* [52] 6 473 f.), to whom the temple belonged, is in *The Speaker's Commentary* (n. on 1 Macc. 5 26) identified with Astarte. This is a natural error, for Carnaim is no doubt Ashteroth-Karnaim so called from the addiction of the town to the worship of various forms of Ashtoreth or Astarte. We know, however, that these deities were different; for at Ascalon there were temples of Astarte and of Atargatis (Derkêto) side by side. All that is true is that the first part of the name Atargatis (*i.e.*, עתר is the Aramaic equivalent of the Phœnician and Heb. עשתר[ת] without the fem. ending (see PHŒNICIA); but the religious significance of this Atar ('Attâr for 'Athtar) is profoundly modified by its union with 'Athe (usually written עתה or עתי), a Palmyrene divinity whose name is well attested, and occurs in many proper names.[1] Atargatis is, in fact, that form of Astar[te] which has absorbed into itself the characteristics of another deity called 'Athe (cp Ashtar-Kamosh in the inscription of Mesha). Lucian, in his *De Dea Syra*, has left us a minute account of the temple and worship of the Syrian goddess (who was no doubt Atargatis) at Hierapolis (Mabug), which illustrates the Jewish hatred of it.

The connection of this 'omnipotent and all-producing goddess' (Apuleius) with red life-giving waters has been studied by Prof. W. R. Smith (*RS*(2) 12 ff.). See also Prof. W. Wright, *TSBA* 6 438 f.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 68 ff. 256 f.; Baudissin, art. 'Atargatis,' in Herzog-Plitt, *PRE* vol. i. (who notices the different forms under which the goddess was represented); Puchstein, *ZA* 9 420; Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* 'Astarte,' 4 (*a*). T. K. C.

ATAROTH (עֲטָרוֹת, 'crowns' or 'wreaths,' cp Is. 28 1 Zech. 6 11 14, etc.; ατapωθ [BAL])

1. 1 Ch. 2 54. See ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.

2. **Ataroth-Addar** (עֲטָרוֹת אַדָּר, Josh. 16 5, ασταρωθ και εροc [B], ατ. κ. αδαρ [A], ατ. αδαρ [L]; 18 13, AV **Ataroth-Adar**, ματαρωθορεχ [B], ατ. αδδαρ [A], ατ. εδδαρ [L], called also simply ATAROTH, Josh. 16 2, χαταρωθει [B, where χ is all that is left of אר[ר]), perhaps the present *'Atârâ* on the high road from

[1] The oldest centre of the worship of 'Athe is thought by Hommel (*PSBA*, 1897, p. 81) to have been the E. of Asia Minor, whence the cult spread to W. Asia Minor and N. Syria

Jerusalem to Bethel, 3½ m. S. of Bethel, and 6 E. of the upper Beth-horon (see Guérin, *Judée*, 3 6 f.; but on the other side Robinson, 2 314). As it is a Benjamite locality, we might plausibly identify ATROTH with the Benjamite clan-name ADDAR, ARD (*q.v.*).

3. An unknown site (עֲטָרוֹת, Josh. 16 7, ασταρωθ [B]) between Janoah and Naarah, on the north-eastern frontier of the territory of Ephraim.

4. A city of Gad (עֲטָרוֹת, Nu. 32 34, ασταρωθ [A] 34, ασταρωθ [Fvid]), mentioned in the inscription of Mesha (*l.* 11, עטרת) as reconquered by him, along with a 'land of 'Ataroth (*l.* 10) dwelt in from of old by the men of Gad.' The name survives as that of a mountain, and a ruined site, *'Atâroûs*, at the top of the Wady Zerka Ma'in, 10 m. E. of the Dead Sea (Tristram, *Land*, 272 270.). The *ON* (Eus 214 51, ασταρωθ; Jer. 87 17) wrongly identify with no. 1, presumably confusing Joab with Job, whom tradition associates with Ashtaroth-Karnaim. See ATROTH-SHOPHAN. G. A. S.

ATER (אָטֵר, § 90, ατηρ [BA]; 'left-handed'? cp Judg. 3 15 Heb., and the Lat. name Scævola).

1. The B'ne Ater of Hezekiah (בְּנֵי אָטֵר יְחִזְקִיָּה; υιοι εζηρα του εζεκια [BNA]), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), Ezra 2 16 (αζηρ του εζεκι [L]). Neh. 7 21 (αζηρ του εζεκια [L]). 1 Esd 5 13 (ατηρ εζεκιου [A], αζηρ ε. [B], αζηρ του εζεκια [L]), **Aterezias**, RV ATER OF EZEKIAS, ATER HEZEKIAH, AV ATER HIZKIJAH (אָטֵר חִזְקִיָּה), appears also among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 17 [18] (αδηρ ε [BN], ατηρ ε. [A], αζηρ εζεκιας [L]).

2. The B'ne Ater (υιοι ατηρ [BNA], υιοι αζηρ [L]), a family of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) (בְּנֵי הַשֹּׁעֲרִים), Ezra 2 42 (υιοι ατ. [A]) = Neh. 7 45 (υιοι ατηρ υιου ατηρ [BN]) = 1 Esd. 5 28, JATAL, RV ATAR (om. B, ατηρ [A] αζηρ [L]).

ATERGATIS (το ατερgατιον [VA]), 2 Macc. 12 26 RV, AV ATARGATIS.

ATETA (ατιτα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 RV = Ezra 2 42, HATITA.

ATHACH (עָתָךְ, 'inn'? [Ges.]; νοο [B], νοωθc [TR], αθαρ [A], ναcεθ [L]), one of the places to which David sent a part of the Amalekite spoil (1 S. 30 30†). According to Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde, it is the ETHER (*q.v.*) of Josh. 15 42 (ιθακ [B], αθερ [AL]), 19 7 (ιεθερ [B], ϊεθ. [A], εσερ [L]); these scholars decline to decide which of the variants is correct, though Budde retains עתך in the text of 1 S. The νοο, νομβε, and ναγεβ of certain MSS may, however, point to a various reading NOB. Guérin visited a place called *Nubâ*, near *K'hardâ*, and W. of the *K'h. Ayla* (Keilah), which, he thinks, may be meant by νομβε (*Judée*, 3 349). That there must have been several places called Nob is generally admitted. Klostermann suggests עָנָב, *AN...B* (Josh. 11 21), a place near Hebron (Hebron follows), and the question arises whether Nob itself may not be a shortened form of Anâb (see NOB). In Josh. 11 21 ℭ gives αναβωθ = ענבת, out of which both תכן TOCHEN [*q.v.*] and עתך Athach may perhaps have arisen by the loss of one letter and the transposition and slight corruption of other letters. It so happens that there are to-day two 'Anâbs S. of Hebron called the great and little. These may represent the Anaboth or Grape-towns. T. K. C.

ATHAIAH (עֲתָיָה, § 39, meaning obscure; cp Gray, *HPN* 297; αθεα [B], -εαι [A], -εε [N], αθαρcθαc [L]; *ATHALIA*), in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 4 = 1 Ch. 9 4†, UTHAI (עוּתַי; ρωθ[ε] [BA], ουθι [L]), where different links are given between him and Perez.

ATHALIAH (עֲתַלְיָהוּ, עֲתַלְיָה, §§ 30, 52; 'Yahwè is great'; cp with Che., Ass. *etellu*, 'great, high,' also 'lord,' used of gods and kings [Del. *Ass. HWB*, s.v.]). 1. (γοθολια [BAL], but -θθλ. [A vid. in 2 K. 11 13]). Daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and wife of Jehoram,

king of Judah (2 K 8 18-26 11 1 ff 13 20). The death of AHAZIAH (q.v., 1) deprived Athaliah of her proud position as queen-mother (גְּבִירָה). Having apparently no other son whom she could place on the throne, she determined to put to death all the surviving members of the royal family, and to govern in her own name. For six years (841-840 B.C.) she maintained herself on the throne—a singular fact which raises questions more easily asked than answered. We hear of nothing done by her for her adopted country, but whose interest was it to preserve the memory of this? On the story of her deposition and violent death, see JOASH (1). Observe that the massacre of the royal princes by Athaliah, adopted by the Chronicler in 2 Ch 22 10, is inconsistent with the massacre attributed to Jehoram in 2 Ch. 21 4 and the captivity of all Jehoram's sons but Ahaziah, imagined in 2 Ch. 21 17.

In a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 26 (ογοθολια [B], γοθολια [A], αθηλια [L]).

A family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 13 [c]) (ατθαλι [B], αθλια [A], γοθολιου [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 34 JOTHOLIAS (γοθολιου [BA], -θολ. [L]).

ATHARIAS, RV ATHARIAH (ΑΘΑΡΙΑϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 40 = Ezra 2 61, TIRSHATHA (q.v.).

ATHARIM (אֲתָרִים), in the expression דֶּרֶךְ הָאֲ׳ (Nu. 21 1), is taken by RV for a place-name ('by the way of Atharim'); so ΟΔΟΝ ΑΘΑΡΕΙΝ [B], ο. -ΕΙΜ [AFL]), by AV and RV^mg (following Targ. and Syr.) as equivalent to הַמְּרַגְּלִים ('[the way of] the spies'). That מְרַגְּלִים should have been substituted for אֲתָרִים is, however, highly improbable. Dillmann has suggested that the word may be connected with the Arab. *athar*, 'vestige' or 'footprint' and proposes to translate 'the caravan path.' The expression may be corrupt (see KADESH, § 3 i.).

ATHENOBIUS (ΑΘΗΝΟΒΙΟϹ [AKV]), friend of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, and his envoy to Simon the High Priest (1 Macc. 15 28-36).

ATHENS (ΑΘΗΝΑΙ). We must repeat the words of Strabo—ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς πλῆθος ἐμπίπτων τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἱμνουμένων τε καὶ διαδοξαζομένων ἐνταῦθα ἀλεονάζειν (p. 390). There is, indeed, an essential impropriety involved in making Paul's visit to Athens the occasion for a *resumé* of the architectural and artistic treasures of the city.[1] What the apostle might have seen we can learn from Pausanias; what he did see may safely be reduced to a minimum. 'A Hebrew of the Hebrews,' who, 'after the most exact sect,' 'lived a Pharisee,' could at best feel only indifference to the history of the heathen, and his spirit could not fail to be 'stirred' at the frequent signs of ignorance of God visible on every hand in their cities, even though he had been brought up 'at the feet of' a Rabban Gamaliel, whose liberality of sentiment is, after all, largely problematical. Not one of the associations which are valuable to us crowded into the apostle's mind as he landed at Phalerum or Piræus. And the many-sided art of Athens had no message for a man of his intensity and whole-hearted devotion to the task of destroying the paganism in which that art was rooted.

1. Its art unappreciated.

Much more valuable, and more difficult also, is it to realise the spiritual atmosphere in which Paul found himself. The period of Athenian greatness in politics had long been past. Athens now only a free city of the province of Achaia was not even the seat of the governor (Str. 390). In art and in literature also she was no longer the schoolmistress of nations; in every department of mental activity the creative faculty was dead. In the domain of philosophy alone the manipulation of the dry bones of logical science continued to give the semblance of life. Here also the spring of Athenian wisdom had run dry. The masters of the schools

2. Intellectual atmosphere.

[1] Still more would this remark apply to the only places in the OT where Athenians are referred to (2 Macc. 6 1 9 14): on the reading (Vg. has *Antiochenum* in 6 1) see Grimm, *ad loc.*

sprang from Asia, Syria, or the Eastern Archipelago; Greece proper was represented exclusively by third or fourth rate men. Nevertheless, for centuries Athens continued to be regarded as the chief seat of Greek philosophy, nor did she renounce her claim as a seminary of philosophy to the most important place, even when she had to share that honour with other cities, such as Alexandria, Rome, Rhodes, and Paul's own Tarsus. The whole city, indeed, resembled one of our University towns at an epoch of intellectual stagnation. The so-called education of a Roman was incomplete unless some time had been spent in loitering through the groves and porticoes of Athens. Two schools in particular, markedly different and decided in their peculiarities, stood opposed to each other: the school of the Stoics, which dwelt almost exclusively on the universal element, and that of the Epicureans, who gave prominence to the individual element in man, pursuing happiness by looking within. The Stoics regarded man exclusively as a thinking being, the Epicureans, as a creature of feeling (Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, 8). Probably in no other city of the world at that time was it easier to meet 'certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics' (Acts 17 18). A well-known and curious parallel to the apostle's visit is afforded by the Life of Apollonius of Tyana. On his way up from his ship to the city Apollonius met many philosophers, some reasoning, some perorating, some arguing, all of whom greeted him (*Philo. Vit.* 4 19). In a word, Athens at the time of Paul's stay, and more notably afterwards, was a city of pedagogues, and 'le pedagogue est le moins convertissable des hommes' (Renan, *St. Paul*, 190). In the midst of this academic element Paul [illegible] himself alone (1 Thess. 3 1). For his inner life at this time we must look to the Epistles, not to Acts. He was more attracted by the eager artisans of Thessalonica and the earnest men of business in Corinth than by the versatile and superficial schoolmen of Athens (cp 1 Thess. 1 9). Still, it would be unfair to attribute his failure entirely to the Athenian character[1] (Renan makes said that the crest of Athens should have been a great tongue). Allowance must be made for the inevitable exaggeration of the reformer, whether in morals or in people, his perspective is distorted. Nor is it fair to cast at bounce to Athens that she was regarded as ultra religious (δεισιδαιμονεστέροις, Acts 17 22 (this opening compliment of the apostle's speech admits of rich illustration). It would be a mistake to see in the altar dedicated to the unknown god (Acts 17 23) a desire to include in their Pantheon any and every deity that might possibly be worthy of honour (see UNKNOWN GOD). Worship found expression in art, not in the minutiæ of formalism. Athens was, therefore, pre-eminently a city of statues, and Renan is right in remarking that the prejudices of Paul as a Jew blinded him: he took all the statues he saw for 'objects of worship' (σεβάσματα, Acts 17 23). We are not guilty of 'corrupt Hellenism' in attempting a true estimate of the apostle's attitude.

3. Paul's failure.

An explanation of the disappointing effect of Paul's teaching must be sought in the position of the Jewish colony in Athens, and not solely in exaggerated commonplaces on Athenian character and philosophy. The colony was evidently not a large one; there would be little to attract Jews thither in preference to Corinth. Paul's work among his countrymen in Athens was slight: he 'conversed' with them (διελέγετο, Acts 17 17). No trace of any Jewish synagogue has been found, with the exception of the marble (*Inv. Inv. Kern. Hon.* 494[2]).

[1] Quotations might be multiplied to illustrate Athenian legacity (Acts 17 21, cp Hor. [illegible], νεωτεροποιοί, *Ar. Eq.* 1[illegible] τῇ Κεκροπίδων πόλει = 'Capenians'; Demosth. *Lept.* i. 10, 43; Menand. *Fr. Gaudy.* 9; Plutarch *passim*).

[2] Paus. i. 17 1, θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον: *e.g.*, they erected an altar to Mercy (c. 243 Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερον τι ἢ [illegible] Philo, *Vit.* [illegible] Jos. [illegible] φιλόθεοι; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* v. 17, τοσοῦτον ἦν Ἀθηναίοις δεισιδαιμονίας.

containing the words αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ κυρίου (Ps. 118 20); this might have belonged to the entrance of a synagogue. The Hellenic belief ἄναξ θαν ατος οὔτις ἐστ' ἀναστασις was not, in Athens, reduced by the powerful solvent of Judaism. Hence, the moment the apostle uttered the words 'raised from the dead' his audience revolted. Elsewhere his difficulties centred round another point—whether Jesus was the Messiah or not. In Athens, where Jewish thought had no hold, the idea of the resurrection of the body was unfamiliar—least so to the Stoics, although it would be an anachronism to quote here the remarkable approach made by such Stoics as Seneca to Christian modes of thought. Little wonder, then, that Paul's work at Athens was a comparative failure, and that he felt it to be so (Acts 17 34, 1 Cor. 2 3). His visit to the city was a mistake; and perhaps it was from the first due to accident. In the hurried departure from Berœa (Acts 17 10 ff.), there would be little time for making plans or for choosing modes of transport, and the apostle's abode in Athens seems to have been largely, if not entirely, due to the necessity he was under of waiting for his companions (Acts 17 15 f.).

W. J. W.

ATHLAI (עַתְלַי = עֲתַלְיָה, §§ 30, 52, ATHALIAH, *q.v.*), in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 28 (θαλαι [B], -μ [א], αθαλαι [A], θελαι [L]; *ATHALAI*) = 1 Esd. 9 29 AMATHEIS, RV EMATHIS (εμαθθις [B], -αθεις [A], θελαι [L]).

ATIPHA (ατεφα [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 32 = Ezra 2 54, HATIPHA.

ATONE, ATONEMENT (כִּפֶּר, G ἐξιλάσκειν; כִּפֻּרִים, G ἐξιλασμα; NT καταλλαγη) The expression 'to atone' (כִּפֶּר) generally describes the effect of the sacrifices in removing guilt. The pure religious idea of atonement, however, as W. R. Smith remarks (*OTJC*[1] 439) is to be found in the Prophets (and, surely, in Ps. 51; see vv. 1 [2] 2 [3] 7 [8] 9 [10]; also, with כפר in 65 3 78 38 79 9). There it has no relation to sacrificing, and we cannot fail to see the appropriateness of this scholar's explanation of כָּפַר *kipper* as meaning primarily 'to wipe out.' This is in accordance with Syriac usage; but the only OT passage in which the sense of 'wipe out' is possible is in Is. 28 18, where the reading is much disputed (Houbigant, Lowth, Du [but not Di, Che.] read וּמִפֶּר instead of וּכֻפַּר), and where it is at any rate open to us to obtain the sense 'wiped out' indirectly from the common reading ('covered over'; cp Gen 6 14). The usual view is that a propitiation is expressed by *kipper* metaphorically, as a 'covering' (cp Ar. *kafara*: in i. stem *kafa*, in ii. *cafarah*), as when Jacob, fearing Esau's anger, says, 'I will *cover* his face with a present' (cp Gen. 20 16 Job 9 24). The Hebraistic usage of the word is well set forth by Driver, *Deut.* 425, 439. W. R. Smith's note in *OTJC*[1] 438-440 also deserves attention; but *OTJC*[2] 381, etc., should here be compared.

In the NT 'atonement' is given by AV for καταλλαγή, Rom. 5 11; but RV, with a proper regard to consistency, substitutes 'reconciliation'; cp 2 Cor. 5 18 f., 'the ministry, the word, of reconciliation.' Elsewhere καταλλαγή occurs in Rom. 5 10 f. 11 15; cp Col. 1 21, it is hardly one of G's words, being found only in 2 Macc. 5 20. See further, ATONEMENT, DAY OF, MERCY-SEAT, RANSOM, SACRIFICE; and cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[1] 237, 320, 437, etc.; also We. *CH* 335 f.

See also Ritschl, *Die christl. Lehre von d. Rechtfertigung u. d. Versöhnung*, ii.; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of NT* 1 410-452 (2-216); Dale, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*; Whyte, *Bulsan Lectures on the Atonement* (1899). The semi-popular literature is extensive.

ATONEMENT, DAY OF (יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים; later, יוֹם הַכִּפּוּר; in Talmud יוֹמָא רַבָּא, 'the great day,' יוֹמָא, 'the day,' and צוֹמָא רַבָּא, 'the great fast'; cp Ac 27 9, H NHCTEIA as the only fast enjoined by the law).

1. Analysis of law. The law relating to this day (Lev. 16), which as it now stands connects with the story of Nadab and Abihu in Lev. 10 1-7, is not in its present form a homogeneous unity.[1] This is evident, not only from the duplicate verses 6 and 11, and from peculiarities of the arrangement, but also from the contents of the law.

The chapter as a whole treats of two quite distinct subjects: viz., (1) the warning of the high priest that he is to enter the Holy of Holies not at pleasure, but only under certain specified precautions; (2) the ordering of a yearly Day of Atonement, for which an exact ritual is prescribed. 1. is contained in vv. 1-4 6 12 13 14 *b*, and belongs to P_2; 2. is itself composite. (*a*) vv. 29-34 *a* give complete directions for the annual observance of a day of fasting and humiliation, on which the sanctuary and people are to be cleansed by 'the priest who shall be anointed' (cp 8 12) = *i.e.*, the high priest of the time; the atonement is supposed by the lawgiver to be carried out in accordance with the ritual (which, originally, immediately preceded it) of Lev. 9, and with the law of the sin-offering laid down in Nu. 15 24. On critical grounds this law also must be held to belong to P_2. (*b*) vv. 5 7-10, 14-28, on the other hand, by which the quite peculiar ritual of the Day of Atonement is prescribed, are the work of a much later hand.

Why and when these various portions of the present law were combined into one are questions that will be discussed elsewhere (see LEVITICUS, § 6 *f.*, and HEXATEUCH); the important fact, gained from critical analysis, is that the Day of Atonement, as far as its ceremonies are described in Lev. 16, is of comparatively recent origin, and the result of a very interesting development.

2. Stages of development. This conclusion is supported by a variety of considerations. (*a*) That the pre-exilic worship knew of no such day as is described in Lev. 16 is evident, not only from the absence of all mention of it (an omission which cannot be accidental, the other high days being referred to), but also from the fact that consciousness of sin and sense of need of a propitiation, which are the necessary conditions of such an institution, first became prominent in the time of Ezekiel (see FEASTS, § 11). (*b*) The earliest trace of public days of fasting and humiliation in the exilic period appears in Zech. 7 3 5 8 19; the four yearly fasts there mentioned were commemorative of the national calamities at the fall of Jerusalem, and appear to have been still observed in post-exilic times.

Ezekiel, in this as in other respects the forerunner of the priestly law, had enjoined two atonement-days (the first day of the first month and the first of the seventh, 45 18-20).[2] A young bullock as a sin-offering was to be brought, and with its blood were to be smeared the posts of the house, the four corners of the altar, and the posts of the gate of the inner court—'so shall ye make atonement for the house'; together with this, certain sin-offerings for priest and people are enjoined for the passover-day (Ezek. 45 22).

(*c*) When we turn to the detailed account of the reading of the law in Neh. 8 *f.*, we find mentioned a joyous celebration on the first day of the seventh month, and a celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles on the fifteenth, without any reference to a Day of Atonement on the tenth.[3] On the twenty-fourth day, on the other hand, a general fast with confession of sin was held, by no means in accordance with the ritual of Lev. 16 14-28. This makes it clear that what stood in the Law-book used by Ezra (P_2) was not the Levitical ritual (Lev. 16 14-28), but only a precept of a yearly fast-day with sabbatic rest—in other words, the precept laid down in Lev. 16 29-34.

The change from the tenth to the twenty-fourth at the first celebration is intelligible enough on the assumption that the fast-day was not at first so prominent in the law-book as it afterwards became in Lev. 16 14.

Even in the still later list of high days in Lev. 23 and Nu. 29 7 we do not find any reference to the specific ritual of Lev. 16 14-28; the tenth day of the

1 See Benzinger's study, *ZATW* 9 65 *f.* [89], and cp Stade, *GVI* 2 228, and LEVITICUS, § 2.

2 The text of Ezek. 45 20 should be emended in accordance with G(B), בחמשה בחדש.

3 Cp Ker. 5, *Gesch. der hebr. Schr.*[2] 500 *f.* (Holzinger, *Hex.* 759, he to, differ).

seventh month is simply marked by fasting, sabbath rest, and the usual sin-offerings. The Day of Atonement described in Lev. 16 must have been the result of a long process of development, and the pericope formed by Lev. 16 5, 7-10 14-28 must belong to the very latest portions of P. The precept in Ex. 30 10 is, of course, a still later addition to the ritual, enjoining that the blood of the sin-offering should also be applied to the altar of incense.

3. Fundamental principle, etc.

It is a significant fact that, as the late date proves (see above, § 11), the Day of Atonement became the most important in the ecclesiastical year; Jewish feeling in the later age inevitably led to this. Now as to the meaning of the law. The terms of Lev. 16 permit no uncertainty. The law has reference to the thorough purification of the people and sanctuary. The sin-offerings throughout the year have left many unknown or 'secret' sins; and since the people, the land, and, above all, the sanctuary are rendered impure by sin (Lev. 15 31 Nu. 19 13-20 Ez. 45 18 Lev. 16 16), there was a danger that the sacrificial services might lose their efficacy and even that Yahwé might desert his defiled sanctuary. This was the reason for the institution of the Day of Atonement that the Israelites might annually make a complete atonement for all sin, and that the sanctuary might be cleansed (Lev. 16 33). The leading idea of the entire Priestly Law found here its best expression. The Day of Atonement quickened, on the one hand, the people's sense of sin and dread of Yahwé's avenging holiness, and, on the other hand, their assurance of reconciliation and of their renewed holiness. This holiness was guaranteed by their religious system, the efficacy of which, marred by sin was again restored by this solemnity of expiation. It is the key-stone of the whole system, the last consequence of the principle, 'Ye shall be [ceremonially] holy, for I am holy.'

If we turn to the ritual, we can without difficulty discover its fundamental ideas. The high priest, after bathing, puts on plain white linen garments instead of his elaborate vestments, for he is to appear as a humble suppliant before the Holy One whom only the pure may approach. Of course, before he can make atonement for the people he must first do so for himself and for his 'house' - *i.e.*, for the entire priesthood. On entering the Holy of Holies he is to envelop in a cloud of holy incense-smoke the place of God's personal presence, lest he die. The ritual of blood-sprinkling, as far as it is peculiar to this day, is only an elaboration, required by the extreme closeness of the approach to God, of the usual procedure in sacrificial offerings. The conception has been explained by Robertson Smith[1] as an inheritance from primitive ideas about sacrifice. See SACRIFICE, § 22. I. B.

4. Propitiatory Character.

The Day of Atonement has been called by Delitzsch the Good Friday of the Law. This can hardly be maintained with regard to its earlier period. Good Friday was not instituted to restore the impaired ceremonial holiness of the community; it had from the first a reference to the individual and to spiritual religion. It was otherwise with the *Yom Kippurim*, even if its institutors were not personally opposed to the supplementing and counteracting agency of teachers of a nobler religion. We will not deny that the poetic prayers composed for the 'great day' during the Dispersion touch the Christian deeply from their extraordinary spiritual depth and their sense of individual religion. These prayers, however, are no evidence of the spirit of the original institution. It is not necessary to dwell on the Azazel-ritual. The ritual of the Day of Atonement has grown - this can be shown by literary analysis as well as by archæological considerations),[1] and the Azazel-ritual is the latest portion of it. We might perhaps suppose that those who continued Ezra's work were not up to his level; but when we look at Lev. 16 29 34a, which is the earliest part of the law (cp 9 7 *ff.*), we still find in it provisions opposed in tendency to the pure religion of the greatest prophets and psalmists. The procedure with the blood may be archæologically explained so as to minimise the shock which it causes us; it may also be spiritualised, so as to assume a totally new appearance; but it is, as has been stated, out of harmony with that prophetic religion which is restated in Pss. 40 50, 1. It is also in this part of the law that we find an expression which, when correctly explained, condenses the unspiritual elements of the law into a nutshell. It is the expression *shbath Sabbathon*, which may well be more ancient than the day to which it is applied. RV renders Lev. 16 31 thus: 'It is a sabbath of solemn rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls; it is a statute for ever.' Jastrow (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* I 312 *ff.* [98]) has made it probable that *Sabbath* and *Sabbathon* answer the latter more exactly[2] than the former to the Babylonian ceremonial term *Sabattum*, which means a day of propitiation with reference to the *dies nefasti* of the kings. If so, the terms *Sabbath* and *Sabbathon*, which are derived from שבת, to rest, imply that by the usages on the day to which these terms are applied, rest is given to an angry God.[3] The expression 'to afflict the soul' (*'inna nafesh*), used in the same verse, is not less archaic in spirit, even if much later in use;[4] it was adopted by late theologians as a synonym of the old word צום, 'to fast.' This, too, implies an unspiritual doctrine viz., that by denying the body certain generally desired goods the mind of a deity can be influenced by his worshipper.

To examine the full force of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, archæologically viewed, is not our purpose. Our purpose is to emphasise their strictly propitiatory character. That same character belonged, according to the Jewish liturgy, to the ritual of New Year's Day (*Rôš haš-Šanah*). It was believed,[5] through the influence of Babylonian mythology, that the fate of man was decreed on New Year's Day (the festival of Creation), and that on the Day of Atonement the decree was 'sealed.' No wonder that the nine days which intervened between the first day of the seventh month (New Year's Day) and the tenth (the Day of Atonement) were regarded by the Jews as penitential days. Precisely when this view of New Year's Day as the Day of Destiny began to be taken, we know not. Probably it began among the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion. It gives a new force, however, (1) to the collocation of *Yom Kippurim* and *Rôš haš-Šanah* in the same month, and (2) to the designation of both days (see Lev. 23 24) as *Sabbathon*. To what extent, if at all, the ritual of these days is a revival of primitive custom, is obscure. It is quite possible that in primitive times Israelitish ritual, at any rate in certain places, approxi-

[1] *Rel. Sem.*[2] 40 *f.*

[1] The literary analysis of Lev. 16 is passed over in *SBOT* (Heb.; 1894); in the article 'Day of Atonement' in Hastings, *DB* I 566 *b* [98], the omission has been supplied from Benzinger. Driver's moderating remarks, however, do not affect the position taken up by Stade and Benzinger, who are both fully awake to the incompleteness of merely literary analysis of ancient laws. The deficiency noted in *SBOT* is also to be observed in the Leviticus in Kautzsch's new translation (*HS*). Cp LEVITICUS.

[2] Sabbath, acc. to Jastrow, 'is the distinctively Hebrew name given to a particular *Sabbathon*' (*op. cit.* 349 *f.*). Šabbathon Bab. *šabattum*; the terminations correspond (Jastrow, 312).

[3] The most common term for 'propitiation' was *nuh libbi* (lit. 'rest of the heart'); *ûm* (יום, 'day') *nûh lib i* has the sense of 'day of propitiation' (Jastrow, 190).

[4] It occurs in Is. 58 3 5 10 Ps. 35 13; also in Lev. 16 31 23 27 32 Nu 29 7. That the historical Isaiah, in disparaging fasts, does not use the phrase (Is. 1 13, but cp ☪) is significant.

[5] See *KB* 3 14 *f.* (Marduk comes at Zagmuk, the beginning of the year, 'to destine the fate of my life'); cp Kruger on 'Jewish New Year' in *Rev. Sém.*, and Jensen, *Kosmol.* 84-86, 248.

mated rather more to Babylonian than was afterwards the case. One could wish this to be true, for it would then be easier to account for the ceremonies of the *Yōm Kippurīm*, so archaic in spirit, and so contrary to the tendency of Jer. 31 31-34 Ezek. 36 25-27 Mic. 7 19.

5. Comparative nobility.

At any rate, the propitiation-days of the post-exilic Israelites were nobler than those of the Babylonians, in as far as they were for the benefit of the whole people, and not merely for that of the rulers. The Babylonian regulations of the 'days of appeasement' (*Sabattum* — שַׁבָּתוּם) bear upon the conduct of the king; but, since 'the whole congregation is holy,' those of the *Yōm Kippurīm* necessarily touch the conduct of all faithful Jews and even of 'sojourners (Lev. 16 29). In this respect the Jewish religion has a much closer affinity with the Zoroastrian than with the Babylonian or the Assyrian. If the provision for giving the uneducated populace a visible sign of the forgiveness of all its sins and the removal of their punishment appears to us barbaric and unspiritual (see AZAZEL, § 1)—if, too, the populace was only too likely to misinterpret the comprehensive expressions of Lev. 16 16 21 30, and to think that all sin whatever were cancelled by the ritual—we must remember (as regards Azāzel) the compromising spirit natural to large educational churches, and (as regards the other point) the difficulty in an Eastern language of guarding against all possible misinterpretations of phrases. A misinterpretation it certainly is when a Mishna treatise declares that

'The goat which is dismissed atones for all (other) transgressions, as well the light as the grave, the intentional and the unintentional, those foreknown and those not 'foreknown' (*Shebu'oth* 1 6).

The analogy of Lev. 4 2 13 etc. Nu. 15 24 distinctly shows that in such propitiatory ordinances it is accidental transgressions (בִּשְׁגָגָה), not deliberate transgressions (בְּיָד רָמָה), that are referred to; and in *Yōmā* 8 9 we read, 'He who says, I will sin, the Day atones; to him the Day will bring no atonement.'[1]

6. NT references.

In NT times the Jews had advanced religiously beyond the contemporaries of Ezra. In the Epistle to the Hebrews and in that of Barnabas we meet with a Christian gnosis; but there was, no doubt, also an allegorising gnosis that was Jewish. There must have been both poetic symbolisers (cp Ps. 51 7 [9]) and typologists. What Barnabas says (7 8) about the scarlet cloth tied on the neck of the 'scapegoat' is absurd; but it is an exquisite allegory that the Epistle to the Hebrews suggests in the words (Heb. 10 19-22)

'Having therefore boldness to use the entrance into the holy place with the blood of Jesus—the entrance which he dedicated for us—a fresh and living way—through the vail, that is to say, his flesh, and having a great priest over the house of God, let us approach,' etc.

Christians are, strictly, no priests (Christ is the 'great priest'); but the rending of the flesh of Christ, which brought him, the perfect one, near to God, enables his followers to make a nearer approach to the divine presence than the greatest priests and prophets of the age before him could make. The entrance of Christ into the heavenly regions through death is likened to the entrance of the high priest once in the year into the Holy of Holies. Of these two entrances the same epistle speaks thus (Heb. 9 12)

'Nor yet through blood of goats and bulls,[2] but through his own blood, he entered once for all into the holy place.

The Jewish high priest entered the holiest through the blood of goats and bulls. The goat was the offering for the people; the bullock for the high priest himself (Lev. 16 11 15). Christ entered through his own blood. The high priest went in once in the year; Christ once for all, as the representative of his people, that they might ever after have free access to God. 'Once for all' (ἐφάπαξ) is to be explained by 9 25, 'the high priest enters the holy place every year with blood not his own' (ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ).

The point is not how many times in the day the high priest entered the holiest, but that he entered on one day in the year. Of course, he went in more than once on the 'great day'; the Mishna says four times—(1) with the incense; (2) with the blood of the bullock; (3) with that of the goat; (4) after the evening burnt-offering, to bring away the censer and the incense-plate. Lev. 16 13-15 also implies more than one entrance.

There is a reference to the ritual in Heb. 13 11, where the death of Jesus outside the gate is compared with the burning of the remnants of the sin-offering without the camp. This, however, as Davidson has shown,[1] disjoints the ritual, and is really a mere isolated analogy.

7. Details in Mishna.

The treatise *Yōmā* (cp also Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 3 and Ep. Barn. ch. 7) throws much fresh light on the details of the ritual; we must not, however, suppose that it is in all respects literally accurate. In the Cambridge MS (Palestinian recension) it is called *Massekteth Kippurīm*, which is its true title, as the commentary of Maimonides on the Mishna also proves. J. Derenbourg has attempted a restoration of the oldest recension (see below, § 8).

The minute directions for the purification of the high priest need not detain us. Three confessions of sin (*widdūy*) form the most beautiful part of the ritual; they are preserved in *Yōmā* 3 8 4 2 and 6 2, and have passed with slight changes into the Jewish liturgy. In each of these confessions the sacred Tetragrammaton (יהוה) occurs; altogether it was pronounced ten times, and as often as the high priest came to the name those who stood near fell on their faces, while the multitude responded: 'Blessed be the Name, the Name of the glory of his kingdom, for ever and ever.' The first part of the service (including the blood-sprinkling) was gone through close to the Most Holy Place. The rest was performed close to the worshippers, in the eastern part of the court of the priests, north of the altar, where stood two goats and an urn with two lots. The [illegible] priest drew the lots, and it was held to be a good [illegible] right hand drew forth the lot 'for Yahwè.' To the [illegible] was set for Azāzel a 'tongue of scarlet' (?) was tied.

The high priest then went to the bullock, over which he had already confessed the sins of himself and his house, and now confessed those also of 'the seed of Aaron, thy holy tribe.' Taking the censer and the incense, he was seen to disappear within the sanctuary. There he stood alone; he rested his censer on a stone called שְׁתִיָּה[2] which stood in the place of the ark. Outside the Holy of Holies he uttered a prayer; it had to be a short one, lest the people should become anxious.[3] Again the rite of blood-sprinkling is performed in the Holiest, and then the 'goat for Yahwè' is sacrificed. A third time the high priest enters the Holiest, and again there is blood-sprinkling in all parts of the sanctuary. Forty-three such sprinklings have purified the sanctuary. But the people at large have to receive the visible sign of forgiveness. The 'goat for Azāzel' now becomes prominent. A *widdūy* or confession is uttered over the animal's head, which is now to be led to the precipice marked out for the destruction of the goat. Men of rank from Jerusalem accompany it; cries and curses hasten its progress (see AZĀZEL, § 4). Meantime the high priest puts on his 'golden vestments';[4] then he puts them off again, and a fourth time (see above) enters the Holiest.

The evening of the 'great day' closed with a banquet for the high priest and his friends, and with dancing in the vineyards for the maidens of Jerusalem. Probably this dance was primitive: it attached itself to the Day of Atonement, as a natural mode of relief to tired human nature (*Taanith* 4 8). See, further, DANCING, § 8; CANTICLES, § 3.

8. Literature.

The treatise *Yōmā* (*Mishna* by Surenhusius; *Yōmā* alone ed. Strack; cp Wünsche, *Der bab. Talm.* 140 *ff.*); J. Derenbourg, 'Essai de restitution de l'anc. rédaction de Massé-het Kippourim,' *REJ* no. 11 41-80 ('83); Maimonides, *Hilkoth yōm hakkippurim*, in Delitzsch, *Hebrews* 2 464 *ff.*; Kuenen, *Hex.* 86, 312; Oort, *ThT* 10 142-165 ('76), Benzinger, *ZATW* 9 0-88 ('89); articles by Delitzsch in *HWB*², and in *ZKW* 1 173-183 ('80), reviewed by Kuenen, *ThT* 17 297-212 ('83); Spencer, *De*

1 So Heb. 9 7, 'not without blood which he offers for himself and for the errors (ἀγνοημάτων) of the people.'

2 So the best MSS (AB𝔅D).

1 See his instructive essay, *Hebrews* ('82), 19[illegible]-202.

2 Commonly explained 'foundation,' and illustrated by Job 38 6.

3 Such a 'short prayer' is given in Jer. *Yōmā*, 9b (Del. *Gesch. der jüd. Poesie*, 18[illegible] *f.*).

4 Cp Eccles. 50 9 11, and the verses from the Abodah in Del. *Jüd. Poesie*, 21[illegible] *f.*

leg. rit. iii. Diss. viii.; D. Hoffmann in Berliner's *Magazin* (7-9), 1 *ff.*; Adler, *ZATW* 3 158-174 (); Stade, *GVI* 2 152, 183 *ff.*; Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1 367 *f.*, 2 4 *ff.*; Edersheim, *The Temple* (74), 263-288; Driver, 'Atonement, Day of,' in Hastings, *DB* 1 199-201, and 'Leviticus' in *SBOT* (Eng.); Di. on Levi., and Nowack's and Benzinger's Archæologies.

§§ 1-3 J. B., §§ 4-8 J. K.

ATROTH (Nu. 32 35 AV). See ATROTH-SHOPHAN.

ATROTH-BETH-JOAB (עֲטְרוֹת בֵּית יוֹאָב—*i.e.*, 'crowns of the house of Joab'; ατ̀αρωθ οικου ιωαβ [B], α. ο. ιωβαβ [A], ατ̀αρω κ. βηθιωαβ [L])[1], an unknown locality, mentioned in 1 Ch. 2 54 along with Bethlehem and Netophah, in a Calebite connection; its people were sons of Salma b. Hur b. Caleb (see JABEZ). Salma was the 'father' of Beth-lehem, the burial-place of Joab's father ZERUIAH [*q.v.*]. Meyer (*Ent.* 147) suggests a connection with the valley of CHARASHIM.

ATROTH-SHOPHAN, AV ATROTH, SHOPHAN (עֲטְרוֹת שׁוֹפָן; σωφαρ [BA], -αν [F], σοφαρ [L], Eus. 214 54), a town of Gad (Nu. 32 35); perhaps one of the two localities in Moab still called 'Attarus. See ATAROTH, 4.

ATTAI (עַתַּי, perhaps abbrev. of ATHALIAH).

1. Son of the Egyptian Jarha by the daughter of Sheshan the Jerahmeelite; his son was Nathan; 1 Ch. 2 35 *f.* (αθθαι [B], αεθι [L], αεθθ[ε]ι [A]). See JARHA, 1 (AHIMELECH).

2. One of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12 11 (αθθαι [BR], αθθ[ε]ι [AL]). See DAVID, § 11, *a*, 13.

3. Son of Rehoboam; 2 Ch. 11 20 (αεθθ[ε]ι [BAL]).

ATTALIA (ατταλεια [-ια Ti. WH]). A town on the coast of Pamphylia, founded by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus, for the Syrian and Egyptian trade, which it shared with Perga. There has been some discussion about the site, as Strabo (p. 667), enumerating from west to east, mentions Olbia, the river Catarrhactes, and then Attalia; from which it would seem that Attalia must be the modern *Laara*. Ptolemy, however, is more exact: he puts it west of the Catarrhactes. Thus, it is equivalent to the modern *Adalia*, which is still a port with considerable trade. The town has a picturesque appearance, being perched on the long line of cliffs created by the calcareous deposits of the Catarrhactes, which pours over them in torrents to the sea. The remains are almost entirely Roman. The apostle Paul passed through the town on his return from his 'first missionary tour' in the interior (Acts 14 25). It is still a bishopric. [See PERGA, and Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 420.] W. J. W.

ATTALUS (ατταλος [ANV]). Three kings of Pergamus bore this name; but we are here concerned with the last two—Attalus II., Philadelphus, 159-138 B.C., and his nephew Attalus III., Philomētor, 138-133 B.C. The Pergamene kings were all allies of Rome, and the last made the Roman people his heir (see ASIA). In 1 Macc. 15 22 we read that 'Lucius, consul of the Romans,' wrote letters in favour of the Jews to Ptolemy, Attalus, Ariarathes, and others. Attalus II. is probably meant; but, as the date of the letters falls in 139-138 B.C., it is possible that they were sent to his successor, Attalus III. was the son of Eumenes by Stratonice, the daughter of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was a close ally of the Romans, sharing the fate of Publius Licinius Crassus in the war with the Pergamene pretender Aristonicus, 130 B.C. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10 22) quotes a Pergamene decree in favour of the Jews about the time of Hyrcanus. W. J. W.

ATTHARATES (ατταρατη [B], αθαρατης [A], αθαρασθας [L]), 1 Esd. 9 49 = Neh. 8 9, TIRSHATHA.

ATTHARIAS (αθαριας [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 40, RV = Ezra 2 63, TIRSHATHA.

ATTIRE. For Ezek. 23 15 (צְבוּלִים, *ṣĕbūlīm*) see TURBAN; for Jer. 2 32 (קִשֻּׁרִים, *kiššurīm*) see GIRDLE; for Prov. 7 10 (שִׁית, *šīth*) see DRESS, § 1 (1).

[1] After ⊠L we may assume a separate place-name Ataroth; see ATARAH.

ATTUS (αττους [AL]), 1 Esd. 8 29, RV = Ezra 8 2, HATTUSH, 1.

AUGIA (αυγ[ε]ια [BAL]), 1 Esd. 5 38. Not in Ezra 2 61 = Neh. 7 63. See BARZILLAI, 3.

AUGURY ('one who practises augury,' RV Lev. 19 26, Dt. 18 14, 2 K. 21 6; AV 'observer of times,' מְעוֹנֵן). See DIVINATION, § 2 (2).

AUGUSTUS (αυγουστος [Ti. WH]), an honorific title bestowed upon Octavian (27 B.C.), and from him handed on to his successors. It is applied to him, along with the title of CÆSAR (*q.v.*), in Lk. 2 1 EV. For his reign, in as far as it concerns Jewish history, see HEROD, FAMILY, 1, and ISRAEL; and for the difficulties raised by Lk. 2 1 with regard to the census, see CHRONOLOGY, § 5 (7).

In Acts 25 21 25 the AV 'Augustus' for σεβαστός should rather be, as in RV, simply 'the emperor,' or, as in RV[mg], 'the Augustus.' The reference is to Nero (see CÆSAR). For 'Augustus's band,' or rather (as in RV) 'the Augustan band' (Acts 27 1 σπείρης Σεβαστῆς), see ARMY, § 10.

AURANUS (αυρανου [VA]; cp AVARAN), leader of the Assassins in Jerusalem in the time of Lysimachus (2 Macc. 4 40).

AUTEAS (αυταιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7, HODIAH, 2.

AUTHORITIES (ἐξουσίαι, 1 Pet. 3 22). See ANGELS, §§ 1, 9.

AVA (עָוָא), 2 K. 17 24 AV, RV AVVA.

AVARAN (αυαραν [ANV]), 1 Macc. 2 5. See ELEAZAR, 7; MACCABEES, I. § 3; cp AURANUS.

AVEN (אָוֶן; ων [BAQ*] in Hos. 10 8 Am. 5, but ηλιου πολεως [BAQ] in Ezek. 30 17†). 1. In Ezek. 30 17 the reference is doubtless to the Egyptian Heliopolis (see ON).

2. In Hos. 10 8 (EV 'the high places of Aven') Targ. Jon. has ביתאל, Bethel, which explanation is given by all ancient and most modern interpreters; but, in consideration of the well-attested use of אָוֶן (*awen*) in the sense of 'false worship,' 'idolatry' (see, *e.g.*, Hos. 12 12 [11]), it is a question (1) whether we should not render with G. A. Smith, 'Destroyed are the high places of idolatry, the sin of Israel,' and (2) whether, when we have regard to the parallel passage Am. 7 9, and to the probably not infrequent occurrence of glosses in the MT of the prophetic writings (see, *e.g.*, Mic. 1 5*b*), the words און חטאת should not be either omitted or printed in a different type as an editorial insertion. The passage, as Wellhausen remarks, gains greatly by this omission. Vg.'s reading, *excelsa idoli*, favours the view here taken of אָוֶן. Ibn Ezra paraphrases במות בעלים 'the high places of the Baals.'

3. In Am. 1 5 Maundrell (1697), Grove, W. A. Wright, and G. A. Smith (with Hitzig) are inclined, in company with ⊠, to identify the 'plain (or broad valley) of Aven' (BIKATH-AVEN; so AV[mg]) with the great plain between Lebanon and Antilibanus (the so-called *Bĕqa'*), in which the famous temple of the Syrian Heliopolis (Baalbec) was situated. The vocalisation אָוֶן will then imply a play on the name—not On, but Aven. This, however, is a far-fetched supposition. On (= Egyptian *Anu*) represents the secular, not the religious, name of the Egyptian Heliopolis (see BETH-SHEMESH, 4). It is very doubtful, moreover, whether the second Heliopolis (Baalbec) was an Aramæan city in the time of Amos, and it is a plausible view of Wellhausen that אָוֶן 'false worship' has been substituted for the name of some god. Cp Winckler, *AT Untersuch.* 183, n.

AVENGER (גֹּאֵל). Nu. 35 12. See GOEL.

AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES. See AVVIM.

AVITH (עֲוִית, in 1 Ch. Kt. עִיּוֹת; ΡΕΘΘΑ[Ι]Μ [BADEL]), the city of Hadad I., king of Edom, Gen. 36 35 1 Ch. 1 46 (ΡΕΘΘΑΜ [A], ΕΥΙΘ [L]). 𝔊's reading of the Hebrew must have been גתים, Gittaim, which is clearly correct. The city of the next king had a name of similar meaning (Masrekah). See GITTAIM. T. K. C.

AVVA, AV AVA (עַוָּא or עָוָא; Vg. *Avah*); 2 K. 17 24 (ΑΙΑ [BA], ΑΙΑΝ [L]), RV; also **Ivvah**, AV IVAH, עִוָּה (omitted or only represented in corrupt form in 𝔊; Vg. *Avva*), 2 K. 18 34 (ΑΥΑ [A]; not in 𝔊[BL]), 19 13 (ΟΥΔΟΥ [B], ΑΥΤΑ [A], om. L) = Is. 37 13 (ΟΥΓΑΥΑ [BℵO(]mg.], ΕΓΓΟΥΓΑΥΑ [A], ΟΥΤΕ or ΟΥΤΑ [Q*]). In the latter group of passages the punctuation implies an exegetical mistake (see commentators on Is.): the name throughout should be Avva or Avvah, and it used to be thought that the city referred to the same as that from which the king of Assyria brought colonists to the 'cities of Samaria' (2 K. 17 24). It is clear, however (Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 101 *f.*), that 2 K. 17 24 31 have been interpolated by some one who supposed SEPHARVAIM [*q.v.*] in 2 K. 18 34 19 13 to be the Babylonian city of that name. It is only in the speeches of Sennacherib's envoys that Avva has a right of existence; 'Avva or 'Avvah, however, is surely a corruption of 'Azzah (עַזָּה), 'Gaza.' Tiglath-pileser, when he conquered Gaza in 734 B.C., appears to have introduced the cultus of Aśur (Wi. *GBA* 228, 333). 'Where,' then, 'are the gods of Sepharvaim and of Gaza?' (So Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899.) T. K. C.

AVVIM (עִוִּים, so RV; AV AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES [**Avvites**, RV]). 1. According to Dt. 2 23, the Avvim inhabited the Philistine coast 'as far as Gaza' before they were 'destroyed' by the Caphtorim -*i.e.*, the Philistines. The same late writer, in whom the antiquary's interest is prominent,[1] states that the Avvim dwelt in villages or settlements (חֲצֵרִים; see HAZOR); 𝔊 and Vg., however, read החיים, 'the Hivites' (οἱ εὐαῖοι [BAFL]; *Hevei*). In Josh. 13 2-6 (an editorial insertion which expands the simple statement of JE in *v.* 1) we find the Avvim again introduced, and described (if RV is right) as belonging to the S. of Philistia; probably, however, 'on the south' belongs to the whole region defined in *vv.* 2*b* 3. Here 𝔊 and Vg once more read 'the Hivites.' Sir G. Grove (in Smith's *DB*) suggests that the Avvim may be identical with the Hivites (cp 𝔊 Vg. above); but the latter name is uniformly found in the singular (החוי). The word might, to a Hebrew ear, mean, yet probably does not mean, 'ruins' (cp IIM). Not improbably it is a mutilated form of ערבים, 'Arabians' (Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899). The Avvim (so-called) were Bedawin who had begun to adopt a settled life.

2. העוים, with def. art., 'the ruins' (αἰειν [B], αὐειμ [AL], Vg. *Avim*), an unidentified place in Benjamin (Josh. 18 23). It is mentioned in immediate connection with Bethel and Pa ah, and on this account has been conjectured by Knobel to be the same as Ai.

3. In Josh. 15 29 𝔊 AL reads 'Avvim' for 'Iim.' See IIM (1).

4. The people of AVVA (*q.v.*), 2 K. 17 31. 𝔊 again οἱ εὐαῖοι [BAL (there is a second rendering, αἰωνειμ in L)]; Vg. *Hevei*. T. K. C.

AWL (מַרְצֵעַ, lit. 'borer'; ΟΠΗΤΙΟΝ [BAFL]). An instrument for boring, mentioned in the description of the 'law of slavery' (Ex. 21 6 Dt. 15 17). It probably resembled the Egyptian boring instruments depicted in Kitto (*s.v.*), or those more recently discovered by Bliss at Tell el Hesy (see *A Mound of Many Cities*, 81). Such instruments were used by workers in leather (see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 450 *f.*). Cp SLAVERY.

AWNING (מִכְסֶה, cp Gen. 8 13). Ezek. 27 7 RV, correcting the punctuation (מְכַסֶּךָ, AV 'that which covered thee'). Cp DRESS, § 1 (4).

[1] Cp Kue. *Hex.* 117-119; Mey. *GA* 1 217 (§ 179).

AXE. From the rude stone chisels and hatchets ('celts') of palæolithic man, bronze and iron axe, hatchet, tomahawk, and adze were gradually developed. Various early forms of these implements (needed alike in war and in peace) are found in our museums of Egyptian and Babylonian antiquities; the monuments also give ample evidence of their existence. See HANDICRAFTS and WEAPONS.

Of the OT words for 'axe,' three at least may be nearly synonymous:

1. גַּרְזֶן, *garzen* (*securis*); Dt. 19 5 (ἀξίνη); 20 19 (σίδηρος); 1 K. 6 7 (πέλεκυς); Is. 10 15 (ἀξίνη), everywhere an implement for felling trees or hewing large timber for building. The word is used thrice in the Siloam inscription (*ll.* 2 4), in the sense of a quarryman's or miner's pick. On 2 S. 12 31 2 K. 6 5, cp IRON, § 2.

2. קַרְדֹּם, *kardōm*, ἀξίνη, *securis* (Judg. 9 48 Ps. 74 5 1 S. 13 20 *f.* Jer. 46 22†), perhaps specially used for felling trees; if so, it would have a heavier head than the *garzen*.

3. כַּשִּׁיל, *kaśśil*, πέλεκυς, *securis*, Ps. 74 6†; in Tg. Jer. 46 22 for Heb. קַרְדֹּם. RV gives 'hatchet,' apparently to suggest a diminutive axe. 𝔊, Sym., Pesh., however, read, not פִּתּוּחָיו 'its carved work,' but פְּתָחָיו 'its gates.' The rather improbable word כַּשִּׁיל should perhaps be שַׁכִּין 'knife' (Che. *Ps.*[2]), and in the light of the Tg. we should emend כיריות to בצרפיות 'two-edged' (Herz, Che.[2], 'with two-edged axe').

Somewhat different from these, and probably adze-shaped, is:

4. מַעֲצָד, *ma'ăṣōd*, χώνευμα [BℵAQ, reading מוצקה?], *ascia* in Jer. 10 3 Is. 44 12 (σκεπάρνῳ, *limā*, AV 'tongs'), and by emendation of the text in Is. 10 33[2] (Duhm) and Zech. 11 3 [*l*] (see FOREST). Ḳimḥi understands something lighter than the *kardōm*, or axe. In Jer. 10 3 *ma'aṣōd* is a tool suitable for fashioning or carving wood.

Two other words are doubtful.

5. חָרָב. In Ezek. 26 9, EV 'axe,' an insecure rending. The text is possibly corrupt (see Co.; ταῖς μαχαίραις [BAQ], τοῖς ὁπλοις [Q^mg.]).

6. מַגְרָה, 2 S. 12 31 (ὑποτομεύς [A]) = 1 Ch. 20 3, מַגֵּרָה, which Berth. and Kittel conform to Sam. The text, however, perhaps needs more extensive emendation. Che. reads במגרות הברזל a marginal correction of the במגרה (after משם) which found its way into the text (*Exp. Times*, x. 1899, p. 285). See SAW.

Of the NT names the ἀξίνη of Mt. 3 10 Lk. 3 9 is the woodman's axe; but Rev. 20 4 (πελεκίζεσθαι; cp 𝔊 1 K. 5 18) refers to the axe of the headman (πέλεκυς).

Axes were among the emblems of high rank in Egypt and at Mycenæ (see the axe figured in Erman, *Egypt*, 73; Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, 252). In the OT it is rather the mace that is the favourite emblem of sovereign power (see ROD). There is, however, a sarcastic passage in Bar. 6 15 which suggests that the axe could be an emblem of divinity; and we may perhaps illustrate it by Frazer's learned note on Paus. x. 14 1. The double-headed axe is characteristic of so-called Hittite sculptures. The Labrandean Zeus of Caria also is represented on coins as carrying a double-headed axe (*labrus* = axe in Lydian; Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 45). There appears on the coins of Tenedos a similar axe, which, being generally accompanied by a cluster of grapes, may be a symbol of the worship of Dionysus. Cp also Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1 257.[3] Of course, the bow and the sword, not the axe, are the emblems of Yahwè, though in Ezek. 9 2 the supernatural agents of Yahwè carry mauls (or like weapons). See BATTLE-AXE.

AYEPHIM (עֲיֵפִים), the rendering of RV^mg. in 2 S. 16 14, where the text has, 'and the king and all the people that were with him came weary.' So 𝔊, ἐκλελυμένοι [BL], ὁ ἐκλελυμένος [A]. The name of

[1] מַעֲצָד as it stands does not make sense. For proposed emendations see Che. (*SBOT*, Isaiah, Heb.), Duhm, Di.-Ki.

[2] 'With a terrible crash' (במערצה) is only a conjectural rendering of MT.

[3] Perhaps, however, the axe was depicted as a survival of the time, before the introduction of coined money, when it may have been the unit of barter (Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, etc., 317 *f.*). Perhaps too the 'tongue' (לשון) of gold in Jos. 7 21 was in the shape of an axe; see *Exp. Times*, Nov. 1907, p. 61.

some place seems to be required by the context. If Ayephim be indeed a place-name, the locality it indicates remains unidentified. On the other hand, it may be a corruption, or the place-name may have dropped out. Cp We. *in loc.*; 𝔊 adds παρὰ τὸν Ἰορδανην.

G. A. S.

AYYAH (עַיָּה [Bu. Gi.]), 1 Ch. 7 28† RV^mg. = AV GAZA [*q.v.*, 2]. See AI, 1

AZAEL (αζαηλου [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 14 = Ezra 10 15, ASAHEL, 4.

AZAELUS (αζαηλος [B]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 41, RV AZAREEL, 5

AZAL, or rather RV AZEL (אֶצֶל; ιαcoλ [BNT], acahλ [AQ]), the point to which the cleft of the mountain is to reach when Yahwè descends upon the Mt of Olives in battle (Zech. 14 5). This place, presumably situated near Jerusalem, is often identified with the equally obscure BETHEZEL. Kohler, Wright, and others (after Vg. Symm.), with less probability, take אצל אצל to be an adverbial expression, 'very near, hard by' (cp Olsh. § 167*b*; but see also König, § 330 *f.* [γ]). Clermont Ganneau thinks of the Wady Yasul, a little valley on the right of the 'Ain el-Lōz, in the Wady en-Nār (*PEFQu.*, 1871, p. 101)

AZALIAH (אַצַלְיָהוּ, εccελιου [AL]), father of Shaphan the secretary. 2 K. 22 3 (ιελιου [B]) = 2 Ch. 34 8 (cελια [BA]).

AZANIAH (אַזַנְיָה, § 32, 'Yahwè weighs,' cp Jaazaniah; αζαν[ε]ια [BA], -νιηλ [N], αζαιου [L]), a Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 9 [10].

AZAPHION (αccαφειωθ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 33 AV = Ezra 2 55 RV, HASSOPHERETH [*q.v.*]

AZARA, RV ASARA (αcαρα [BA]), a family of NETHINIM mentioned after Phinees (= P[h]aseah) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), 1 Esd. 5 31†. Unmentioned in ‖ Ezra 2 49 Neh 7 51

AZARAEL (οζειηλ [BA]), Neh. 12 36 AV, RV AZAREEL, 4.

AZARAIAS. 1. AV SARAIAS, 1 Esd. 8 1 (αζαραιου [B], caραιου [AL]) = Ezra 7 1, SERAIAH, 7.

2. AV AZARIAS (2 Esd. 1 1); see AZARIAH, 3.

AZAREEL, or rather, as in RV, **Azarel** (עֲזַרְאֵל, § 28; 'God helps'; εζριηλ [AL], cp AZRIEL).

1. One of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 6; οζριηλ [BR], ελιηλ [A]; ειηλ [L]). See DAVID, § 11, *a*. iii.

2. One of the sons of Heman (see LEVI), 1 Ch. 25 18 (αζαρια [B]; οζιηλ [L]; cp UZZIEL).

3. A Danite 'prince' under David (1 Ch. 27 22; αζαραηλ [B], αζριηλ [L]). See DAVID, § 11, *c* i.

4. A priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 13 (εσδριηλ [BR]); in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA, ii. § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 36, AV AZAREEL (οζιηλ [BR*A], οζριηλ [R^c.a ρ superscr.]).

5. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 41 (εζεριηλ [B], εσριηλ [R]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 (ESRIL, RV EZRIL, εζρ[ε]ιλ [BA], εσριηλ [L]), apparently repeated as AZAELUS (*ib.* αζαηλ [A], -ος [B], om. L).

AZARIAH (עֲזַרְיָה, §§ 28 84 [or עֲזַרְיָהוּ; in nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20; cp Baer on 1 Ch. 2 38], 'Yahwè helps'; cp ELEAZAR, AZRIEL; αζαριαc [BAL]).

1. b. Zadok; priest, temp. Solomon, 1 K. 4 2 (αζαρει [B]). See BEN-HUR.

2. Chief priest, temp. Uzziah (2 Ch. 26 17-20).

3. Chief priest, temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 10-13).

In 1 Ch. 6 9-14 (5 35-41) the name of Azariah is borne by the twelfth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar (*vv.* 9 11 13 αζαρια [B]); of the fourteenth it is said that he 'executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem' (1 Ch. 6 10 *f.* [5 36 *f.*]). Omissions and transpositions allowed for, the three Azariahs in this series may be held to be identical with nos. 1, 2, and 3 above; at the same time, it is difficult to suppose that the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 6 13 *f.* (5 39 *f.*) should be distinguished from the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 9 11 and Ezra 7 1 (ζαρειου [B]); if we identify these, Azariah (3) was a contemporary of Josiah, not of Hezekiah. This name appears also as Azarias, Azaraias, Azuel, Ezerias, and Ezias

4. Expounder of law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 *f.*; cp i. § 8; ii. § 16 [5], § 15 [1] *c.*), Neh. 8 7 (om. BRA) = 1 Esd. 9 48 (AZARIAS), and signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 2 [3] (αζαρια [BR^c.a A], ζαχαριας [R*]). See also Neh. 3 23 (αζαρια [BRA]), 12 33 (βηθαζαρ[ε]ια [BRA], οἴκου αζ. [L]). He is apparently the EZRA of Neh. 12 1 11.

5. A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch. 6 36 [21], αζαρια [BL], cp 2 Ch. 29 12, עזריהו). In 1 Ch. 6 24 [9] his place is taken by UZZIAH, 2.

6. b. Nathan, supervisor of Solomon's twelve prefects (1 K. 4 5). Probably he had to see that the contributions of the different departments were punctually furnished. His father was most likely the well-known prophet who in 2 S. 12 1 is called simply Nathan (so Ew., We., Klo.). Others (*e.g.*, Bahr) make Azariah Solomon's nephew; cp 2 S. 5 14 (𝔊 αρι[ε]ια [B*L]). See, however, ZABUD.

7. A son of King Jehoshaphat, twice enumerated (as Azariah and Azariahu) in 2 Ch. 21 2, but omitted in 𝔊 [B].

8. A son of Jehoram, king of Judah in 2 Ch. 22 6 (οχοζ[ε]ιας [BAL]); but it is clear from 2 K. 8 29, as well as from 2 Ch. 22 7, that AHAZIAH [2] is meant. In 2 Ch. 21 17 he is called JEHOAHAZ (*q.v.*, 3).

9. King of Judah; otherwise known as UZZIAH (*q.v.*, 1).

10. One of the 'three children,' companions of Daniel; otherwise called ABEDNEGO (*q.v.*) (Dan. 1 6 7 11 19 Song of Three Children, *v.* 66 [𝔊, Theod. Dan. 3 88], AZARIAS, 7)

11. A Judahite, son of Ethan, 1 Ch. 2 8 (ζαρια [B]; αζαρια [A]).

12. A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 2 38 *f.* (αζαρια [B]).

13. b. ODED, a prophet of Judah, whose prophecy to King Asa is recorded in 2 Ch. 15 1-8. The prophecy is attributed to Oded in *v.* 8.

14. Son of Jeroham; one of the captains who were associated with Jehoiada in deposing Athaliah (2 Ch. 23 1).

15. Son of Obed; another of the captains associated with Jehoiada (2 Ch. 23 1; cp 1 Ch. 2 38 *f.*).

16. Son of Hoshaiah; an opponent of Jeremiah, Jer. 43 2 (αζαχαριας [R*]). Cp JAAZANIAH, 1.

17. Leader (see EZRA, ii. § 82) in the great post-exilic list (*ib.* ii. 9), Neh. 7 7 (αζαρια [BR], -ρεα [A]) = Ezra 2 2, SERAIAH; see EZRA (αραιας [BA*], σαραιας [A^a L]).

18. In procession at dedication of wall (see EZRA, i. § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 33, ζαχαριας [BR] (see Baer), cp (4).

19. An Ephraimite, temp. Ahaz, who took part in restoring the captives of Judah, 2 Ch. 28 12 (ουδεια [B]).

20. b. JEHALLELEL, a Merarite Levite, 2 Ch. 29 12 (ζαχαριας [BA]).

AZARIAS (αζαριαc [BAL]), the Greek form of AZARIAH.

1. 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 21, UZZIAH, 3.

2. In list of Ezra's supporters (1 Esd. 9 43), wanting in ‖ Neh. 8 4; see Be. *ad loc.*

3. 1 Esd. 9 48 Neh. 8 7, AZARIAH (4).

4. RV AZARAIAS (2 Esd. 1 1), b. Helkias; see AZARIAH (3).

5. The name assumed by the angel RAPHAEL [*q.v.*] when accompanying Tobit (Tob. 5 12 6 6 13 7 8 9 2).

6. A captain in the army of Judas the Maccabee, 1 Macc. 5 18 56 60 (in *v.* 56 ζαχαριας [AR]).

7. Song of Three Children, 66 (𝔊 Theod. Dan. 3 88); see AZARIAH (10).

AZARU (αζαρου [B]), 1 Esd. 5 15 RV; AV AZURAN.

AZAZ (עַזָּז, ozoyz [BA]; but L gives ιωαζαζ—*i.e.*, Joazaz): cp Azaziah, a Reubenite name (1 Ch. 5 8†).

AZĀZEL (עֲזָאזֵל).[1] Of the two goats set apart for the great Day of Atonement (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF), one was chosen by lot for a sin-offering for Yahwè, the other for 'Āzā'zel (Lev. 16 8-10). After the sin-offering had been made in behalf of the people, the high priest was to lay both hands upon the head of the goat for 'Āzā'zel, and confess over it all the sins of the Israelites (cp the confession of sin in Mishna, *Yōmā* 6 2), laying them on its head and sending it out into the wilderness to Azāzel (*v.* 21 *f.*). The meaning of this act, which is further described in the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan, is clear. The goat symbolically bears away the sins of the people. Something analogous is found in Lev. 14 4 *ff.*, where, for the purification of the leper, one bird is to be killed, and the other, charged with the disease, is to be let loose

1. Levitical practice.

[1] AV renders 'scapegoat.' For the renderings in 𝔊, see col. 395, note 7.

into the open field. Cp also Zech. 5 5 ff., where sin is carried away bodily into the land of Shinar.[1]

2. Who was Azāzel?

The meaning of Azāzel is much disputed; it is, of course, a subject closely connected with the inquiry into the origin of the custom. It is at least certain that, as Azāzel receives one goat while Yahwè receives the other, both must be personal beings.

The theory of the Jewish interpreters (Tg. ps.-Jon., Rashi, Kimhi; cp Ibn Ezra's references to current views), that Azāzel is a place in the wilderness, is inadmissible; and equally so are the views of Aq., Symm., Jer., AV, that it means the goat itself (τραγος ὁ ἐρχόμενος and ἀφιέμενος, *caper emissarius*, 'the scapegoat'), and of Merx in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 1 256, and others, that it is an abstract term = 'complete removal or dismissal' (from √עזל), a view probably taken by ⊕.[2]

It seems most natural to connect the belief in question with the demonology and angelology which developed so largely in the post-exilic age (*Enoch* 6 7 8 19 6 10 4). One group of interpreters, on this view, take Azāzel as a prominent member of the class of se'irim, or demons of the field and the desert, to whom sacrifices were offered in post-exilic times (Lev. 17 7; see SATYR, § 2), to whom possibly all the sins of the people with their evil effects were symbolically sent every year (so, with various modifications, Ew., Di., Dr. [*Expos.*], Now., Benz.). We need not, however (with the first three scholars), regard the conception as a primitive one, or as having been taken over by the religion of Yahwè from an earlier stage; and least of all is there any imitation of the symbolic vengeance taken by the Egyptians on Set-Typhon[3] (see Brugsch, *Relig. u. Mythol. d. alt. Ägy.* 710). On the other hand, Cheyne ('The Date and Origin of the Ritual of 'Aza'zel' in *ZATW* 15 153-156 ['95]) considers it to have been one of the objects of the ritual 'to do away with the cultus of se'irim by substituting a personal angel for the crowd of impersonal and dangerous se'irim.'[4] His arguments for this very attractive view are (*a*) the form of the name (deliberately altered from עזיאל, 'God strengthens'; cp עזיאל, 1 Ch. 15 21), which seems to be akin to that of the other names of angels; and (*b*) more especially the passages of the Book of Enoch referring to Azāzel as a leader of the evil angels (Gen. 6 1 2 4). 'Azāzel is therefore of literary not of popular origin; he is due to the same school of speculative students of Scripture to which we owe the other names of angels, good and evil, in the later literature.' In any case, we must admit that the old interpreters who identified Azāzel with Satan[5] had some plausibility on their side (Orig. *c. Cels.* 6 305; Iren. *Her.* 1 12, followed by Spencer, Hengstenberg, Kalisch, and Volck). We may at least venture to say with Reuss[6] that 'the conception of Azāzel lies on the way which led later to that of the devil.' For Azāzel is certainly described as in some sense a being hostile to God.

I. B.

3. Recent criticism.

It is strange that so many modern critics should have failed to comprehend the ritual of the scapegoat, and have rejected with much positiveness the only natural explanation of the name Azāzel, so that it has become a kind of dogma that עזאזל is not from עז אל, but either a weakened form of עזאזל, meaning 'averruncus,' or 'porro abiens,' or 'amotio' (Ol., Merx, Stade, Kautzsch-Ges., Volck),[7] or else a broken plural of difficult interpretation

[1] For extra-biblical parallels, see below, § 3; also Ew. *Ant.* 158; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 422 [and for an Assyriological explanation of the reference to the wilderness, see RITUAL, § 10].

[2] Cp, however, below, note 7.

[3] This view has left a trace in Smith, *DB*[2] 1 297, but has received no sanction from Di. or Dr., whose names are mentioned. Against it see Diestel, *Zt. f. hist. Theol.* (60), pp. 159 ff.

[4] Prof. G. F. Moore suggests a reference to Nachmanides on Lev. 16 8.

[5] The Rabbinic identification of Satan with Sammael as 'chief of the Satans' (*Midr. R.* on Dt. 11 3) may here be chronicled.

[6] *Gesch. der Schriften des AT*[2], 501.

[7] Some critics refer to ⊕ as having initiated the theory of an abstract formation. Certainly in Lev. 16 10 *b*, ⊕BAFL renders עזאזל εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν; and in *v.* 26, εἰς ἄφεσιν. What the translator means by this, however, is ἀποπεμπόμενος (so Theodoret, *Quæst.* 22 in Lev.). In short, he agrees with Aq., Symm., Jer. in deriving the name from עז and שלח. This gives the right interpretation of ἀποπομπαῖος [BAFL], which answers to Azāzel in *v.* 10*a*. *Averruncus*, in this view of the facts, is not the equivalent of ⊕'s term, as w. (*Int.* 363) supposes.

(perhaps some particular class of unfriendly demons; see Steiner in Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* 5 599, and Bochart).[1] The truth is that the old derivation of Azāzel from √עז, 'to be strong' (see Tg. ps.-Jon., Saadia), needed to assume a new form in order to commend itself.

The explanation of the name as עזה אל (which was retracted by Diestel its author) implies an un-Hebraic mode of formation, says Di., and the names of angels compounded with אל belong to the later Jewish theology. The former objection is not absolutely decisive; the name Abirel in *Jubilees* seems to be אביר אל (see ABREL). Still, there is no necessity to follow Diestel; the later Jews could form names correctly, and the explanation offered above, which, with the connected theory, may claim to be virtually a new one, is not open to Di.'s objection. Di.'s second objection points the way to the true reason why modern scholars have often given such far-fetched and improbable (however learnedly justified) etymologies. They felt that a name formed on the analogy of Michael and Gabriel must be late; but their theory compelled them to suppose that Azāzel was early, and that the name Azāzel in *Enoch* (like Belial and Beelzebub, Delitzsch ventures to add) was simply borrowed from the OT.[2] Thus the light thrown on the name by the Book of Enoch was missed. Nor was sufficient use made of the Mishna treatise called *Yōmā*, with its strange but not imaginary details, although the description comes from a time not very far removed from that of the later portions of the priestly code. Nor did critics give heed enough to the facts of comparative folklore, which illustrate certain details in the *Yōmā*.

The more we study the Priestly Code, the more we are struck by the combination of firmness and laxity which its compilers display. They are firmness itself as regards the essential principles of the law,[3] but very compliant to minor popular superstitions. Nothing, therefore, can be more probable than that the legal authorities to whom the later portions of Lev. 16 are due gave their sanction to a custom which it had perhaps been found impossible to root out, on condition of its being regulated and modified by themselves. Assuming this to have been the case, we can explain the name Azāzel, and even account for the spelling, which has struck many scholars as inconsistent with the etymology עז אל. From the point of view here adopted—viz., that the priestly code is not Mosaic, but a combination of diverse elements due to many different persons in the exilic and the post-exilic periods, and framed in a statesmanlike, compromising spirit—there can be no doubt that the view here mentioned is correct. There is no uncertainty as to the meaning of the name Azāzel, and very little as to the origin and significance of the rite.

4. Jewish superstitions.

To supplement the account of the present writer's theory given above, it may be said that, like Diestel formerly, he opposes the widely received view that Azāzel was a κακοδαίμων to whom the sin of the people and the resulting calamities were sent, and that the belief goes back to pre-exilic times.

The first part of this view was that of Benzinger (*Arch.* 478) in 1894; it is, however, scarcely tenable. The sultan of the *jinn*, to whom the *se'irim* propitiated by the Jews in post-exilic times correspond (see SATYR, § 2), has no personal name; he and his subjects are impersonal. If Azāzel were a demon we should hear of him in other parts of Leviticus. Nor is it likely that even a later legislator would have adopted Azāzel as an evil demon.

[1] Del. is not happy in his explanation, 'Defier of God.' He traces the name to Arabic mythology: *'azz* is used of a horse which successfully resists its rider (*ZKW* 1 182 ['80]); but König is no more successful—'fortis decedens' is his rendering (*Lehrgeb.* 2 *a*, 417).

[2] So Driver (*Expositor*, 1885, *b*, p. 215). In Hastings' *DB* (art. 'Azazel') no very definite conclusion is reached; but reference is duly made to the too generally neglected analogies of other popular religions.

[3] Kalisch rightly says that, 'although Azazel and his goat are a stain on the Levitical legislation, they do not taint the main principle of Judaism—God's absolute sovereignty' (*Leviticus*, 2 204).

Azazel[1] to the Jewish theologians (including the authors of the scapegoat-ritual) was a fallen angel, evil no doubt, yet not altogether unfriendly to man, for he was the true Tubal-cain, one of the 'sons of Elohim' mentioned in Gen. 6 1 *f.* 4[2] (see *Enoch* 6 6 *f.* 8 1 and especially 10 4-8 13 1). He was said to have been bound hand and foot, and placed in 'an opening in the desert which is in Dudael'; rough and jagged rocks have been laid upon him. Now, Dudael is not 'God's caldron' (Dillm., but (Geiger, Charles) a fantastic modification of Hadudo in Beth Hadudo, where was the crag (צוק) down which, according to *Yoma* (6 4; cp Tg. ps.-Jon. Lev. 16 22), the 'goat for Azazel' was pushed, which crag Schick[3] identifies with mod. *Bēt-hadūdā*, on the edge of a chalk cliff overhanging a rocky chasm, at the right distance from Jerusalem. The coincidence seems too striking to permit a doubt as to the true character of Azāzel.

It was this personal angel (the later Jews gave a quasi-personality to the angels) that the author of the scapegoat-ritual substituted for the crowd of *s'irim* (or earth-demons) to whom the people sacrificed; just as the scapegoat was the substitute for the sacrificial victims.[4] The need must have been great indeed. In the marriage songs of the Canticles we twice find (it is probable) the strange appeal, 'I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the fairy-hosts and by the tree-spirits.'[5] In such a poem the name of Yahwe could not be lightly used: all the world, however, knew of the supernatural beings who haunted thickets and sometimes inhabited trees, and like the *jinn* to-day, were sometimes friendly to man, sometimes unfriendly.[6] The substitution appears to have produced an effect. At least, the Chronicler, in the third century, represents the custom of sacrificing to the *s'irim* as prevalent (2 Ch. 11 15). Certainly, too, we may infer from the details respecting the שעיר המשתלח ('the dismissed goat') in *Yōmā* that the popularity of the institution was great. The cries, 'Take (them) away and get out,'[7] repeated by the Gemara on *Yōmā* 6 4, show how intensely the lower classes (Babylonians they are disparagingly called) loved in the removal of their sins by the goat. See also Ep. Barn. 7; Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 3 7; *adv. Iud.* 14; Just. *c. Tryph.* 40. That the 'goat for Azazel' was really pushed over the precipice (*Yōmā*, 6), we have no reason to doubt. It is instructive to notice, however, that the scribe who inserted the directions in Lev. 16 could not bring himself to put down all that actually happened. What we read is that Aaron was to confess all the sins of the Israelites (there is great emphasis on 'all') over the goat, and to send him away in the charge of a certain man into a solitary land (אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה *v.* 21 *f.*). This is explained in Tg. ps.-Jon., 'and shall send him away by a man prepared from the preceding year, to take him into a rocky desert which is Beth-hadūrē' (see above). In compensation for this, it is Leviticus that gives us one detail not preserved in *Yōmā*. In *v.* 10 it is said that the goat for Azāzel is to be presented alive before Yahwè, that atoning rites may be performed over him (לכפר עליו); which recalls the direction about the 'living bird' (see § 1) that forms a parallel to the scapegoat in the law of cleansing the leper (Lev. 14 6 *f.*).

[1] Another form of the name may have been Uzziel (cp Tg. ps.-Jon. on Gen. 6 4 with *Enoch* 6). The form Azael also is found.

[2] It is not worth while to examine the Jewish interpretations of this strange passage (see *Enoch*, Tg. ps.-Jon., Jude).

[3] *ZDPV* x. 214 *ff.* [80].

[4] See WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 418, 422, 468.

[5] Cant. 2 7 3 5, בְּצְבָאוֹת וּבְאֵילוֹת. The change in the pointing is very slight: אֵ should be ʿ. The usual explanation is very fanciful (see Budde). The sacred trees (especially the locust- or carob-trees) are still reverenced in Palestine as being possessed.

[6] See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 131-133; Baldensperger, *PEFQu. St.*, July '93, p. 204 *ff.* Some of the *jinn* are believed to be dangerous to newly married people. Don't play with love, says the passage (Cant. 2 7),—for fear of the *jinn*.

[7] טול וצא טול וצא.

To resume and to supplement: the usages described in *Yōmā* are a combination of a primitive sacrifice to the demons of untilled or (especially) mountainous country with a superstitious custom still widely prevalent, according to which evils of all kinds were sought to be got rid of by the device of Lohn; [illegible] some animal, which was then upon driven away from the community like the scapegoat (see Lyall, *Fortnightly Review*, 1872, p. 131; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2 100-101; E. F. Kirkpatrick, *Where Two Empires Meet*, 221 *f.*). Such customs, as Frazer points out, tend to become periodic, like the rite of the scapegoat. See, further, ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

Diestel, 'Set-Typhon, Asasel, und Satan' in *Zt. f. k. W.* [illegible] 1860, p. 159 *ff.*; Orelli, *Th. T.* 10 [illegible]; [illegible] in [illegible] *Kes.* [illegible] 1 [illegible] *f.*, Driver, [illegible] 18 5 *b*, pp. 214 [illegible]; Cheyne, *Z. f. AW* 15 [illegible] *ff.* (see; and articles by Driver in Hastings *DB*, and by Volck in Herz[2], *ERE*[2]; Ch. [illegible] Di. and Kalisch on Leviticus, and Nowack, *Arch.* [illegible] 2 [illegible]).

§ 1 *f.* L. R.; § 3 *f.* T. K. C.

Literature.

AZAZIAH (עַזַּזְיָהוּ, § 20, 'Yahwe is strong,' or 'strengthens'; ΟΖΙΕΙΑϹ [BNAL])

1. A Levite musician, temp. David (see Ll vi), 1 Ch. 15 21.
2. An Ephraimite, temp. David (1 Ch. 27 20).
3. A Levite, temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 12; Οζαζιας [A]).

AZBAZARETH (ΑϹΒΑϹΑΡΕΘ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 69 AV, RV[mg.] ASBAZARETH.

AZBUK (עַזְבּוּק; ΑΖΑΒΟΥ [N] [illegible] [B], ΑΖΒΟΥΚ [A], ΕΖΔΟΥΚ [L] *etc.*), father of NEHEMIAH (2 Neh. 3 16). Possibly of non-Judean origin; cp Mey. *Ent.* 147 167.

AZEKAH (עֲזֵקָה, ΑΖΗΚΑ [BNAQL]), a town in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 35), Γαζηκα [B]), not far from the supposed scene of David's combat with Goliath (1 S. 17 1). This was in the VALE OF ELAH (Ilâ *es-Sant*, on the upper course of the Sukereir) near Socoh (Shuweikeh), which is about 12 m. S. from Aialon and 2 m. S. from Jarmuth. Azekah is mentioned as one of the points to which the pursuit of the five kings by the Israelites extended after the battle of Beth-horon (Josh. 10 10). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 9, Ἀζεκα [L]), besieged by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 34 7), and reinhabited by Jews in post-exilic times (Neh. 11 30). Perhaps an echo of the name survives in *Bir es-Zaq*, N. of Socoh (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 90, n. 92; and see, on the other hand, Seybold, *MDPV*, 1896, p. 26).

AZEL (אָצֵל, N), Zech. 14 5 RV = AV AZAL, *q.v.*

AZEL (אָצֵל, § 50; abbrev. from AZALIAH, *q.v.*; ΕϹΗΛ [BA], ΑϹΑΗΛ [L]), a descendant of Saul, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. [3]), 1 Ch. 8 37 *f.* (ΑϹϹΑΗΛ [L]) = 9 43 (ΕϹΑΗΛ [BN]), 9 44 (ΕϹΑΗΛ [N]).

AZEM (עֶצֶם), Josh. 15 29 AV, RV EZEM.

AZEPHURITH, RV ARSIPHURITH (ΑΡϹΕΙΦΟΥΡΕΙΘ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 16 = Ezra 2 18, JORAH.

AZETAS (ΑΖΗΤΑϹ [BA], om. L), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*) in 1 Esd. 5 15, but not in Ezra 2 16 = Neh. 7 21; perhaps the name owes its presence to some mistake (Mey. *Ent.* 155 n.).

AZGAD (עַזְגָּד, § 43—*i.e.*, 'strong is Gad' [cp Azbaal, *CIS* I 118, and see GAD], or, 'fate is hard' (?); ΑΖΓΑΔ [AL]). The Bne Azgad, in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 12 (reckoned at 1222; ασγαδ [B], αζγ. [A], ασιαδ [L]) = Neh. 7 17 (reckoned at 2322; ασγαδ [B], αγεταδ [A], ασταδ [N]) 1 Esd. 5 11, AV SADAS, RV ASTAD (αργαι [B, where the number of the family is given as 1322], ασταα [A]). A band of 110 males of them came up with Ezra, Ezra 8 12 (see EZRA, ii. § 5 *a*; § 3) (ασταθ [B]) = 1 Esd. 8 38, EV ASTATH, RV[mg.] Azgad (ασταθ [BA]), and they were represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 15 [16] (ασγαδ [B], ασταδ [N]).

AZIA (ΟΖΕΙΟΥ [B]). 1 Esd. 5 31 = AV Ezra 2 49, UZZA, 2.

AZIEI (4 Esd. 1 2) in the genealogy of Ezra, see AZARIAH, 3.

AZIEL (עזיאל, 1 Ch. 15 20). See JAAZIEL.

AZIZA (עזיזא, § 83; 'strong'; ΟΖΕΙ [L], -Α [BN], ΟΖΙΖΑ [A], in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 27; 1 Esd. 9 28, SAKDEUS, RV ZAKDEUS (ζαρδαιας [B], ζαρδαιας [A], ΟΖΕΙ [L]).

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת, perhaps 'Death is strong' [cp Cant. 8 6], a possible name for a hero [see ADHOTH, and cp Gray, *HPN* 231]; acc. to Kittel the ending should be *-moth* or *-muth* [*SBOT* 1 Ch. 1 20]; om. BA, ΑΖΜΩΘ [N* 4 mg.], ΑΣΜ. [L]). A Benjamite place near Geba (Neh. 12 29), usually identified with *el-Hizmeh*, a village 4 m. NE. of Jerusalem, between Jeba' and 'Anāta (*ZDPV* 2 155; *PEF Mem.* 3 9).

The b'ne Azmaveth occur in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 24 (υἱοι ασμωθ [B]. . . αζ. [A] . . . αμωθ [L]) = Neh. 7 28 (ἄνδρες βηθασμωθ [BN], ἀ. βηθ'. [A], υἱοι ασθμωθ [L]), BETHAZMAVETH (בית עַזְמָוֶת) = 1 Esd. 5 18, RV BETHASMOTH, which is preferable to AV BETHSAMOS (βαιτασμων [B], Βαιθασμωθ ζαμμωθ [A]).

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת,[1] see above; ΑΣΜΩΘ [BL], ΑΖΜ. [A]).

1. One of David's thirty mighty men, 2 S. 23 31 (ασβωθ [B*], σμω. [Bb], -ας μωθ [A], αζελμων [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 33 (αζβων [BN]), a native of BAHURIM [*q.v.*] (בַּחֻרִימִי [1 Ch.] and בַּרְחֻמִי [2 S.] being both miswritten for בַּחֲרֻמִי [We. Dr.]). Azmaveth, the 'father' of JEZIEL and PELET, 2 (1 Ch. 12 3; ασμωθ [N]), two of David's warriors, may, however, be the place-name; cp above. See DAVID, § 11 (*i*) ii.

2. b. Jehoadah or Jarah; a descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [β]), 1 Ch. 8 36 (σαλμω [B]) 9 42 (γαζαωθ [BN]).

3. b. Adiel, one of David's overseers (1 Ch. 27 25). See DAVID, § 11 (*c*) i.

AZMON (עַצְמוֹן), an unidentified site, marking the western portion of the southern frontier of Judah before the point where 'it went out at the brook of Egypt' (Josh. 15 4 Nu. 34 5 f). ⊕ has Ασεμωνα [BAL], Σελμωνα [BA], Ασελμωνα [AFL]; Targ. has קְצָם, on which last precarious reading Trumbull bases his identification of Azmon with 'Ain el-Ḳasēme in the W. Ḳasēme. With Azmon cp Ezem (עֶצֶם).

AZNOTH-TABOR (אַזְנוֹת תָּבוֹר—*i.e.*, 'ears, or outliers, of Tabor'—§ 99; cp UZZEN-SHEERAH), a landmark of Naphtali, doubtless near Mt. Tabor, Josh. 19 34 (ΕΝΑΘ ΘΑΒΩΡ [B], ΑΖΑΝωθ Θ. [A], ΑΖωθ Θ. [L]). According to *Onom.*, αζανωθ (*OS*[2] 224, 88) lay near Diocæsarea or Sepphoris; cp CHISLOTH-TABOR, and see TABOR.

AZOR (αζωρ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 13; see GENEALOGIES, ii. § 2

AZOTUS (ΑΖωΤΟϹ [ANV], Jos. *Ant.* xii. 11 2, ΕΖΑϹ [ed. Niese], ΑΖΑϹ ΑΖΑΡΑ), the 'mount' to which Bacchides pursued the Jews in the battle (Apr. 161 B.C.) in which Judas the Maccabee lost his life (1 Macc. 9 15), is unknown. Michaelis has very plausibly conjectured that the expression may be due to a mistranslation of the Heb. אשרות הדר (cp ASHDOTH-PISGAH), meaning the slopes where the hill country of Judah descends into the Shephēlah. Ewald (*Gesch.*[3] 4 422, n. 2) compares Atārā W. of Bir ez-Zēt, a small hill.

2. The Azotus (αζωτος [Ti. WH]) of Acts 8 40 1 Macc. 4 15 5 68 10 77 f. 84 11 4 14 34 16 10 Judith 2 28 is ASHDOD [*q.v.*]. Some (including Buhl, p. 180) also identify with Ashdod the Azotus of 1 Macc. 9 15.

AZRIEL (עַזְרִיאֵל,[2] perhaps 'help of God,' § 29).

[1] On the vocalisation and ⊕'s readings cp HAZARMAVETH.

[2] עזרי is an Aram. pronunciation (cp עַזְרִיאֵל), and it is noteworthy that here, contrarily to its usual practice, ⊕ prefers the Hebrew vocalisation (cp Kittel, *SBOT ad loc.*).

1. One of the chiefs of Manasseh-beyond-Jordan, 1 Ch. 5 24† (εσδριηλ [B], εζρ. [A], εζρ. [L]).

2. A Naphtalite, 1 Ch. 27 19† (εσριηλ [B]; but some Hebrew MSS have UZZIEL, a reading supported by ⊕AL οζιηλ).

3. Father of Seraiah [2], Jer. 36 26† (εσριηλ [BN], εσζ. [A], εσδρ. [QL]).

AZRIKAM (עַזְרִיקָם, ΕΖΡΙΚΟΜ [AL]).

1. Levite, in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 15 (εζριμ [L], εεζριει [N* vid], εζρικαν [N* a], εσζρι [A]) = 1 Ch. 9 14 (εσριεκαν [B], αζρικαμ [L]).

2. A descendant of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. 3 23 (εζριεκαν [B], εσριεκαμ [A], ασρ. [L]).

3. Descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [β]), 1 Ch. 8 38 (εζριεκαι [B*], εζριεκε [Bab]) = 1 Ch. 9 44 (εσδριεκαν [B]).

4. 'Ruler of the house' under Ahaz, 2 Ch. 28 7 (εγδριεκαν [B]), εζριεκαν [A]).

AZUBAH (עֲזוּבָה, 'forsaken'; ΑΖΟΥΒΑ [BAL]).

1. Wife of CALEB [*q.v.*] in 1 Ch. 2 18 *f.* (γαζουβα [B, A in *v.* 19], αβουζα [L]). The names in this passage are as peculiar as the constructions. Kittel (*SBOT*) renders an *emended* text thus: 'And Caleb b. Hezron took Azubah (deserted one) to wife, and begat Jerioth (tent-curtains); and these are her sons, Jesher (uprightness), Shobab (backsliding), and Ardon.' As to the names of these sons, Jesher may be read Jojashar (Yahwé is right), and Shobab Jashub (one who turns to God), and Ardon Ornan (⊕ ορνα). But ישר can hardly be thus used of God (in spite of Dt. 32 4 Ps. 119 137), and Ornan, or (1 Ch. 3 21 MT) Arnan, has a suspicious aspect. Hence Klostermann (*Gesch.* 115) takes *v.* 18 to be a record of a shortlived colony of Calebites, founded on the spot where there had been a pastoral settlement. He renders 'Caleb b. Hezron made the deserted one—the woman of tent-curtains—to bear children, namely, Upright, and Backslider, and Destruction' (reading אִשֶּׁת יְרִיעוֹת, יָשָׁר, and אֹבְדָן). The colonists began well, but 'left the paths of uprightness' (Pr. 2 13), and were given up to 'destruction' (= Sheōl, Pr. 15 11). Wellhausen also (*De Gent.* 33 *f.*) notices the symbolic character of the names; יָשָׁר, according to him, = יְשֻׁרוּן, Jeshurun; בת־ירעות (so he reads) is a tent-dwelling woman; עֲזוּבָה, the desert region inhabited at first by the Calibbites.

2. Mother of Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22 42 (αζαεβα [B]) = 2 Ch. 20 31.

T. K. C.

AZUR (עָזוּר), Jer. 28 1 Ezek. 11 1 AV; RV better AZZUR [*q.v.*, 1 *f.*].

AZURAN, RV AZARU, RVmg. **Azuru** (ΑΖΑΡΟΥ [B], -ζουρ. [A], om. L), family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), in 1 Esd. 5 15, but not in 2 Ezra 2 16 = Neh. 7 21; probably identical with AZZUR, 2 (Neh. 10 17 [18]). Note in each case the occurrence of the preceding names, Adin, Ater, and Hezekiah.

AZZAH, AV GAZA (עַזָּה, ΓΑΙΑΝ [B], ΓΑΖΗϹ [A], ΑΔΙΑ [L]), 1 Ch. 7 28 RV. Many Hebrew MSS here read עַיָּה (Ayyah; cp ⊕[ms]), a reading recommended by the context. The place was apparently N. of Shechem. See GAZA.

AZZAN (עַזָּן, 'gifted with strength'; ΟΖΔ [BAFL]), father of PAITHEL, 2 (Nu. 34 26†).

AZZUR (עַזּוּר [עָזַר in 2], 'helped [by God]'); see NAMES, § 56, and cp Azuri of ASHDOD.

1. Father of Hananiah, the prophet, of Gibeon, Jer. 28 [⊕ ch. 35] 1 (αζωρ [BNAQ]); AV AZUR.

2. Father of JAAZANIAH [4], Ezek. 11 1 (εζερ [B], ιαζερ [A], αζουρ [Q], αζερ [Qmg.], ιεζερ [FL]); AV AZUR.

3. One of the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 17 (αδουρ [B], αζ. [NAL]); AV AZURAN; perhaps also a Gibeonite?

B

BAAL[1] (בַּעַל); G often Η ΒΑΑΛ, indicating that the reader is to substitute ΑΙΣΧΥΝΗ; the substitute has found its way into the text in 1 K. 18 19 25, as the corresponding בֹּשֶׁת has in the Heb. text of Jer. 3 24 and elsewhere; see Di. *AHW*[5] Ph.l.-hist. Kl. 1881) is a word common to all the Semitic languages, which primarily signifies *owner, proprietor, possessor.* It is used, for example, of the owner of a house, a field, cattle, and the like; the freeholders of a city are its *bə'ālīm.* In a secondary sense *ba'al* means *husband;* but it is not used of the relation of a master to his slave or of a superior to his inferior; nor is it synonymous with the Heb. and Phœn. *adōn,* Syr. *mar,* Arab. *rabb,* in the general sense of *lord, master.* When a divine being (*el*) is called *ba'al* it is not as the lord of the worshipper, but as the proprietor and inhabitant of some place or district, or the possessor of some distinctive character or attribute, and therefore a complement is always required. Each of the multitude of local Baals is distinguished by the name of his own place. There was a Baal of Tyre, a Baal of Sidon, a Baal of Harran, a Baal of Tarsus; a Baal of the Lebanon, and a Baal of Mt. Hermon; a Baalat of Byblos,—and so on.[2] We know that in some cases the Baal of a place had a proper name: the Baal of Tyre was Melkart; in Southern Arabia Dhū Samāwī was the Baal of Bākir, 'Athtar of Gumdan, and so on. In other cases the local Baal was distinguished in some other way. The god of Shechem was Baal-berith (perhaps as presiding over an alliance; but see BAAL-BERITH); Baalzebub (to whom was ascribed control of flies; cp BAALZEBUB) had a celebrated oracle at Ekron; a βαλμαρκως, κύριος κώμων (Baal-markodh, is known from inscriptions found near Beirūt; a בעל מרפא (*sanator?*) in Cyprus, and so on. In Baal-gad and Baal-zephon the second element seems to be the name of a god (see FORTUNE, BAAL-ZEPHON). On Baal-hammon and Baal-shamem see below § 3 *f.* There is nothing in these peculiar forms to suggest the general conclusion that Baal is primarily the title of a god as inhabitant or as owner of a place.

1. Meaning of name: local numina.

There were thus innumerable Baals—as many as there were towns (Jer. 2 28 11 13), sanctuaries, natural objects, or qualities which had a religious significance for the worshippers. Accordingly, we frequently find in the OT the plural, Baalim, the Baals, which we must interpret not, as many still do,[3] of the multitude of idols, or of local differentiations of one god, but of originally distinct local numina. The Baals of different places were doubtless of diverse character; but in general they were regarded as the authors of the fertility of the soil and the increase of the flocks (Hos. 2 5 12), and were worshipped by agricultural festivals and offerings of the bounty of nature (Hos. 2 8 11). An interesting survival of this conception is the Talmudic phrase, field of the Baal, place of the Baal, and the Arab *ba'l,* for land fertilised, not by rain, but by subterraneous waters (cp *Rel. Sem.*[2] 97 *ff.*). Proper names of persons such as Hannibal (Favour of Baal), Hasdrubal (Help of Baal), Baal-yatan (Baal has given), Shama'-ba'al (Baal hears), compared with similar Yahwè names, Hananiah, Azariah, Jonathan, Shemaiah, show that Phœnician parents acknowledged in the gift of children the goodness of Baal, as Israelite parents that of Yahwè.

That Baal was primarily a sun-god was for a long time almost a dogma among scholars,[1] and is still often repeated. This doctrine is connected with theories of the origin of religion which are now almost universally abandoned. The worship of the heavenly bodies is not the beginning of religion. Moreover, there was not, as this theory assumes, one god Baal, worshipped under different forms and names by the Semitic peoples, but a multitude of local Baals, each the inhabitant of his own place, the protector and benefactor of those who worshipped him there. Even in the astro-theology of the Babylonians the star of Bēl was not the sun: it was the planet Jupiter. There is no intimation in the OT that any of the Canaanite Baals were sun-gods, or that the worship of the sun (Shemesh), of which we have ample evidence, both early and late, was connected with that of the Baals, in 2 K. 23 5 cp 11 the cults are treated as distinct.

2. Not sun-god.

The *ḥammānīm* (חמנים), included in the inventory of places of idolatrous worship with *maṣṣēbās* and *ashērās* (Ez. 6 4 6 and elsewhere), have indeed, since Rashi, been connected with the late biblical and Mishnic *ḥammā* (חמה), 'sun,' and explained as *sun images* (RV), sun pillars;[2] and it has further been conjectured that the *ḥammānīm* belonged specifically to the cultus of Baal-hammon, whose name occurs innumerable times in Punic inscriptions,[3] and is commonly explained 'the glowing Baal'—*i.e.*, the Sun.[4] This translation, however, can hardly be right: the article would be expected: according to all analogy, *ḥammon* should be a genitive. 'The deity which dwells in the sun-pillars' would be formally possible; but with the direct connection of Baal-hammon with the sun, one of the chief arguments for interpreting *ḥammānīm* to mean 'sun-pillars' falls to the ground. In this state of the case we cannot be sure that Baal-hammon was a solar deity; and if fresh evidence should prove that he was, it would be unwarrantable to infer that the Baals universally bore the same character.

3. Baal-hammon.

Another Baal, whose cultus was more widely diffused than that of Baal-hammon—in later times he rose above all the local Baals, and perhaps in many places supplanted them—was Baal-shamem, whose name we must interpret, not 'Lord of Heaven,' but 'The god who dwells in the heaven,' to whom the heavens belong.[5] Philo of Byblos identifies Baal-shamem (κύριος οὐρανοῦ) with the Sun (Ἥλιος; see *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, 3 565 *f.*); Macrobius says that the god of Heliopolis was at once Jupiter and Sol (*Sat.* 1 23); a Palmyrene bilingual (Vog., no. 16) seems to give Ἥλιος for בעלשמין, but the reading is not quite certain. The Greeks and the Hellenised Syrians identify Baal-shamem with Zeus (*e.g.*, Ζ. μέγιστος κεραύνιος), which is better in accord with the obvious significance of the name.[6]

4. Baal-shamem.

When the Israelites invaded Western Palestine and

1 See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 92 *ff.*

2 Cp in the OT Baal-hazor, Baal-meon, Baal-peor, Baal-tamar, and the like.

3 [illegible] (apple, Bambigan

1 See, for example, Creuzer, *Symb. u. Myth.*[3] 2 413; Movers, *Phön.* 1 [illegible]

2 It is singular that this interpretation did not suggest itself to any of the ancient translators. See further, MAṢṢEBA, § 6.

3 In Phœnician also El-hammon.

4 In a Palmyrene inscription a *ḥammānā* is dedicated to the sun; De Vogüé, no. 123 *a.*

5 The name is equivalent to Dhū Samāwī in Southern Arabia.

6 Baal-shamem in Dan. 12 11 (perverted by Jewish wit to Śikkūṣ Śōmēm, 'the appalling abomination') was probably a [illegible] god, [illegible] ii. 1.

passed over from a nomadic to an agricultural life, they learned from the older inhabitants not only how to plough and sow and reap, but also the religious rites which were a part of Canaanite agriculture—the worship of the Baals who gave the increase of the land, the festivals of the husbandman's year. At first, probably, this worship of the Baals of the land went side by side with that of Yahwé, the God of their nomadic fathers. When Israel came into full possession of Canaan, however, Yahwé himself became the Baal of the land. Names like Jerubaal (Gideon), Eshbaal (son of Saul), Baal-jada (son of David), prove that Israelites in whom the national spirit was strongest had no scruple in calling Yahwé their Baal. The worship on the high places was worship of Yahwé in name; its rites were those of the old Baal cult. The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea, denounced this religion as pure heathenism. In whose name it is practised is to them immaterial: it is not the name but the character of God that makes the difference between the religion of Israel and that of the heathen.

5. Israel's Baal.

In the preceding century Elijah had roused the spirit of national Yahwism in revolt against the introduction of the worship of the Tyrian Baal (Melḳart) by Ahab, and Jehu had stamped out with sanguinary thoroughness the foreign religion; but this conflict was of a character wholly different from that in which the prophets of the eighth century engaged with the Canaanite Baal-religion practised in Yahwé's name. In the seventh century, with the introduction of Assyrian cults, there was a marked recrudescence of the kindred Old Israelite and Canaanite religions, which provoked the violent measures of Josiah, but was only temporarily checked by them, as we see from Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

With the cultus of the Baals in Canaan we are acquainted chiefly through the descriptions which the prophets give of the Baal-worship of Yahwé. The places of worship were on the hill tops, under the evergreen trees; they were marked by *asheras*, *matsẓebas*, *chammanim*. Images were not always, perhaps seldom, present; an image required a shrine or temple. At the altars on the high places, offerings of the fruits of the land and the increase of the flocks were made;[1] beside them fornication was licensed—nay, consecrated. The Baals had their priests (CHEMARIM, *q.v.*) and prophets. At the great contest on Carmel they leap upon the altar, and cry, and gash themselves with knives 'after their manner.' We may supplement these scanty notices by descriptions of Phœnician worship, especially of the Tyrian Baal, Melḳart, and of the Punic 'Kronos,' in Greek authors. See, further, HIGH PLACES, IDOLATRY, and, with reference to human sacrifices, MOLECH.

6. Baal cultus.

Selden, *De Dis Syris*, 1617; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i.; Münter, *Religion der Karthager*; Ort, *Worship of Baalim in Israel*, translated by Colenso, 1865; Baudissin, art. 'Baal,' *PRE*[2] (G); Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 1889, 182 *ff.*; Baethgen, *Beitr. z. semit. Religgesch.*; E. Meyer, art. 'Baal' in Roscher, *Lexikon der Gricch. u. Röm. Myth.* 2867 *ff.*

Literature.

W. R. S.—G. F. M.

BAAL (בַּעַל, 'Lord'; cp מֶלֶךְ, 1 Ch. 8 35).

1. In a genealogy of REUBEN; 1 Ch. 5 5 (ιωηλ [B], βααλ [A], βαλα [L]).

2. In a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 30 (βααλακαιμ, *i.e.* βααλα και? [B], βααλ [και νηρ] [A], βαελ [και ναδαβ και νηρ] [L]) – 9 36 (βααλ [BA], βαελ [L]). It is more probable that MT, followed by some ancestor of $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$, dropped Ner (ונר [יר]) in 1 Ch. 8 30 than that it has been added elsewhere (so *SBOT*). The conjecture (We. *TBS* 31 n.) that Baal and Nadab are to be read together as a compound name is thus unsupported; it is also unnecessary, since Melech

[1] Punic temple inscriptions defining the dues of the priests for various kinds of sacrifice (so-called Tariffs of Marseilles and Carthage) show that both the animals offered and the classes of sacrifice were closely similar to those of the Hebrew laws.

(מֶלֶךְ) likewise occurs (1 Ch. 8 35 etc.) alone as a proper name. See NAMES, § 42.

BAAL (בַּעַל), 1 Ch. 4 41f. See BAALATH-BEER.

BAA^ AH (בַּעֲלָה, § 96). 1. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

2. A city in the Negeb of Judah, Josh. 15 29 (βαλα [B], βααλα [AL]). In Josh 19 3 the name is written BALAH (בָּלָה; βωλα [B], βελβωλα [A], βολα [L]), and the place is assigned to Simeon. In 1 Ch. 4 29 it appears as BILHAH (בִּלְהָה; αβελλα [B], βαλαα [A], βαλααδ [L]). The reading is uncertain and the site unknown.

3. Mt. Baalah, a landmark on the boundary of Judah between Shikkeron and Jabneel, Josh. 15 11 (επι λιβα [B], οροι γης βαλα [A^a], ο. γ. γαβαλα [A^c], ο. τ. γ. βααλων [L]). The site is unknown, unless with Clermont-Ganneau (*Rev. Crit.* '97, p. 902) we should read נבי for בר, and identify the 'river of the Baal' with the Nahr Ruban (see JABNEEL, 1). More than one river in Palestine, doubtless, was dedicated to Baal.

BAALATH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

BAALATH-BEER (בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר, Josh. 19 8 ΒΑΡΕΚ [B*], ΒΑΛΕΚ [B^a], ΒΑΑΛΘΕΡΗΡΡΑΜΩΘ [A], ΒΑΑΛΕΘ ΒΗΡΡΑΘΜΩΘ [L]) or **Baal** (1 Ch. 4 33, also called RAMAH of the South (רָמַת נֶגֶב, Josh. 19 8) or RAMOTH of the South (1 S. 30 27 ραμα [BL], -θ [A] νότου); perhaps the same as the Bealoth (בְּעָלוֹת, βαλμαιναν [B], βαλωθ [AL]) of Josh. 15 24 (and 1 K. 4 16; see ALOTH), an unidentified site in the Negeb—probably its most southern part—of Judah. The name implies that it had a well and was a seat of Baal-worship.

BAAL-BERITH (בַּעַל בְּרִית—*i.e.*, 'the [protecting] Baal of the covenant'),[1] a form of the Canaanitish Baal worshipped at Shechem (Judg. 9 4), called El-berith (אֵל בְּרִית, 'God of the covenant') in Judg. 9 46 RV.

$\mathfrak{G}$ has in Judg. 9 4 βααλβαριθ [B], βααλ διαθηκης [A], βααλ-βε[ριθ] διαθηκης [L]; in v. 46 βαιθηρ βεριθ [B], βααλ διαθηκης [A], ολ διαθ. [L]; in 8 33 βααλ βεερ [A], βααλβερειθ [L], βααλ διαθηκην [B].

The covenant intended was probably that between Shechem and some neighbouring Canaanitish towns, which were originally independent, but were at length brought under Israelitish supremacy (Ew., Kue., We.). Of the rival views—viz., (*a*) that the covenant was between Baal and his worshippers (Baethgen, Sayce in Smith's *DB*[2]), and (*b*) that it was between the Canaanitish and the Israelitish inhabitants of Shechem (Be., Ki.)—the former gives an undue extension to a specially Israelitish idea, and the latter misconceives the relation of the Israelites within Shechem to the Canaanites. Gen. 14 13 cannot possibly establish the former (Baethgen), nor can the name of Gaal's father, or the speech of GAAL (*q.v.*) in Judg. 9 28, be used to support the theory of an influential Israelitish element in the population of Shechem. Any Israelites who might be dwelling in Shechem would be simply גֵּרִים or protected strangers, and not parties to a covenant. The temple of Baal-berith had a treasury from which the citizens made a contribution to Abimelech (Jg. 9 4). It was there that Gaal first came forward as a leader of the rebellion (9 27), and within its precinct the inhabitants of the tower of Shechem (the 'acropolis,' We.) found a temporary refuge from Abimelech at the close of the revolt (9 46). The deuteronomic editor mistakenly accuses the Israelites of apostatising to Baal-berith after Gideon's death (Judg. 8 33; see Moore's note).

T. K. C.

BAALE JUDAH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

[1] 'Or may not Baal-berith, El-berith, simply mean "God of the community" (cp COVENANT, § 5)? The original story probably gave the name of the god of Shechem' (Prof. N. Schmidt).

BAAL-GAD (בַּעַל גָּד, 'Lord of Good Fortune'; cp Gudubal = God Baal [Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschrr.* 27], Βααλγαδ [FL], and through corruption Βαλ(α)γαδ(α) [BA],[1] 'in the valley of Lebanon, under Mt. Hermon,' is thrice mentioned in Joshua (11 17 12 7; 13 5 Γαλ αα [B], γαλγαλ [A], βαελγαδ [L]) as marking the northern limit of Joshua's conquests. Though Sayce and others identify it with Baalbek because it is described as in the בִּקְעַת of Lebanon, it is much more probably the BAAL-HERMON of 1 Ch 5 23 (cp also the 'mount Baal-hermon' of Judg. 3 3, now known as *Banias*; see CAESAREA, § 7 *f.*, and DAN, 11.

BAAL-HAMON (בַּעַל הָמוֹן; Βεεθλαμων [B], Βεεελ. [א], Βεελ. [A]), a place where, according to a marriage song of no historical authority (Cant. 8 11), Solomon had a vineyard which he entrusted to keepers. Some (*e.g.*, Del., Oettli) have identified it with the Balamon(n) of Judith 8 3, which seems to have been not far from Dothan. It is obvious, however, that some well known place is meant, and the references to N. Israelitish scenery elsewhere in the Song of Songs give some weight to Graetz's conjecture that for 'Baal-hamon' we should read 'Baal-hermon' (Judg. 3 3; 1 Ch 5 23). If Socin (*Bibel.*[3] 331) is right, Baal-hermon and Baal-gad are the same, and are to be sought at the mod. Hasbeiyâ (see, however, CAESAREA PHILIPPI) on the luxuriant terraces on both sides of the valley vines and other fruit-trees are still cultivated. Most probably, however, 'in Baal-hamon' is due to a corrupt repetition of 'to Solomon.' Bickell is right in omitting it. T. K. C.

BAAL-HANAN (בַּעַל־חָנָן), § 42, 'Baal has been gracious'; cp Johanan, Ph. חנבעל, and the well-known 'Hannibal,' also Ass. *Bi'-ši-ši-nu-u*, *i-ni*, 1 ...

1. Ben Achbor; one of the kings of Edom, according to Gen. 36 38 *f.* (βαλαεννων [A], βαλαενων [D], βαλαεννωρ [E], βαεννων [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 49 *f.* (βαλαεννων [B], βαλαεννῶ [A], βαλλενων [L]). Strangely enough, the name of his city or district is not given. M[illegible] the scribe's error (עֲבָרִים for עַכְבּוֹר) in 1 S. 14 11 (see BA[illegible] *SBOT*[illegible]) suggests that בן עכבור (= in Achbor) in *v.* 38 *f.* may be a variant to בן בעור in [illegible]. Now, as Hadad II., an important king, probably the founder of a dynasty, has no father's name given, it seems likely that Baal-hanan is the lost father's name; and thus the text should run, 'And Saul died, and Hadad, ben Baal-hanan, reigned in his stead' (so Marq. *Fund.* 10 *f.*; see, however, BELA [n.]). See EDOM, § 4, HADAD.

2. A Gederite; according to the Chronicler, superintendent of olives and sycamores in the Shephēlah of Judah in the time of David; 1 Ch. 27 28 (βαλλανα [B], βαλλανα [A], βαλαανα [L]). See DAVID, § 11 *c.*

BAAL-HAZOR (בַּעַל חָצוֹר), §§ 93, 96), 2 S. 13 23. See HAZOR, 2.

BAAL-HERMON (בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן; § 93, Βαιλειμ [B*], Βααλειμ [B[ab]], Βααλ ερμων [AL]), 1 Ch. 5 23; see BAAL-GAD, BAAL-HAMON, and, especially, CAESAREA PHILIPPI.

BAALI (בַּעְלִי), Hos. 2 16 EV; mg. rightly 'my lord' AV, RV 'my master.' See HOSEA, § 6.

BAALIM (הַבְּעָלִים), Judg. 2 11. See BAAL, § 1.

BAALIS (בַּעְלִיס; Βελ[ε]ισα [BאGaAQ], Βενεca [א*] Βαλλις [Q^mg.], cp Sw. *ad loc.*; Jos. *Ant.* x. 9 3, § 164, Βαλλιμος—*i.e.*, בעלים as some Heb. MSS read), king of the Ammonites, the prime mover in the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 40 [47] 14; cp 41 10). The name is interesting as an etymological problem. Some render 'Son of exultation,' on the precarious supposition that in this name and a few others ב stands for בן (see

[1] Through confusion of A. a. and δ in the uncial writing.

BIDKAR); while Baethgen (*Beitr. zur Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 16) compares the Phoenician בעלבדר (*CIS* I. no. 88; בעלבדר, *ib.* no. 101) and renders 'husband of Isis'—a still more precarious derivation. See AMMON, § 8. W. R. S.

BAAL-MEON (בַּעַל מְעוֹן, § 4 [illegible] 96; Nu 32 38; 1 Ezek. 25 9; 1 Ch. 5 8), otherwise **Beth-baal-meon** (Josh 13 17), **Beth-meon** (Jer 48 23), or **Beon** (בְּעוֹן, Nu 32 3).

B'. readings are: in Nu 32 38, βεελμεων [BAL]; in 1 Ezek. 25 9, επαιαγωγης [B*], εθαιω πογης [BaAQ]; 1 Ch. 5 8, βεελμεωνωθ [BL], μεωμ [A], μεωμ [L]; in Josh. 13 17, μεωμ μετ' [illegible] [BL], με βελαμεωθ [A], μεωνος βεελμεωθ [L]; in Jer. 48 23, οικος μεωνος [BAQL], ο. μεωθ [א*], ο. γαμωι [א^c.a]; in Nu. 32 3, βεωι [BL^vid.], βεωμ [A]).

The place is assigned in Numbers, Joshua, and Chronicles to the Reubenites. It is twice mentioned, once as Beth-baal-meon, and once as Baal-meon, in the inscription of Mesha (l. 30), from which we learn that it was Moabite before the time of Omri and became so again under Mesha. It was Moabite also in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 48 23), and in that of Ezekiel, who names it with Beth-jeshimoth and Kiriathaim as 'the glory of the country' (Ezek 25 9). It is represented by the modern Ma'in, in the W. Zerka Ma'in on the Moabite plateau, 2600 ft. above sea-level, 5 m. SW. from Madaba. There are extensive ruins (*Bad.*[3] 177).

It may probably be identified with the Maccabean BEAN (*q.v.*). The *Onomastica* (*OS*[2] 32 4, 101 12) quote the Reubenite city under the forms βαιαν, Baian, πολις του Αμορραιου.

BAAL-PEOR (בַּעַל פְּעוֹר, βεελφεγωρ [BNRAFIL]), or, rather, the Baal of Peor (so RV[mg.] Nu. 25 3; see BAAL, § 1), the Moabite god to whose cult Israel yoked itself while in Shittim (Nu. *l.c.*, IF., Dt 4 3; Ps. 106 28), thrice in later writings abbreviated to PEOR (q.v.). The name occurs in Hos. 9 10 as a p[illegible] an abbreviation, it would seem, for Beth-Baal-Peor (see BETH-PEOR). The nature of the worship of this god is unknown, although it is not improbable that [illegible] a local cult of Chemosh (Gray, *HPN* 131). [illegible] old speculations, based mostly upon pr[illegible] mologies, see Schol[illegible] *D. Pr.* [illegible] S[illegible] Pl[illegible] R, and cp Baudissin, *Studien* [illegible] 2. [illegible] 14 *f.* 261, and Di. *Num. ad loc.*, Dr. *Deut. ad loc.*

BAAL-PERAZIM (בַּעַל־פְּרָצִים), § 80), a place mentioned in connection with a battle between David and the Philistines in the valley of REPHAIM (*q.v.*), hard by Jerusalem, 2 S. 5 20 (ἐπάνω [or, ἐπ' ἄνω] διακοπῶν [BAL]);[1] 1 Ch. 14 11 *bis* (φααλφαθισειμ . . . διακοπὴ φαρισιν [B], φαλααδ' φαθεισει . . . διακ πην φαρειν [אc], βααλ'φαρασειν . . . διακοπὴ φαρασειν [A], βαελφαρασιν *bis* [L]). According to the narrator, the name was so called because David had said, 'Yahwé has broken through my foes before me as at a breaking through of water,' Baal-perazim (*i.e.*, 'Lord of acts of breaking through') being regarded as a title of the God of Israel. The same event seems to be referred to in Is. 28 21, where the place is called Mt. Perazim (ὄρος ἀσεβῶν [BאAQ], ὡς ὄρει διακόπτων [Aq. in Q^mg.], ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν διακοπῶν [Sym. Theod. in Q^mg.]). This form of the name suggests the most complete explanation of David's question, 'Shall I *go up* against the Philistines?' (*v.* 19). He asks whether he shall come upon the Philistines from the chain of hills which bounds the valley of Rephaim on the east (in *v.* 20 read, 'And David came *from* Baal-perazim,' with G and Klo.); he starts, be it remembered, from Jerusalem (see DAVID, § 7). On the next occasion he did not 'go up' (on the hills), but came upon his foes from the rear (*v.* 16). In spite of this narrative, which is written from the later Israelitish point of view, the name Baal-perazim must have existed long before David. It is analogous to RIMMON-PEREZ, which means 'Rimmon (Rammān) of Perez,' and belonged properly to some point in the chain of hills referred to, which was specially honoured

[1] ἐπάνω cannot = בַּעַל, being preceded in *v.* 20*a* by ἐκ τῶν.

by Canaanitish Baal-worshippers. David, however, beyond doubt took Baal as synonymous with Yahwe; the name gave him a happy omen, and received a fresh significance from his victory. Whether 'Perazim' was originally a name descriptive of the physical appearance of the hills E. of the valley of Rephaim, or whether it had some accidental origin, cannot be determined.

T. K. C.

BAALSAMUS (Βααλσαμος [BA]), 1 Esd 9 43 RV Neh. 8 4 MAASEIAH, 14.

BAAL-SHALISHA, RV **Baal-Shalishah**, (בַּעַל שָׁלִישָׁה; Βαιθσαρισα [B^A^vid. (ras σα A^1)], Βηθσαλισα [L]), in Ephraim, evidently near GILGAL (2 K. 4 42), doubtless identical with the *Bethsalisa* and Βαιθσαρισαθ of Jer. and Eus. (*OS* 107 11 239 92, 15 R. m. N. of Diospolis (Lydda). These conditions seem to be met by *Kh. Sirisia*, which is exactly 13 Eng. m., or about 14½ R. m. from Lydda (*PEFQ*, 76, p. 68). Four miles farther on is the village Kh. Kefr Thilth with which Baal-shalisha is now identified by Conder (*PEFM* 2 285). In illustration of 2 K. *l.c.* the Talmud (*Sanh.* 12 *a*) states that nowhere did the fruits of the earth ripen so quickly as at Baal-shalisha. See SHALISHA, LAND OF, and cp ZELZAH.

BAAL-TAMAR (בַּעַל תָּמָר, *i.e.*, 'Baal of the Palm,' §§ 96 103. Βαλα θαμαρ [BAL]), an unidentified locality in the neighbourhood of Gibeah, where the Israelites put themselves in array against the Benjaminites (Judg. 20 33). Some think of 'the Palm of Deborah' (Judg. 4 5), which, however, was too remote (Moore). Eus. (*OS* 218 75) speaks of a Beth-thamar near Gibeah.

BAALZEBUB (בַּעַל זְבוּב; εν τω [εν τη A v. 2, BA vv. 6 16; δια του. L v. 1 *f.*] Βαλα μυιαν [BA]), taking Zebub or μυια is the name of the god; so Jos. *Ant.* IX. 2 1), a god of Ekron, whose oracle was consulted by Ahaziah king of Israel in his last illness (2 K. 1 2 *f.* 6 16 *f*). The name is commonly explained 'lord of flies.' True, there is no Semitic analogy for this; but Pausanias (viii. 26 7; cp J. G. Frazer's note on v. 14 1) tells us of a Ζεὺς ἀπόμυιος who drove away dangerous swarms of flies from Olympia, and Clement of Alexandria attests the cultus of the same god in Elis (*Protrept.* 2 38); and we may, if we will, interpret the title 'a god who sends as well as removes a plague of flies' (so Baudissin), which lifts the god up a little. Let us, however, look farther.

1. Not Fly-god.

Bezold (*Catalogue*, K. 3500) thought that in an Assyrian inscription of the 12th cent. B.C. he had met with Baal-zabubi as the name of one of the gods of the Ebir nâri (on which see EBER, § 1), in which case Baal-zebub was a widely known divine name, adopted for the god of Ekron. The restoration of the final syllable *-bi*, however, is admittedly quite uncertain, and the reading Baal-sapuna (see BAAL-ZEPHON, 1) seems much more probable.[1] Winckler, therefore, suggests that Zebub might be some very ancient name of a locality in Ekron[2] (no longer to be explained etymologically), on the analogy of Baal-Sidon, Baal-Hermon, Baal-Lebanon. No such locality, however, is known, and Ekron, not any locality in Ekron, was the territory of the Baal. It is, therefore, more probable that Baal-zebub, 'lord of flies' (which occurs only in a 'very late' narrative, one which has a pronounced didactic tendency),[3] is a contemptuous uneuphonic Jewish modification of the true name, which was probably Baal-zebul, 'lord of the

2. Not god of Zebub.

3. Real name Baal-zebûl.

1 Wi. *GI* 1 221, 225; Hommel, *AHT* 196, 255. Halévy has made a similar mistake (see next note).

2 Halévy (*Rev. sém.* 1 23) thought that he had proved this; but in *Am. Tab.* 174, 16, to which he refers for an Ekronite Zabubu, the right reading is Sapuna.

3 Kuenen, *Ond.* 1 409 (§ 25, n. 3).

high house' (cp 1 K. 8 13, and Schrader's note in *COT*). This is a title such as any god with a fine temple might bear, and was probably not confined to the god of Ekron (in the Panammu inscription of Zenjirli, *l.* 22 the god Rakubel bears the title בעל בית, 'lord of the house'). The second part of it strongly reminds us of É-sagila, the 'high house' of the god Marduk (see BABYLON, § 5). 'High house' (zebul) would at the same time refer to the dwelling-place of the gods on the הר מועד or 'mountain of assembly' in the far north[1] (see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF). There is some reason to think that the Phœnicians knew of such a dwelling-place. The conception is implied in the divine name Baal-Saphon, 'Lord of the north' (see BAAL-ZEPHON), and in the Elegy on the king of Tyre (Ez. 28 12 *ff.*); and the Semitised Philistines also probably knew of it. At any rate, the late Hebrew narrator—or, if we will, an early scribe—may have resented the application of such a title as 'Lord of the high house' (which suggested to him either Solomon's temple [בית זבל 1 K. 8 13] or the heavenly dwelling of Yahwe [זבל, Dt. 26 15 Ps. 68 6]) to the Ekronite god, and changed it to 'Lord of flies,' Baal-zebub. See BELZEBUB. This explanation throws light on three proper names, JEZEBEL, ZEBUL, and ZEBULON. Also on Is. 63 15, 'from thy *zebul* (high house) of holiness and glory.' The same term *zebul* could be applied to the mansion of the moon in the sky (Hab. 3 11, We.).

T. K. C.

BAAL-ZEPHON (בַּעַל צְפוֹן) or, no doubt more accurately, Baal-Zaphon (בַּעַל צָפוֹן)

1 The name of a Phœnician god, formed like Baal-Gad, Baal-Hermon, and meaning 'Baal of the north.' Though not mentioned in OT, it is important as enabling us to account for certain ancient Israelitish proper names (ZAPHON, ZEPHON, ZEPHONITES, ZIPHION), and also for the enigmatical reference to a mountain abode of the Elôhim, situated 'in the recesses of the north' (Is. 14 13; see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF). The latter conception was evidently believed by Ezekiel (28 14 *f.*) to be familiar to the Phœnicians, and is clearly connected with the divine name in question, which describes and designates 'the Baal whose throne is on the sacred mountain of the gods in the north' (Baethg. *Beitr.* 23, 261). The Assyrian inscriptions contain several references to this god. A text of Esar-haddon speaks of Baal-ṣapunu as one of the 'gods of Ebir-nâri' (see EBER, 1), and more than one mountain-district may have borne the name of Baal-Zaphon.[2] The chief seat of the god, however, must have been in the centre of Mount Lebanon. Elsewhere (COPPER, § 3) other texts are referred to in which Ba'ali-ṣapuna is described as rich in copper, which appears to have been the case with Lebanon. Altogether we cannot be wrong in identifying Baal-Zaphon with Baal-Lebanon, 'the Baal of Lebanon.' The relation of this national deity of the Phœnicians to the Baal-Zaphon of Goshen requires separate consideration (see 2). On the question whether Baal-Zaphon was known under another of his names in Philistia, and even perhaps among the Israelites, see BEEL-ZEBUL, § 2.

T. K. C.

2. Βεελσεφων; so most MSS, but many MSS[3] Βεελσεφων; Vg. *Beelzephon* (*-sefon* in Jer. *OS*; Targ. בעל־צפון, cp Syr. Be'el-Sêphûn; Arab. Walton, 'Ṣafûn, the idol,' *ṣafûn aṭ-ṭâgûth*), a place near the point where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, and opposite their encampment (Ex. 14 2 9 Nu. 33 7). The name is usually understood to point to a national Phœnician god of the

1 This is akin to the theory of Movers, who makes Baal-zebul ('Lord of the heavenly dwelling') originally a name of Saturn, a theory which lacks evidence.

2 Tiglath-pileser III. (*KB* ii. 26 *f.*) speaks first of the mountains of Lebanon and then of the land of Ba'ali-ṣapuna as far as the mountains of Ammana.

3 *E.g.*, AF 7 10, perhaps L. This form also seems to be Hexaplaric (see the Boheiric version; the older Sahidic text has πφ for φ).

same name; but the Egyptians who mention a goddess Beltis(?)-sapuna as worshipped at Memphis[1] connect this cultus, very significantly, with that of Sapuna, a local god of Western Goshen (see GOSHEN, § 2). This divinity was, therefore, evidently not a Phœnician deity; her domain, at any rate, was either in or near the region of Goshen. Consequently, the Baal whom this local Beltis or Beltis implies was not also the Phœnician Baal-Zephon, though whether he had an independent origin or not, cannot as yet be determined. Like most of the local names of Goshen, Baal Zephon (or rather see (1) Baal-Zaphon) is clearly Semitic.[2]

The honour accorded by the Egyptians to the consort of 'Baal-Zephon' no doubt proves the importance of that town of Goshen. It is difficult, however, at present, to determine the situation of the place (see EXODUS, i. § 6). The expression '*before* Baal-Zephon, *over against*' it (obscured in Nu. 33 7 *f.*) need not signify 'eastward of,' which in ordinary Hebrew would be the most natural meaning; it seems rather to indicate here some point not yet touched on the NE. (or S.).[3]

Such identifications as that with Heliopolis (Forster), 'Ajrud (Niebuhr), etc., had to be given up even before the situation of Goshen and Heroopolis was determined by Naville's excavations. For the value of more modern theories (Brugsch, Mount Casius; Ebers, on the 'Mâka mountain, SW. of Suez, Naville, on Lake Timsâh, near Shûkh en-Neda'ah), see EXODUS, i. § [illegible].

T. K. CHEYNE. J. W. M'M.

BAANA (בַּעֲנָא, probably = BAANAH [below]; BAANA [BNA])

1. b. Ahilud (or perhaps better Ahimelech; see AHIMELECH, 1), Solomon's prefect in the valley of Jezreel, 1 K. 4 12 (Βαανα [B]; Βαασα [L]).

2. b. Hushai, prefect in Asher; 1 K. 4 16 (Βαανας [A], Βαναιας [L]). His father, Hushai, is no doubt the well-known courtier of David (2 S. 15 32). Cp AHI[illegible].

3. Father of ZADOK (צָדוֹק, q.v.), 1; Neh. 3 4 (om. A; Βαναα [L]).

4. 1 Esd. 5 8 Neh. 7 7, BAASEIAH, 1.

BAANAH (בַּעֲנָה; cp Nabatæan בענו [*CIS* 2 220]; BAANA [BNAL])

1. Rimmon, a Beerothite, one of the murderers of Ish-bosheth, 2 S. 4 2 *ff.* (Βαναια [L], and in B Βαμμ [27 cod], Βαμμα [illegible]; Jos. Βαναος, Βαναθθα). See RECHAB, 1, ISHBOSHETH, 1.

2. Father of one of David's heroes, 2 S. 23 29 (Βενιαμειν? [B], Βαανεια [A]) = 1 Ch. 11 30 (ουοζα [BR] Βανα [L]).

A leader (see EZRA, ii. § 8 c) in the great post-exilic list (Ezra 2 2 *ff.* Ezra 2 2 (Βαλλεια [B], Βαναα [L]) Neh. 7 7 1 Esd. 5 8, BAANA, 4). Possibly the same as BAANA, 3 (above).

4. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 27 [28] (om. L).

BAANI (Βαανι[ε] [BA]). 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 34 BANI, 2.

BAANIAS (Βαννειας [BA]). 1 Esd. 9 26. AV = Ezra 10 25, BENAIAH, 7

BAARA (בַּעֲרָא), a 'wife' of SHAHARAIM (*q.v.*), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 8 (Βααδα [B], Βαρα [A], Βαδαα [L]).

BAASEIAH (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה, no doubt a textual error for מַעֲשֵׂיָה, see MAASEIAH), a Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 6 40 [25] (Μαασαι [B], Βαασια [A], Βασια [L]).

BAASHA (בַּעְשָׁא or בַּעְשָׂא, § 51 [cp Ba. on 2 Ch. 16 1], Βαασα [BAL]; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 3, Βασανης; *BAASA*). Ru'sa occurs on the monolith inscription of

[1] Sall. 4 1, rev.; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 315. The reading *Ba'aly* (so Goodwin, Brugsch, etc.) is incorrect.

[2] What Baal-Zaphon (at any rate the Baal Zaphon of Goshen) signifies, is disputed. 'Watch-tower' (√צפה) it certainly does not mean. Gesenius (after Forster) compared the Gk. Τυφων (originally a wind, *q.v.*), who was identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian *Sêt*, Σηθ (EGYPT, § 14), on the basis of the later confusion with the giant Τυφωεύς. Quite inadmissible. Nor can the equation be supported by the unfortunate assertion that 'Tep' was a name of 'Sêt' (cp Renouf, *Hibb. Lects.* for 1879, p. 114). A much more reasonable explanation is 'master of the north,' *i.e.*, 'north point'; Baal-Zephon was in fact (cp the north end of the Gulf. Others (*e.g.*, Ebers) explain Zaphon as 'the north wind,' this wind being important for the sailors on the Red Sea, who would make their offerings at the sanctuary of BAAL-ZAPHON. [illegible] Hommel, *AHT*, 155, WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 315. See also ZAPHON.

Shalmaneser II. as the name of an Ammonite king [Del. *Par.* 204, Schr. *KAT*[2] 196, M. Cuny, *Z. f. Assyr.* *Proph. Mon.* 127 *f.*].[1] b. Ahiah, an Isachite, [illegible] king of Israel in succession to Nadab, whom he conspired against and slew at the Philistine town of Gibbethon, afterwards killing all the rest of Jeroboam's family (1 K. 15 27 *f.*). The fact that the Philistines were able to resume war against Israel leads to the supposition that there had been a military revolution in which Baasha, one of Nadab's generals, was the leader (cp Kt. *Hist.* 2 240). His reign was marked by his energetic operations against ASA[2] (*q.v.*). By building Ramah (1 K. 15 17) Baasha had endeavoured to shut off Jerusalem from intercourse with the outer world, and Asa was saved only by the purchased aid of Benhadad (*q.v.*, § 2), who invaded Israel 'unto Naphtali' (1[2] 20 4 cp 6). We know but little of his 'acts' or of his 'might' (גְּבוּרִים, 1 K. 16 5). He was one of the few kings who died a natural death. He was buried at [illegible] having been made such by Jeroboam (see TIRZAH). Baasha was the head of the second dynasty, which was extirpated at a later time by Zimri, 'in accordance with the word of Yahwe which he spoke against Baasha by Jehu the prophet' (see JEHU, 2, b; HANANI). The fate of the house of Baasha b. Ahijah, as also that of Jeroboam b. Nebat, is referred to by later writers; cp 1 K. 21 22 2 K. 9 9. See ISRAEL, § 29, CHRONICLES, § 8, and, for his date (about 900 B.C.), CHRONOLOGY, § 32

BABEL,[1] TOWER OF (Gen. 11 1-9). The story of the tower (מִגְדָּל), when its lacunæ have been filled up, is to this effect. All mankind had still one language, and kept together. On one of their nomadic journeys they found a spot which suggested the adoption of a settled life; it was the plain of Shinar. Having no building material, they devised the plan of baking clay into bricks, and using bitumen for cement. They were the first city-builders. Their design, however, was to build, not only a city, but also a stupendously high tower which should be at once a monument of their strength and a centre or rallying point that would prevent their ever being dispersed. Uneasy at their newly awakened activity, Yahwe 'came down' to take a nearer view of the buildings, and then returned (to his lofty mountain abode, Ezek. 28 14) to take counsel with the sons of Elohim. This, he said, is but the beginning of human ambition; nothing will soon be too hard for man to do. Come, let us go down (together), and bring their speech into confusion. Hence arose the present variety of languages and the dispersion of mankind, and hence the name of the well-known city called Babylon.

1. OT story.

This naïve narrative, which is Yahwistic, probably comes from the same writer as the story of Paradise.[4]

2. General character. Both narratives present the same childlike curiosity about causes, the same strongly anthropomorphic and in some sense polytheistic conception of the divine nature (cp 7, 6 *f.* with

[1] Wi. (*Hist.* [illegible]) suggests that בעשא may be a contraction for בעלישע. Similar contractions are seen in the Phœn. בעשתם and Arab. (in the H[illegible]) בעשמי. Sa'sa is possibly a divine name and seems to recur in the names Ashan, Ammi-sha (or Amasa) et al.; see JEKAMIAH. It may also be the same as the god Sa mentioned in a S. Arab. inscription (*Z. f. A.* 7, 10 320). Its identification with a Palm. deity שע is open to question.

[2] Cp the tradition referred to in Jer. 41 9 (𝔊R omits the name).

[3] On the name (בָּבֶל), see BABYLON, § 1, and below, 1 and 4 [illegible], and § 6.

[4] According to the non-critical view, the survivors of the Deluge made their way from the mountain on which the ark had rested to the land of Shinar (so Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 155). The Deluge-story, however, makes Shem, Ham, and Japheth themselves the progenitors of the different sections of mankind, and has thus no need of the Tower-story. Even if such a narrative had been introduced into the Deluge-story, how could 'Shem, Ham, and Japheth' be called 'all the earth' (11 1)? See We. *CH* 13; but cp Stade, *ZATW* 14 276 *ff.* [94].

8 22); both, therefore, have in all ages given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. Philo (*De Confusione Linguarum*) thought that, to avoid 'the most surpassing impiety,' the anthropomorphisms must be interpreted allegorically. If we are not prepared to follow him in this, we must once more apply the mythological key (see ADAM AND EVE, § 4).

It is perhaps the second *extant* chapter in the mythic chronicle of the first family that we have before us: the passage which originally linked the story of the Tower to that of Paradise has been lost (see NEPHILIM). It is clear, however, that the first men had not gone far from Paradise: they are still on their journeys 'in the east' when this ambitious project occurs to them (see GEOGRAPHY, § 13).

The narrative may be regarded in two aspects. While explaining how the city of Babylon, with its gigantic terrace-temples, came to be built (see § 4), it accounts for the division of men into different nations, separated in abode and speech. Not to be able to understand one's neighbour seemed to the primitive men a curse (cp Dt. 28 49 Jer. 5 15). It is not improbable that there was an ancient N. Semitic myth which explained how this curse arose. It is said that there are many such myths elsewhere,[1] and some of them (*e.g.*, that reported by Livingstone from Lake Ngami, and that mentioned in the Bengal Census Report for 1872 - to mention only two of the best attested) have a certain similarity to the Hebrew story. It is credible, therefore, that the N. Semites ascribed the curse of many languages to the attempt to erect a tower by which men might climb up 'above the stars of God' and 'sit on the mountain of assembly' and 'make themselves like the Most High'[2] (Is 14 13 *f.*)

3. Origin of diverse tongues.

The old myth, like that which seems to underlie the story of SODOM (*p.v.*), said nothing as to where the town to which the tower belonged lay. When, however, through some devastating storm, one of the chief temple-towers of Babylon (see BABYLONIA, § 27) fell in remote days into disrepair, wandering Aramaean tribes may have marked it, and, connecting it with the 'babel' of foreign tongues in Babylon, may have localised the myth at the ruined temple-tower.[3] *Bābēl*, they would have exclaimed:[4] it was here that God confounded men's speech, and the proofs of it are the ruined tower and the name of Babel.

4. Origin of Babylon.

It is remarkable that the polytheistic element in the old myth should have been so imperfectly removed. Even the writer who adopted and retold the story was still far off from the later transcendental monotheism. The changes which he introduced consisted in omissions rather than in insertions. Yahwè still has to come down to inquire; he still has to communicate the result to the inferior divine beings, and bring them with him to execute judgment; but, though he needs society, as ruler Yahwè stands alone: there is no triad of great gods, as in Babylon. It is also worth mentioning that the narrator's idea of civilisation is essentially a worthy one. No city can be built, according to these early men, without a religious sanction. Enos, as another myth appears to have said, is at once the beginner of forms of worship and the father of Cain the city-builder (see CAIN, § 1). On the other hand, the idea that God grudges man the strength which comes from union, and fears human ambition, is obviously one of the 'beggarly elements' of ethnic religion from which Jewish religion had yet to disengage itself.

5. Character of myth.

We have seen that there was not improbably an old N. Semitic myth of the interrupted building of a tower to account for the dispersion of the nations. Should such a myth one day be discovered in Babylonia,[1] it will certainly disappoint many persons by not mentioning the 'confusion of languages,' nor giving Babylon as the scene of the events, (1) because the Ass. *bullulu* means 'fundere,' not 'confundere,' and (2) because the city of Babylon was regarded as of divine origin, and its name *Bābil* was explained as *Bāb ili*, 'the gate of God,' or 'of the gods' (cp BABYLON, § 1). The latter reason is decisive also against the theory[2] that the Sibylline story of the Tower of Babel and the cognate one of Abydenus[3] rest on Babylonian authority. That two of the reporters of the story give the polytheistic οἱ θεοί proves nothing, for the plural was sufficiently suggested by the Hebrew narrative (v. 7). The non-biblical features of their version, though in one point (the object ascribed to the builders) probably an accurate reconstruction of the earliest myth, are of no authority, being clearly derived from the imaginative Jewish Haggada,[4] which is responsible also for the part assigned by later writers to Nimrod (Jos. *Ant.* i. 4 2; cp Dante, *Inf.* 31 76-81).

6. OT form not Babylonian.

Where was the tower referred to in the Hebrew narrative? Few scholars have declared this problem insoluble; but almost all have missed what seems the most natural answer.

7. Site of tower.

Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled about A.D. 1160, supposed it to be the mound called by the Arabs Birs Nimrūd, which, he says, is made of bricks called *ajurr*.[5] This agrees with the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. xxxviii), and is probably implied in the strange gloss of ⅏ in Is. 10 9. In the sixteenth century Balbi and Ralph Fitch, and in the seventeenth John Cartwright, give descriptions of the 'Tower of Babel' which are plainly suggested by the huge mass of brickwork, 6 or 7 m. W. of Baghdād, known as Tell Nimrūd or 'Akarkuf (see Del. *Par.* 268; Peters, *Nippur*, i. 188 *f.*). Pietro della Valle in the eighteenth century preferred the great mound near Hillah called *Bābil*, which, however, as Rassam has shown, represents the famous hanging gardens (see BABYLON, §§ 4 8). In the nineteenth, C. J. Rich and Ker Porter revived the Birs Nimrūd theory, and most scholars have followed them,[6] largely influenced by Nebuchadrezzar's Borsippa inscription. No one has put this view so plausibly as J. P. Peters, in an article which appeared since this article was written (*JBL*, 1896, p. 107). The statements of the king are no doubt well adapted to illustrate the disrepair into which (see § 4) the tower originally intended must have fallen, even though they do not, as Oppert once thought, describe the 'confusion of tongues.' Let us pause upon them for a moment. They tell us that the temple-tower (*zikkurrat*) of Borsippa had 'fallen into decay since remote days,' and indeed that it had never been quite completed by its original builder. 'Rain and storm had thrown down its wall; the kiln-bricks of its covering had split; the bricks of its chamber were in heaps of rubbish.' 'To restore it,' says Nebuchadrezzar, 'the great Lord Marduk impelled my mind.'[7]

Borsippa, however, is not the place we should naturally go to for the tower. Babylon, and Babylon alone (which was always distinguished from Borsippa) must cover the site. The late Jewish tradition is of no value whatever: it grew up, probably, during the Exile, when Nebuchadrezzar's restoration of the 'temple of the

[1] See *EBi*, art. BABEL, TOWER OF (Sayce), and cp Lüken, *Die Traditionen*, 118-122.

[2] In a Babylonian hymn we find the god Bel identified with 'the great mountain whose top reaches to heaven' (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 51).

[3] In the original myth there was no hyperbole. In the localised myth, however, the description 'whose top reacheth unto heaven' seems parallel to a phrase in Dt. 1 28, and to similar descriptions of Egyptian obelisks (see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 170) and Assyrian and Babylonian temple-towers (so Tiglath-pileser; 'its temple-towers I raised to heaven,' Del. *Ass. HWB* 162; and Hammu-rābi, '(the temple) whose top is high as heaven he built,' *KB* iii. *a*, 129.

[4] A popular etymology would connect *Bābel* with Aram. *balbel* much more easily than with Heb. *bālal* (see Olshausen, *Lehrb.* § 189 *a*), as Bu. supposed in 1881 (*Urgesch.* 387). Onkelos on Gen. 11 9 gives בלבל for the בלל of MT.

[1] The story as it stands is not, as Stade (*ZATW*, 1805, p. 157) and Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 140) (not, of course, on the ground of the supposed discovery in *TSBA* 5 301 *ff.*, *KPT* 129 *ff.*; cp Sayce, *HCM*, *LGT* 400) have held, Babylonian.

[2] Gruppe, *Die griech. Culte u. Mythen*, 683; *ZATW* 9 154 [89]; Sta. *ZATW* 15 157 161 [95].

[3] *Carm. Sibyll.* 3 97 *ff.*; Jos. *Ant.* i. 4 3; Syncellus, *Chron.* ed. Dindorf, 81; Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, 1 13. Cp Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, 54 *f.* [79]; Freudenthal, *Hellenist. Studien* 1 25.

[4] See *Jubilees* 10 19-26 (Charles, *JQR* 6 208 *f.*).

[5] The Arabic *ʾajurrun* comes through Aram. from Ass. *agurru*, 'kiln-bricks' (often); both words are used collectively.

[6] For Sir H. Rawlinson's view, which differs from the views mentioned above, see G. Smith's *Chaldæan Genesis*, edited by Sayce, 171.

[7] *KB* 3 *b* 52-55; cp *COT* 1 109 *f.*

seven lights of heaven and earth' was recent. In the *zikkurrat* of the great temple E-sagila (see BABYLON, §§ 4, 5), represented, according to Hommel, by Tell 'Amrân, we have the true tower of Babel. Nebuchadrezzar himself speaks of this tower in the Borsippa inscription. 'E-temen-an-ki,' he says, 'the *zikkurrat* of Babylon, I restored and finished.' An account of this building has been given from a Babylonian tablet by the late George Smith. He tells us that 'the whole height of this tower above its foundation was 15 *gar*, or 300 feet, exactly equal to the breadth of the base; and, as the foundation was most probably raised above the level of the ground, it would give a height of over 300 feet above the plain for this grandest of Babylonian temples.'[1] What vicissitudes this *zikkurrat*, or its predecessor, passed through in early times, who shall say?

L. K. C.

BABI (BABI [A]), 1 Esd. 8 17 = Ezra 8 11, BIBAI, 1.

BABYLON. The word בָּבֶל (GREEK BABYLWN), Babel, designating the city which, in course of time, became the capital of the country known as Babylonia, is the Hebrew form of the native Bab-ili ('gate of God,' or 'Gate of the gods') The Accadian or Sumerian name, Ka-dingir-ra, is a translation of the Semitic Babylonian. Of the other names of the city, Tin-tir, 'Seat of life,' and I-ri-ki (translated 'house' or 'hollow') are among the best known. The existence of these various names is probably due to the incorporation, as the city grew, of outlying villages and districts. Among the places which seem to have been regarded, in later times, as a part of the city, may be mentioned Šu-anna (a name sometimes apparently interchanged with that of Babylon itself); Tu, which, though it had, like Babylon, a *pihâtu*, or district of its own, is nevertheless described as being 'within Babylon'; and Suppatum and Litamu, apparently names of plantations ultimately included in the city.

1. Name, etc.

The date of the foundation of Babylon is still uncertain. Its association in Gen. 10 10 with Erech, Akkad, and Calneh implies that according to Hebrew tradition it was at least as old as those cities, and confirmation of this is to be found in the bilingual Creation-story (see CREATION, § 16 *d*), where it is mentioned as coeval with Erech and Nippuru, two primeval cities, the latter of which has been proved by the excavations to date back to prehistoric times.

No detailed history of the rise of the city has yet come to light. Agum or Agu-kak-rime (about 1550 B.C.) speaks of the glorious shrines of Marduk and Zirpanitum, in the temple E-sagila, which he restored with great splendour. About 892 B.C., Tukulti-Ninip, king of Assyria, took the city, slaying the inhabitants, and carrying a vast amount of spoil (including the property and dues of the great temple E-sagila) back with him to Assyria. Sennacherib, however, went farther than his predecessor. He says that, after having spoiled the city at least once, he devoted it to utter destruction. The temples, palaces, and city-walls were overthrown. The debris having been cast into the canal Arahtu, that waterway was still further dammed up, and a flood in consequence ravaged the country. Esarhaddon, when he came to the throne, began the rebuilding of the city, restoring the temples with much splendour; and the work of beautifying them was continued by Šamaš-šum-ukin and Ašur-bani-pal, his sons, the former as king of Babylon, and the latter as his suzerain. Later, Nabopolassar continued the work; but it was left for his son Nebuchadrezzar to bring the city to the very height of its glory. Later still, Cyrus held his court at Babylon (Šu-anna), while vassal kings brought him tribute and paid him homage. The siege of the place and the destruction of its walls by

2. History.

[1] See Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.*, App. ii.; but cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 492 *ff.*

Darius Hystaspis were the beginning of its decay. Xerxes is said (Herod. 1 183) to have plundered the temple of Belus of the golden statue that Darius had not dared to remove, and Arrian (3 16) states that he destroyed the temple itself on his return from Greece. He relates also that Alexander wished to restore this celebrated fane,[1] but renounced the idea, as it would have taken ten thousand men more than two months to remove the rubbish alone. Be this as it may, Antiochus Soter, in an inscription found at Birs-Nimrud, mentions having restored the temple E-sagila (the temple of Belus), showing that some attempt was made, notwithstanding Alexander's abandonment of the task in despair, to bring order into the chaotic mass of ruin to which it had apparently been reduced. The people of the great city had, in all probability, by this time almost entirely migrated to Seleucia, on the Tigris; but the temple services were continued as late as the third decade B.C., and probably even into the Christian era. The temple was still standing in 127 B.C. (reign of the Kharacenian king Hyspasines), and had a congregation, who worshipped the god Marduk in combination with Anu, this twofold godhead being, apparently, called Anna-Bel. A small tablet, dated '210th year, Arsaces, king of kings,' records the borrowing by two priests of E-sa-had (the temple of the goddess Gula at Babylon) of a certain sum of silver from the treasury of the temple of Bêl. This date, which is regarded as Arsacidean, shows that certain temples, including the tower of Belus, remained, with their priesthood and services, as late as the year 20 B.C. (*Bab. Or. Record*, 4 133).

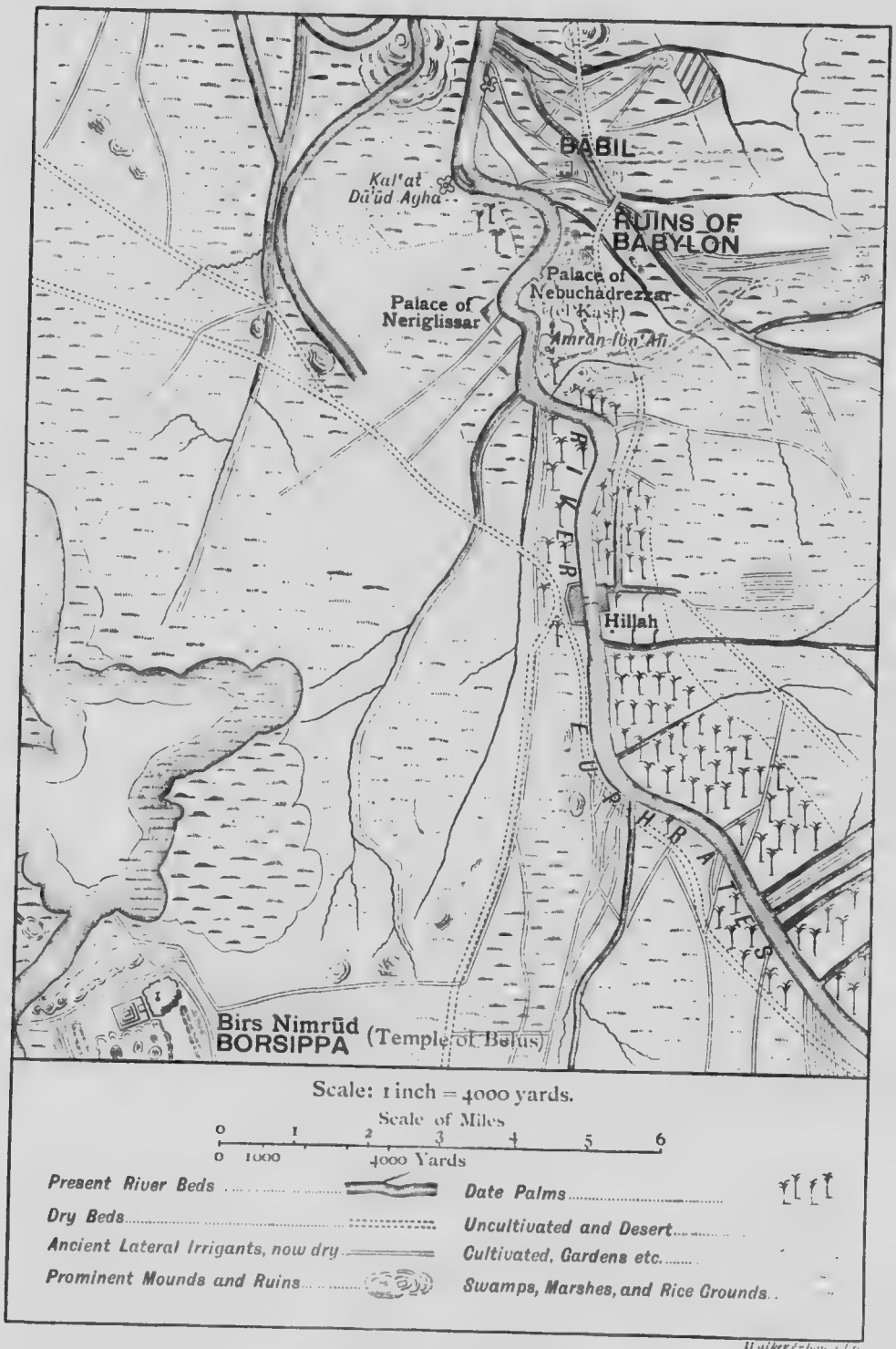
Rather more than 50 miles south of Bagdad, on the east bank of the Euphrates, lie the ruins still identified by tradition as those of Babylon. These remains consist of a series of extensive, irregularly-shaped mounds covering, from north to south, a distance of about 5 miles. Babil, the northmost ruin, has, according to Ainsworth, a square superficies of 120,000 ft., and a height of 64 ft. The next in order is the Mujelibeh, of about the same superficies and a height of 28 ft. After this come two mounds close together, the Kasr or 'palace,' and that called 'Amran ibn-'Ali to the south of it. These two together have a superficies of 104,000 ft., and a height of 67 ft., or with the *Birs*, or stone monument, 115 ft. Most of these two mounds is 'enclosed within an irregular triangle formed by two lines of ramparts and the river, the area being about 8 miles' (Loftus). Other remains, including two parallel lines of rampart, are scattered about, and there are the remains of an embankment on the river side. On the W. bank are the ruins of a palace said to be that of Neriglissar.

3. Ruins.

According to Herodotus (1 178-187), the city formed a vast square, 480 stades (55¼ miles) in circumference. Around the city was a large ditch of running water, and beyond that a great rampart 200 cubits high and 50 broad, there being on it room enough for a four-horse chariot to pass, and even to turn, in addition to space sufficient for 'chambers facing each other.' The top, therefore, would seem to have resembled a kind of street. The wall was pierced by a hundred gateways closed with brazen gates. On reaching the Euphrates, which (Herodotus says) divided the city, it was met by walls which lined the banks of the stream. The streets were arranged at right angles. Where those which ran down to the Euphrates intersected the river-wall, there were gateways allowing access to the river. On each bank of the Euphrates

4. Greek descriptions.

[1] A confirmation of this occurs on the tablet Bu. [illegible] which is dated [illegible] Alexander [illegible] rebuilt E-sagila [illegible] E-sagila (so to be read, according to the Aramaic docket), [illegible] the clearing away of the dust (rubbish) of E-sangil (E-sagila)' (Oppert in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1898, pp. 414 *ff.*).



Walker & Boucher sc.

THE SITE OF BABYLON

Compiled mainly from surveys by Jones, Selby, Bewsher, and Collingwood, 1845-65, with corrections to 1885 (published by the India Office). Small additions, etc., from Kiepert's 'Ruinenfelder der Umgegend von Babylon' in *Ztschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin.*

were certain fortified buildings, the royal palace being on one side, and the temple of Bēlus on the other. The latter was a tower in stages, with an exterior winding ascent leading from stage to stage, and about half-way up a resting-place for the visitor. The top was surmounted by a spacious chapel, containing a richly covered bed and a golden table. None passed the night there, according to the priests, except a woman of the country whom the god had specially chosen. Lower down was another chapel containing a seated statue of Zeus (Bēl-Marduk) and a large table, both of solid gold. Outside were two altars, one of them of gold; and it was here that the golden statue that was carried away by Xerxes formerly stood. Herodotus speaks also of the large reservoir, constructed, he says, by Queen Nitocris, and of the embankments and the bridge that she made, the last being a series of piers of stone built in the river, connected by wooden drawbridges which were withdrawn at night. Nitōcris caused to be erected, over the most frequented gate of the city, the tomb which she afterwards occupied; but this, he says, was removed by Darius, who thought that it was a pity that the gate should remain unused, and coveted the treasure that she was supposed to have placed there, which he failed to find. The houses of the city, according to Herodotus, were three and four stories high. He does not mention the hanging gardens.

Ctēsias (ap. Diod. Siculus, 2 7 .) makes the circuit of the city only 360 stades (41 m. 600 yds.). It lay on both sides of the Euphrates, which was crossed by a bridge at its narrowest point. The bridge was similar to that described by Herodotus, and measured 5 stades (3032 ft.) in length and 30 ft. in breadth. At each end was a royal palace, that on the E. being more splendid. There was a part called the twofold royal city, which was surrounded by three walls, the outmost having a circuit of 7 m. The height of the middle wall, which was circular, was 300 ft.; that of its towers, 420 ft. The inmost wall, however, was even higher. The walls of the second enclosure and those of the third were faced with coloured bricks, enamelled with various designs. Among them were representations of Semiramis and Ninus slaying the leopard and the lion. The two palaces were joined by a tunnel under the river as well as by a bridge. Diodorus mentions the square lake, and describes the temple of Bēlus, which, he says, had a statue of Zeus (Bēl-Marduk) 40 ft. high, and statues of Hera and Rhea (probably Zirpanitum [see SUCCOTH-BENOTH] and the goddess Damkina). He describes the famous hanging gardens, which were square, and measured 400 ft. each way, rising in terraces, and provided with earth enough to accommodate trees of great size. (For other Greek accounts, see (1) Arrian, *Anab.* 7 251, and Plut. *Alex.* 74; (2) Diod. Sic. 2 7-10, Curt. Ruf. 5 1 24-35; (3) Strab. 16 1 5; (4) Diod. 19 1 10, 7 and Plut. *Demetr.* 7; (5) Philstr. *Vit. Apoll.* 1 25; to which may be added (6) Bērōssus in Jos. *Ant.* x. 11 1, *C. Ap.* 1 19 *f.*, and Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9 467 *c d*).

5. Nebuchadrezzar's account.

The best native account of the glories of Babylon is probably that of the well-known king Nebuchadrezzar (*KB* 3*b* 20 *ff.*)—a ruler to whom the city owed much—who, indeed, may be said to have practically rebuilt it. The most important edifice to him was the temple of Bēlus (Ē-sagila, later called Ē-saggil or Ē-sangil), and with this he begins, speaking first of the shrine of Marduk, the wall of which he covered with massive gold, lapis-lazuli, and white limestone. He refers to the two gates of the temple, and the place of the assembly, where the oracles were declared, and gives details of the work done upon them. It was apparently a part of this temple that he calls Ē-temen-ana-ki, 'the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth,' and describes as the 'tower of Babylon' (*zikkurat Babili*), stating that he 'raised its head' in burnt brick and lapis-lazuli

(see BABEL, TOWER OF, § 7). After referring to various other shrines and temples, he speaks of Imgur-Bēl and Nimitti-Bēl, the two great ramparts of the city, built, or rather, rebuilt, by his father Nabopolassar, who, however, had not been able to finish them. Nebuchadrezzar goes on to describe what he and his father had done on these defences—the digging and bricking of the moat, the bricking of the banks of the Euphrates, the improvement of the roadway called Aa-ibur-šabu, the elevation of which Nebuchadrezzar raised 'from the shining gate to (the roadway called) Ištar-sakipat-tebi-ša,' and so on. In consequence of the raising of this street, the great city gates of the walls Imgur-Bēl and Nimitti-Bēl had to be made higher. They were at the same time decorated with lapis-lazuli and figures of bulls and serpents, provided with doors of cedar covered with bronze. Then, to strengthen the city still further, Nebuchadrezzar built, 4000 cubits beyond Imgur-Bēl, another wall (with doors of cedar covered with bronze), surrounded with a ditch. To make the approach of an enemy to the city still more difficult, he surrounded the district with 'great waters' like unto the sea. After this he turned his attention to the royal palace, a structure which reached from the great wall Imgur-Bēl to the canal of the rising sun, called Labilhegalla, and from the bank of the Euphrates to the street Aa-ibur-ša[illegible]. It had been constructed, he says, by his father Nabopolassar; but its foundations had been weakened by a flood and by the raising of the street. This edifice Nebuchadrezzar placed in good repair, and adorned with gold, silver, precious stones, and every token of magnificence, after rearing it high 'as the wooded hills.' Other constructions that he made were a wall 490 cubits long (apparently intended to serve as an additional defence to a part of the outer wall) called Nimitti-Bēl, and, between the two walls, a structure of brick, surmounted with a great edifice, destined for his royal seat. This palace, which joined that of his father, was erected in fifteen days. After adorning it with gold, silver, costly woods, and lapis lazuli, he built two great walls around it, one of them being constructed of stone.

6. Native and Greek accounts.

There is a substantial agreement between this description and the description of the Greek writers. Ē-sagila, 'the high-headed temple,' is the temple of Bēlus; the palace constructed in fifteen days is that referred to by Josephus as having been built in the same short period (*Ant.* x. 11 1). Nebuchadrezzar does not refer to the reservoir mentioned by the Greeks; but we may recognise it in the 'great waters, like the mass of the seas,' which he carried round the district, and designed for the same purpose namely, defence against hostile attack. The walls, Nimitti-Bēl and Imgur-Bēl, are the outer and inner walls respectively, and the latter may be that which, according to Herodotus (above, § 4), ran along the banks of the river. The hanging gardens are not referred to by Nebuchadrezzar, and it is therefore very doubtful, notwithstanding the statement of Ctēsias, whether this king built them. Such erections were not uncommon in Assyria, and it is even possible that they were due to the initiative of a king of that country. In the palace of Aššur-bāni-pal at Kuyunjik, which was discovered and excavated by Rassam, was a room the bas-reliefs of which were devoted to scenes illustrating that king's Babylonian war, one of which shows a garden laid out on a slope, and continued above on a structure of vaulted brickwork, an arrangement fairly in accord with the description of the Babylonian hanging gardens given by Diodōrus and Pliny; and it is noteworthy that the latter attributes them to a Syrian (Assyrian) king who reigned at Babylon, and built them to gratify a wife whom he loved greatly. This bas-relief was regarded by Sir Henry Rawlinson and George Smith as representing the hanging gardens at Babylon, and a neighbouring sculpture, which shows a series of fortified walls,

three or more, as well as a palace, probably represents the walls of the city as they were in the time of Aśur-bāni-pal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukin, with whom he waged war. The palace has columns supported on the backs of lions.

7. Details from the contract-tablets. A few additional details concerning the city are given by some of the many contract-tablets found on the spot. The city gates, some of the canals, and the streets and roadways seem to have been named after the gods. We read of the gates of Zagaga, Ninip, and Šamaš, and of the canal Nar Banitum. Others of the canals received the names of the cities to which they flowed (*e.g.*, the Borsippa canal, and the old Cuthah canal). The tablets confirm the statement of Q. Curtius that the houses of the city did not fill all the space enclosed by the walls, the greater part of the ground being apparently fields, gardens, and plantations of date-palms and other trees, sufficient to furnish all the provisions that the city needed in event of siege. There is no mention, in the native records, of a bridge across the Euphrates, such as is described by the Greeks; but a contract-tablet of the time of Darius seems to refer to a bridge of boats. There is no confirmation of the statement that there was a tunnel under the river.

8. Identifications of ruins. There have been various conjectures as to the identification of the different ruins on the site of Babylon. Rich thought that the hanging gardens were represented by the mound known as Bābil, and this is the opinion of Rassam, who found there 'four exquisitely-built wells of red granite in the S. portion of the mound.' They are supplied with water from the Euphrates, which flows about a mile away, and their depth is about 140 ft. Originally, he thinks, they were

about 50 or 60 ft. higher. Rassam regards Mujellibeh as representing the palace begun by Nabopolassar and finished by Nebuchadrezzar in fifteen days. Remains of enamelled tiles of various colours and designs are found, he says, only on that spot. The Kasr he takes to be the remains of the Temple of Bēlus, though he frankly admits that there are many difficulties in the way of this identification. As the latest opinions, carefully formed by one who has frequently been on the spot, they will probably be considered to possess a special value.

The two queens, Semiramis and Nitōcris, to whom so many of the wonders of ancient Babylon are attributed, are not mentioned on the native monuments of the Babylonians, as far as we are at present acquainted with them.[1] In all probability, the explanation of this difficulty is that they suggested the erection of the works in question, and the reigning ruler (probably their husbands) carried them out. Only careful exploration of the sites can decide satisfactorily the real nature of each ruin—by whom it was built, or rebuilt, or restored and the changes that it underwent in the course of ages. The discovery of the wells at Bābil seems to place the nature of that ruin beyond doubt, though Oppert (*Comptes Rendus*, 1898, p. 420) thinks that its distance from the other remains is too great, in view of the fact that Alexander, when suffering from a mortal illness, was carried from the castle to the baths and the hanging gardens (Plut. *Alex.* ch. 76; Arrian, *Exp. Al.* 7 25). Much more may be expected from the German explorations.

There is a thorough article on the history and the topography of the city of Babylon in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenc. der class. Alterthumswiss.* ii. ('96). On the Babylon of the NT see PETER, EPISTLES OF, § 7, and cp ROME.

T. G. P.

BABYLONIA

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The country of Babylonia, called by classical writers ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΑ, takes its name from that of its principal city BABYLON (*q.v.*, § 1). **1. Names.** In the OT the city and the country are not sharply distinguished; both are frequently included under the Hebrew בָּבֶל. In other passages the country is termed שִׁנְעָר, Shinar (see SHINAR), while in post-exilic times the whole nation are referred to as כַּשְׂדִּים, 'Chaldæans,' and the country as אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים, 'the land of the Chaldæans' (see CHALDEA). Among the Babylonians themselves there was no single name for the whole country until the third Babylonian dynasty (eighteenth to twelfth century B.C.), when the Kassite designation of a portion of the country as Karduniash was extended and adopted in the royal inscriptions as a general name for the country,—a use of the term that was retained throughout the whole period of the nation's history. The whole of Babylonia could also be expressed by the double title Šumēr and Akkad, which the Babylonians adopted from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of the land, Akkad designating the northern half of the country and Šumēr the southern half. The use of the former name was extended in the Neo-Babylonian period, and the word in such phrases as 'the king of Akkad' and 'the army of Akkad' was employed to designate the whole country. The terms *kibrat arba'im*, 'the four quarters,' and *kiššatu*, 'the world,' which occur in the royal titles *šar kibrat arba'im*, 'king of the four quarters,' and *šar kiššati*, 'king of the world,' were employed to express extensions of the Babylonian empire beyond the natural limits of the country (cp MESOPOTAMIA).

The natural features that bound the country of Babylonia are the Persian Gulf on the S., the Arabian desert on the W., and the Tigris on the E., while the limit from Assyria on the N. may be placed roughly at the line where the slightly elevated plain to the N. changes to the alluvial level. **2. Description.** At the present day Babylonia in the S. differs considerably in size and conformation from the ancient aspect of the country. The soil carried down by the Tigris and the Euphrates is considerable, and the alluvium so formed at the head of the Persian Gulf increases to-day at the rate of about a mile in seventy years; moreover, it is thought by some that the rate of formation was considerably more rapid in ancient times. Thus in the early period of Babylonian history the Persian Gulf extended some 120 to 130 miles further north than it extends at present, the Tigris and the Euphrates each entering the sea at a separate mouth. The country was thus protected on the S. by the sea, and on the W. by the desert which, rising a few feet above the plain of Babylonia, approached within thirty

[1] On Sammuramat the wife of Rammān-nirari (or Addu-nirari) III., see ASSYRIA, § 22. Apparently the only queen who reigned in her own right was Azaga-Bau or Bau-ēllit, in whose reign coins similar to those belonging to the time of Sargon of Akka'è and his son were engraved. The coins belong to a very early period.

miles of the Euphrates; and it was only from the N. and E. sides that it was open to invasion. From the mountainous country to the E., across the Tigris, the Kassite and Elamite tribes found it easy to descend upon the fertile Babylonian plain, while after the rise of the Assyrian empire the boundary between Assyria and Babylonia was constantly in dispute.

3. Cities. The principal cities of the country were situated in two groups: one in the north; the other in the south, nearer the sea. The southernmost city was Eridu, the modern Abu-Shahrein, situated on the Euphrates not far from the ancient coast-line of the Persian Gulf. To the W. of Abu-Shahrein the mound of Muḳayyar marks the site of the ancient city of Ur (see UR). Between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the NW. of Ur stood Larsam or Larsa, the modern Senkereh, and to the W. of Larsam the city of Erech, the remains of which are buried under the mounds of Warka. To the E. of Warka, on the E. bank of the Shaṭṭ-el-Hai, the mounds of Telloh[1] represent the city of Širpurla, or Lagaš (as it was known in the later period of its history); the two cities, Isin and Maru, the sites of which have not yet been identified with certainty, complete the list of the principal cities in the S. The N. group of cities consists of Babylon, situated on the Euphrates, near the modern town of Hillah (see BABYLON); Borsippa, marked by the mound of Birs-Nimrūd, not far from Babylon, on the SW.; Cuthah, the modern Tell-Ibrahim (see CUTHAH), to the N. of Babylon; Sippar, the modern Abu-Habbah; the city of Kiš, still nearer the metropolis; and Nippur, the modern Niffer (the southernmost city of the group), to the N. of the Shaṭṭ-en-Nīl. The site of the city of Agadê, which was in the northern half of the country, probably not far from Babylon, has not been satisfactorily identified.

4. Natural resources. The present state of the country differs considerably from that presented by it in ancient times. All ancient writers describe Babylonia as exceedingly fertile and producing enormous quantities of grain; but at the present day long neglect of cultivation has rendered the greater part of it an arid waste, varied in the neighbourhood of the rivers by large tracts of marsh land. There are still visible throughout the country embankments and trenches which mark the courses of ancient canals, by which the former dwellers in the land regulated their abundant water-supply, which was not allowed to swell the areas covered by the swamps, but was utilised for the systematic irrigation of the country. The whole land, in fact, was formerly intersected by a network of canals, and to the systematic irrigation of its alluvial soil may be traced the secret of Babylonia's former fertility.

The principal products of the country were wheat and dates. The former gave an enormous return. The latter supplied the Babylonians with wine, vinegar, and a species of flour for baking; from the sap of the date tree was obtained palm-sugar; ropes were made from its fibrous bark, and its wood furnished a light but tough building material. Wine was also obtained from the seed of the sesame plant; and barley, millet, and vetches were grown in large quantities. In addition to the palm, the cypress was common; poplars, acacias, and pomegranates grew in the neighbourhood of the streams; but the cultivation of the vine, and of oranges, apples, and pears, was artificial. The enormous reeds which abound in the swamps were used by the Babylonians for the construction of huts and light boats and for fencing round the fields.

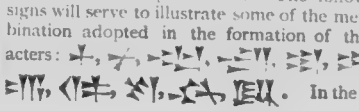
The domestic animals of the Babylonians were camels, horses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs; while the lion, the wild ox, the wild boar, and the jackal were the principal wild animals found in the country; gazelles and hares were not uncommon; a great variety of birds

[1] Perhaps = Tell Lôḥ.

haunted the marshes and the plains; and fish, principally barbel and carp, were abundant in the rivers.

5. Language, etc. The language spoken by both the Babylonians and the Assyrians is usually referred to as 'Assyrian.' It belongs to the northern group of the Semitic languages, claiming a closer relationship to Phœnician, Hebrew (see HEBREW LANGUAGE), Syriac, and the other Aramaic dialects (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE), than to the more southern group, which comprises the Sabæan or Himyaritic, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic tongues. But while in its nominal and verbal formations it exhibits the Semitic idea of inflection from roots, and while those roots themselves are found in the other Semitic languages, it has been subjected to a stronger foreign influence and has assimilated, to an extent that is not met with in any other of the Semitic languages, a considerable body of non-Semitic words and expressions. The influence exerted by the previous inhabitants of Babylonia upon their Semitic conquerors was indelible, and throughout their whole literature, especially in their mythological and religious compositions, words of non-Semitic origin are constantly met with.

6. Sounds. The language possessed the vowel sounds a, ā, e, ē, i, ī, u, ū, and the consonantal sounds b, g, d, z, ḫ, m, n, s, p, ṣ, ḳ, r, š, and t, representing the letters א, ב, ג, ד, ז, ח, ל, מ, נ, ס, פ, צ, ק, ר, ש, and ת. (*i.e.*, ך), ם, ן, ס, ף, ץ, and ן. The existence of the *e* sound in Assyrian has been questioned, and it is true that the signs containing *e* and *i* are constantly interchanged; but that the *e* sound was used, at least for a certain period, may be regarded as practically certain, for not only is it required to explain certain vowel-changes which occur, but it is also vouched for by the Greek and Hebrew forms of certain Babylonian words, and by the occurrence of some twelve signs in the syllabary, the existence of which is more naturally explained by the supposition that they contain the vowel *e*, than by the assumption that they are merely duplicates for certain other signs which undoubtedly contain the vowel *i*. The pronunciation of the consonants is in the main the same as that of the equivalent consonants in Hebrew. With regard to the pronunciation of the consonants *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, and *t*, it is possible that in Assyrian, as in Hebrew and Aramaic, they were pronounced as spirants when coming between two vowel sounds; in writing, however, no distinction is indicated. It may be noted, that, while the Assyrians made no distinction in their pronunciation of *k* and *ḳ*, the Babylonians pronounced the latter as *g*; that among the later Babylonians, at least, *m* appears to have been pronounced as *v*; and that the pronunciation of *š* by the Assyrians gradually approximated to *s*. The Semitic sounds represented by the Hebrew consonants א, ה, ו, ח (*i.e.*, כ), ע, and ע (*i.e.*, ע and ע), are not distinguished in the Assyrian syllabary, as will be apparent from the following examples given in transliteration, the equivalent roots in Hebrew or Arabic being added in parentheses: *akālu*, 'to eat' (אכל); *alāku*, 'to go' (הלך); *edēshu*, 'to be new' (חדש); *ebēru*, 'to cross' (עבר); *erēbu*, 'to enter' (ערב); *alādu*, 'to bear' (ילד); and *enēḳu*, 'to suck' (ינק). That these sounds were not distinguished is due to the fact that the Babylonians did not originate their own system of writing, but borrowed the system they found in use among the earlier inhabitants of the country.

7. Writing. This method of writing has been termed 'cuneiform,' since the wedge (Latin *cuneus*) forms the basis of the written character in the later periods of its development. Each character or sign, in fact, consists of a single wedge, or is made up of different kinds of wedges in various combinations, the wedges of most common occurrence being the upright wedge ▏, the horizontal wedge ▬, and the arrow head ⟨, while the sloping wedges ╲, ╱, and ⟋ occur in several characters. The characters are written from left to right, and, except in some poetical compositions, no space is necessarily left between the words; every line, however, with one or two isolated exceptions, ends with a complete word. The following Assyrian signs will serve to illustrate some of the methods of combination adopted in the formation of the later characters:  . In the earliest forms

of the writing, however, there is no trace of the wedge: the characters consist of straight lines. This is due to the fact that cuneiform was merely a descendant of a system of picture-writing.

8. Origin.

In the case of many of the characters which occur in the most ancient inscriptions it is still possible to recognise the original pictures which underlie them. For example the sign for 'heaven,' 'god,' 'high,' is a star with eight points, or possibly a circle intersected by four diameters; the sign for 'sun' is a rough circle representing the sun's disk; the sign for 'ox' is the head of an ox with horns; the sign for 'grain' is an ear of corn.

All the characters, however, did not descend from pictures. Some were formed artificially by combination. Thus the sign for 'water' when placed within that for 'mouth' gave a new sign with the meaning 'to drink'; the sign for food placed within the sign for 'mouth' gave a sign with the meaning 'to eat'; the sign for 'wild-ox' was formed by placing the sign for 'mountain' within that for 'ox'; while other signs were formed by writing a character twice or three times. Moreover, it is possible that the artificial formation of characters was customary to a considerable extent. According to a theory recently put forward by Delitzsch,[1] certain strokes and combinations of strokes to be traced in the oldest forms of many of the characters had a meaning inherent in themselves, and formed the motive on the basis of which the signs containing them were developed. This question, however, is one on which it is impossible to form a conclusion until more of the inscriptions of the earliest period, recently discovered, have been published.

In the later forms which the characters assumed the original lines gave way to wedges from the fact that the scribes employed extensively soft clay instead of stone as a material on which to write. A line formed by a single pressure of the style naturally assumed the form of a wedge, while the increased clearness and uniformity which resulted secured for the wedge its final adoption. In addition to the changes which occurred in the forms of the characters, there was a development in their signification. Originally representing complete words or ideas, they were gradually employed to express the sounds of the words they represented apart from their meaning; and thus were developed their syllabic values.

The Babylonians adopted this method of writing from the non-Semitic race (see below, §§ 43, 71 *d*) whom they found in possession of the country, and they adapted the system to their own idiom.

9. Principles.

To characters or groups of characters representing Sumerian words they assigned the Semitic words which were equivalent to them in meaning; they also employed the signs phonetically, the syllables they represented consisting either of a vowel and a consonant (simple syllables)—*e.g.*, *ba*, *id*, *su*—or of a vowel between two consonants (compound syllables)—*e.g.*, *mat*, *kit*, *lul*. The system was further complicated by the fact that the majority of signs were polyphonous—that is to say, they had more than one syllabic value and could be used as ideograms for more than one word. A sign, therefore, might be used in one of three ways: as a syllable in a word written phonetically, or as an ideogram for a complete word, or as one sign in a group of two or more signs which together formed an ideogram for a complete word.

That this mixed method of ideographic and phonetic writing was often found ambiguous is attested by the methods which the Babylonians took to simplify it. (1) One of these methods consisted in adding to a word what has been termed its *determinative*, a sign attached to a word to indicate the class of thing to which it refers. Thus a special sign was placed before male proper names, another before female proper names; the sign for 'god' was placed before the names of deities; the sign for 'country' regularly preceded the names of countries; similar determinatives were used before the names of cities, mountains, rivers, tribes, professions, woods, plants, stones, garments, vessels, certain animals, the names of the months, stars, etc., while in a few classes the determinative is placed after the word, as in the case of places, birds, fish, etc. A determinative was never pronounced; it was designed only as a guide to the reader, indicating the character of the word it accompanied. (2) Another aid to the reader consisted in adding to an ideogram what has been termed its *phonetic complement*—that is to say, the final syllable of the word for which it is intended. By this means the reader is not only assisted in assigning the correct word to the ideogram, but also, in the case of verbs, is enabled to detect with greater ease the stem and tense intended by the writer. Even with this assistance, the writing, with its list of more than five hundred characters, was necessarily complicated. The use of ideograms was never entirely given up, and, although in the Neo-Babylonian period simple syllables were employed in preference to compound syllables, the Assyrians and Babylonians never attained the further development of an alphabet.

The decipherment of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions resulted from the labours of scholars who had previously devoted themselves to the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions in old Persian.

10. Decipherment.

From the sixth to the fourth century B.C. the Persians made

[1] *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipsic, 1897).

use for their inscriptions of a character which they had borrowed originally from the Babylonians. Other nations of W. Asia also, such as the Susians and the people dwelling around Lake Van, borrowed from Babylon the idea of cuneiform writing, in some cases making use of the Babylonian characters, in others modifying them to a greater or less extent. The changes introduced by the Persians when they borrowed the idea of writing by means of wedges were considerable, for, instead of employing a set of several hundred characters representing syllables and complete words, they confined themselves to thirty-nine, each of which represented a single alphabetic value. Of the various systems of cuneiform writing, therefore, the Persian was by far the simplest. The Achæmenian kings who ruled in Persia at this period numbered among their subjects the peoples of Susia and Babylonia, these countries having by conquest been added to their empire. When, therefore, they set up an inscription recording their campaigns or building operations, they added, by the side of the Persian text, Susian and Babylonian translations inscribed in the cuneiform characters employed by these two nations. There are thus engraved on the palaces and rocks of Persia trilingual inscriptions in the old Persian, Susian, and Babylonian characters, and it will be obvious that as soon as one of these three characters could be read the way would be opened for the decipherment of the other two. Of the three the Persian, with its comparatively small number of signs, is (as we have said) the simplest, and it was therefore natural that it was the first to attract the serious attention of scholars.

Grotefend, in a paper published in 1802, supplied the key to a correct method of decipherment. Taking two short inscriptions in the old Persian character which Niebuhr had copied at Persepolis, he submitted them to an analysis. The inscriptions, he found, coincided throughout, with the exception of certain groups of characters, which, he conjectured, might represent proper names. On this assumption each inscription contained two proper names, the name of the king who set it up, and, it might be supposed, that of his father. But the name which occurred first in one inscription was the name which stood second in the other—that is to say, the three different groups of characters must represent the names of three monarchs following one another in direct succession. From the fact that the inscriptions were found in the ruins of Persepolis it might be concluded that their writers were Persian kings; and when he applied, by way of experiment, the three names Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, he found that they fitted the characters admirably. On his further deciphering the name of Cyrus he obtained correct values for more than a quarter of the alphabet.

11. Grotefend.

Of the forty Persian signs, of which one is merely a diagonal stroke employed for dividing the words from one another, Grotefend's first alphabet included thirty. He subsequently suggested values for thirty-five characters; but he did not improve upon his original alphabet. He correctly identified *a*, *u*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *r*, *s*, and *t*; his values *kh*, *dj*, and *th* were practically correct; and his *v* was not far off the correct value *b*. About 1822 St. Martin took up the investigation, working at the decipherment for the next ten years, but without much result; he identified *t* and *v*, however, and for the vowel *i*, which had been read as *o* by Grotefend, he gave the improved reading *y*. The characters for *m* and *n* were identified by Rask in 1826, and Burnouf in his memoir, published ten years later, identified *k*, *b*, and *z*, while his readings *q* and *gh* for two other characters were great improvements on the suggestions of Grotefend and St. Martin. In the same year Lassen produced his first alphabet, improvements on which he published in 1839 and 1844, in a few cases making use of the suggestions of Jacquet and Beer which had been published soon after the appearance of his first alphabet. He suggested correct readings for at least ten characters, and improved readings of some others. This final alphabet did not contain many incorrect identifications.

The scholar who did most, however, for the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions was the late Sir Henry Rawlinson. He first turned his attention to the subject in 1835, when stationed at Kirmanshah, on the western frontier of Persia. At that time he had only heard of Grotefend's discovery; he had not seen a copy of his alphabet, and did not even know on what inscriptions it had been based. Thus he began the work of decipherment from the beginning. For his first analysis he took two short inscriptions similar to those used for the purpose by Grotefend, which yielded him the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. During the next year he had increased his list of names by the correct identification of Arsames, Ariannes, Teispes, Achæmenes, and Persia. It was not until the autumn of 1836 that he first had an opportunity of seeing the works of Grotefend and St. Martin. Then he perceived that his own alphabet, based as it was on longer inscriptions, was far in advance of the results obtained by them. In 1837 he copied the greater part of the long inscription at Behistun, containing the annals of Darius, and forwarded a translation of the first two paragraphs to the Royal Asiatic Society; but next summer, while at Teheran, he heard that Burnouf's publication had meanwhile anticipated many of his improvements. In the autumn of 1838 he obtained the published copies of the Persepolitan inscriptions, and with the help of the allied languages of Sanscrit and Zend, analysed every word in the inscriptions that had up to that time been copied. He then found that Lassen's alphabet confirmed many of his own conclusions; but he obtained assistance from it in the case of only one character.

12. Rawlinson.

It will thus be seen that Rawlinson worked out the characters of the Persian alphabet for himself independently of his predecessors and contemporaries; but it was not on this achievement that he himself based his title to originality. He justly claims that, whereas his predecessors had succeeded only in reading a few proper names and royal titles, he had been the first to present to the world a correct grammatical translation of over two hundred lines of cuneiform writing. This translation was in the hands of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was being prepared for publication in 1839, when his duties in Afghanistan put an end to his studies for some years. It was not until 1845 that he found leisure to complete the work, in which year he published his memoir containing a complete translation of the whole Persian text of the Behistun inscription.[1]

Now that he had completed the decipherment of the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, Rawlinson turned his attention to the Babylonian cuneiform.

13. Babylonian. A comparison of the third column of the Behistun inscription with the now known Persian text occurring in the first column was the starting-point of his studies, and in 1851 he published the text and translation of the Babylonian part of this inscription, at the same time demonstrating the fact that the Babylonian characters were polyphonous. The historical inscriptions on cylinders, slabs, and stelai that had been found in Assyria and Babylonia meanwhile afforded ample material for study, and other workers lent their aid in the decipherment. In the years 1849-1852 Hincks contributed papers to the Royal Irish Academy. His most important discovery was the determination of the syllabic nature of Babylonian writing. Subsequently Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, and Oppert, while devoting themselves to the further interpretation of the historical inscriptions, classified the principal grammatical rules of the language, and so brought the work of decipherment to an end.

The earliest explorers of Babylonia did not undertake systematic excavation. They devoted themselves to

14. Excavations. surveying and describing the ruins that were still visible upon the surface. The most valuable memoirs on the subject are those on the site of Babylon compiled by Rich, who from 1808 till 1821 was the Hon. East India Company's resident at Baġdād. Systematic excavations were first undertaken in Babylonia during the years 1849-55, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson assisted by Loftus and Taylor.

In 1854 Rawlinson excavated at Birs Nimrūd near the Euphrates a few miles SW. of Ḥillah, a mound that marks the site of a great zikkurrat erected by Nebuchadrezzar II. within the boundaries of the ancient city of Borsippa. Here, in addition to tracing the plan of the building, he found fine cylinders recording Nebuchadrezzar's building operations. He also successfully excavated the mounds Ḳaṣr and Bābil, to the N. of Ḥillah, within the site of ancient Babylon; and during the same period excavations were conducted at the mound of Niffer to the SE. of Ḥillah, marking the site of the ancient city of Nippur, and in S. Babylonia at the mounds of Warka, the site of Erech, Senkereh the site of Larsa, and Muḳayyar the site of Ur. While Rawlinson was carrying on these extensive excavations, the French furnished an expedition which was placed under the direction of Fresnel and Oppert, and during the years 1851-54 did valuable service, especially in surveying and describing the site of the ancient city of Babylon. In 1878 the Trustees of the British Museum again undertook systematic excavations, which were continued down to the year 1883 under the direction of their agent H. Rassam. Excavations were undertaken in the neighbourhood of Ḥillah, at Tell-Ibrahīm, the site of the ancient city of Cuthah, and at Abu-Ḥabbah, the site of Sippar, where exceedingly rich finds of tablets and cylinders were made. The various expeditions of George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge resulted in the recovery of many Babylonian inscriptions. The French have obtained rich finds of sculptures and inscriptions of the early period at Telloh, in consequence of the exertions of de Sarzec, who, since his appointment as French vice-consul at Bassorah (*Basra*) in 1877, has devoted himself to the thorough excavation of the mounds that mark the site of the ancient city of Širpurla. The most recent excavations are those of the Americans at Niffer, which were begun in 1888; they were ably conducted by Haynes, and have only recently been discontinued.

With the exception of those at Telloh, the mounds of Babylonia, unlike those of ASSYRIA (*q.v.*, § 10), do not yield many sculptures or reliefs; but the excavations have enabled us to trace the history of the brick-built

[1] See *JRAS* 10.

palaces and temples, while the 'finds' comprise votive tablets of stone and inscribed alabaster vases, building inscriptions upon cylinders, and thousands of inscribed clay tablets, many of which are of great literary, historical, and scientific interest.

As the soil of Babylonia is alluvial, it is entirely without metals, and even without stone, both of which

15. Building. had to be imported from other countries. This scarcity of stone had a considerable influence on the character of Babylonian architecture. The difficulties of transport prohibited its adoption as a building material except to a very small extent, and as excellent clay was obtainable throughout the whole of Babylonia, all the temples and palaces as well as private dwellings were composed throughout of brick. The bricks were of two kinds, baked and unbaked. The former, though merely dried in the sun, formed a serviceable building-material, and in some cases entire buildings are composed of them. The usual practice, however, was to build the greater part of the structure of sun-dried bricks and then to face it with bricks dried in the kiln, the thin layer of harder material on the surface protecting the whole structure from rain and flood and change of temperature. Buildings of unburnt brick were often strengthened by thick layers of matting composed of reeds, while the interior structure of faced walls was in some cases strengthened at intervals by courses of baked brick. The bricks themselves vary considerably in size. Many of them were stamped with the name of the king for whose use they were made, which lends considerable aid in settling the date and history of many structures. For binding the bricks together two kinds of cement were employed, the one consisting of bitumen, the other of plain clay or mud, in some cases intermixed with chopped straw. The latter was used the more extensively, bitumen being employed only where there was special need of strength, as at the base of a building where injury from rain was to be feared (see BITUMEN). Conduits of baked bricks were employed for carrying off the water from the larger buildings (see also BRICK, § 4).

The principal building with the Babylonians was the *zikkurratu* or temple, consisting of a lofty structure

16. Temples. rising in huge stages one above the other, composed for the most part of solid brick and ascended by a staircase on the outside; the image of the god to whom it was dedicated was placed in the shrine at the top. The remains of these temple-towers at the present day are covered by huge mounds of earth and debris, and thus it is difficult to trace their plan and estimate their original dimensions. The larger ones, however, have been examined at different times. That at Warka, which at the present day rises more than a hundred feet above the plain, measures some two hundred feet square at its base, and consisted of at least two stories. The temple at Muḳayyar is built on a platform raised about twenty feet above the plain; it is in the form of a parallelogram, the sides measuring 198 ft. and 133 ft., and the angles pointing to the cardinal points. Only two stories are at present traceable, of which the lower one is strengthened by buttresses. The upper story does not rise from the centre of the lower, but is built rather at one end. There are said to have been traces on it, at the beginning of the century, of the chamber or shrine which may have originally contained the image of the god. The zikkurrat at Nippur is of a somewhat similar construction. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, on the NW. edge of a large platform, the four corners also pointing to the four cardinal points. In this temple three stages have been traced, and it is not probable that there were more. In the later Babylonian period the number of stages was increased, as in the temple of Bēl or Marduk at Babylonia, and that of Nabū at Borsippa, both of which were finally rebuilt with great magnificence by Nebuchadrezzar II. (see BABYLON, NEBUCHAD-

MEZZAR). Rising on their platforms high above the houses of the city and the surrounding plain, these ancient temples must have been impressive, though in the early period they were entirely without ornament or colour.

17. Other buildings. The remains of but few Babylonian palaces have been unearthed, that at Telloh being the one belonging to the early period that has been most systematically excavated, while the finest example of the later period is the palace of Nebuchadrezzar at Babylon with its hanging gardens (see BABYLON, § 5 f.). Of the domestic architecture of the Babylonians not many remains have been recovered.

18. Art. The site from which the finest examples of early Babylonian art have been obtained is Telloh, where excavations have afforded evidence of an art so highly developed that its origin must be set back at least 2000 years before the consolidation of the Semitic kingdom of Babylonia (see below, § 54). Large seated statues, in diorite, of Ur-Bau and Gudea, carved in the round, stone slabs and plates sculptured in relief, small figures and carvings in marble, stone, ivory, and bronze, bronze and silver vessels, cylinder-seals, and ornaments of various kinds attest the skill of these early Sumerian artists, who were the teachers of the Semites by whom they were eventually displaced.

At a later period the Babylonians ornamented the interior of their palaces and houses by covering the brickwork with plaster, on which they painted; or they coated the walls with enamelled bricks. The development of sculpture, however, unlike that of Assyria, was hampered by the lack of material in which to work, and it is not surprising that the carvings that have come down to us never approach the level attained by the reliefs of the later Assyrian kings.

19. Literature. Of the many thousands of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions that have been recovered only a small proportion can be classified as literature in the strict sense of the term. Perhaps the largest section of the inscriptions consists of the contract tablets, which throw an interesting light on the social and commercial life of the people, but in no single instance can be regarded as of literary value.[1] Similarly the many texts of a magical and astrological nature (see below, § 33 f.), tablets containing forecasts and omens, tablets prescribing offerings and ceremonies to be performed before the gods (§ 30), can hardly take rank as literature, though their classification and study is leading to a more accurate knowledge of Babylonian religion and belief; while the great body of letters and despatches dealing with both public and private affairs, written as most of them are in a terse, abbreviated style, are worthy of study from a philological rather than a literary standpoint.[2]

When all these deductions have been made, however there remains a considerable number of texts on the basis of which the Babylonians and Assyrians may justly lay claim to the possession of a literature consisting of both poetry and prose.

20. Poetry. The principal examples of Babylonian poetry are presented by the legends,[3] the majority of which are written throughout in metre, by mythological and religious compositions and penitential psalms, many of which are composed in Sumerian with interlinear Assyrian translations, and by the many prayers, hymns, incantations, and litanies

[1] See Oppert and Menant, *Documents juridiques* (Paris, 1877); Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte* (Leipsic, 1899, etc.); Meissner, *Beitr. zum altbab. Privatrecht* (Leipsic, 1893); and *KB* 4.

[2] See Budge and Bezold, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1892); Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893); *KB* 5; Del. *Beitr. z. Assyr.* 1; and R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London, 1892, etc.).

[3] See George Smith, *Chaldean Genesis* (London, 1880); IV. R; Haupt, *Bab. Nimrodepos* (Leipsic, 1884); E. T. Harper, *Beitr. z. Assyr.* 2; Jeremias, *Izdubar Nimrod* (Leipsic, 1891); Jensen, *Kosmologie* (Strassburg, 1890); Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpf.* (Gött., 1895); and Del. *Abh. d. Königl. Sächs. Gesells. d. Wiss.*, Bd. 17, n. 2 (1896).

which occur on tablets by themselves, or are preserved in the ritual texts interspersed with directions for the performance of ceremonies.[1] It has long been recognised that Babylonian poetical compositions, like those of the Hebrews, are written in a rough metre consisting of verse and half-verse, the Babylonian scribes frequently emphasising the central division of the verse in the compositions they copied by writing its two halves in separate columns. More recently it has been pointed out[2] that in many compositions, in addition to this central division, each verse is divided by a definite number of accented syllables or rhythmical beats.

The feet or divisions so formed do not contain a fixed number of syllables, but consist of a single word or of not more than two or three short words closely connected with each other, such as prepositions and the substantives to which they are attached, words joined by the construct state, etc., the metre in some tablets being indicated by blank spaces left by the scribe. The commonest metre is that consisting of four divisions, in which the two halves of the verse are each subdivided; but this, in many texts, especially in some of the prayers, is interrupted at irregular intervals by a line of only three feet.

In many of the legends, moreover, the single verses are combined both by sense and by rhythm into strophes consisting of four or two lines each.

The best examples of Assyrian and Babylonian prose are the longer historical inscriptions belonging to the later periods.

21. Historical inscriptions. This class of inscription demands a more detailed treatment. Apart from its literary value, it is the principal source of our knowledge of the history of the Babylonians and Assyrians themselves, and supplements and supports in many particulars the biblical narrative of the relations of Israel and Judah to their more powerful neighbours.

Unlike all other classes of inscriptions, which were written with a style on tablets made of clay, the historical inscriptions assume a variety of forms. The shortest form consists merely of a king's name and titles, which are stamped or inscribed on bricks built into the structure of a temple or palace which he had erected or restored. In some cases the actual stamps that were used for this purpose have been recovered. Similar short inscriptions were engraved during the old Babylonian period on door-sockets of stone. Another class of short inscription records the dedication of temples on their erection or when they have been rebuilt; these are frequently written on clay cones fashioned in the form of pegs or nails, which may very possibly have had a phallic significance. The cones of Gudea and Ur-Bau are those most frequently met with, while clay cones of different shapes were engraved by Mul-Babbar, patesi of Isban, Sin-gāšid, Kudur-Mabug and other early Babylonian kings; cones of bronze, ornamented with the figure of a god clasping the thicker end, have also been found at Telloh. Dedicatory inscriptions were also written on circular stones, perforated through the centre; when these are small they are usually described as 'mace-heads'; but the use to which the larger ones were put has not been ascertained. The 'mace-heads' of Sargon I., Maništusu, and Nammaghani are good examples of the former class. Small square tablets of diorite, but more commonly larger oblong tablets of limestone inscribed on both sides, were employed for votive inscriptions; those of Rim-Aku and of his wife, of Hammu-rabi and of Samsu-iluna, are particularly fine examples of this class of inscription. In the later Babylonian period, when such a votive inscription of an early Babylonian king was found in the ruins or ancient archives of a temple, a pious Babylonian would frequently have an accurate copy of it made in clay,

[1] See IV. R; Haupt, *Akk. und sum. Keilschrifttexte* (Leipsic, 1881-2); Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalms.* (Leipsic, 1885) and *Šurpu* (Leipsic, 1896); Brunnow, *ZA* 4 f.; Knüdtzon, *Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott* (Leipsic, 1893); Tallqvist, *Maqlû* (Leipsic, 1895); King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896); and Craig, *Rel. Texts* (Leipsic, 1895-7).

[2] Zimmern, *ZA* 8 and 10.

which he placed as an offering in one of the temples in Babylon. Several archaic inscriptions have thus been preserved in Neo-Babylonian copies. The famous stone-tablet recording the endowment of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar by Nabû-pal-iddina, which was found in a clay coffer with the sculptured portion protected by clay shields provided for it by Nabopolassar nearly three hundred years after it was engraved, is unique.

Clay vases and bowls were employed by some of the Assyrian kings for recording their building operations, the inscriptions running in parallel lines round the outside, while vases of alabaster which were presented to the temples frequently bore the name and titles of the king who dedicated them. Inscriptions on statues are not frequently met with in the later periods of Babylonian and Assyrian history, the short inscriptions on the statues of Aśur-nasir-pal, the longer inscription on the seated figure of Shalmaneser II., and those on the two large figures of the god Nebo, being the principal examples; at Telloh, however, long inscriptions of the non-Semitic kings Gudea and Ur-Bau are found engraved on their statues of diorite. Slabs of stone, marble, and alabaster were employed for longer historical inscriptions. These were sometimes treated as tablets and engraved on both sides, as in the memorial tablets of Ramman-nirari I.; but more frequently they were intended as monuments, and set up in the palaces of the kings who made them; parts of many are decorated with sculpture, and in some instances with portraits in relief of the king whose deeds they record. The later Assyrian kings also engraved their records on the colossal winged bulls and lions that flanked the entrances to their palaces, and by the side of, and even upon, the bas-reliefs which lined their walls. In some places on the borders of Assyria, as in the district of Lebanon and at the source of the Tigris, inscriptions to record the farthest point reached by some military expedition were engraved in the living rock.

Clay, however, was the material most extensively employed, and for the longer historical inscriptions

22. Clay prisms, etc. some form of prism or cylinder was found to offer the greatest amount of surface in the most compact form; the two earliest prisms that have been discovered are those of Gudea, each of which contains about two thousand lines of writing.

The annals of several of the Assyrian kings also were inscribed on clay prisms, good examples of which are the four eight-sided prisms[1] of Tiglath-pileser I. (see ASSYRIA, § 28), the famous six-sided 'Taylor' prism[2] of Sennacherib, which contains an account of his siege of Jerusalem (see SENNACHERIB), the six-sided prisms[3] of ESARHADDON (*q.v.*), and the fine ten-sided prisms[4] of Aśur-bāni-pal.

Small barrel-cylinders were employed by some of the Assyrian kings, including Sargon, Esarhaddon, Aśur-bāni-pal, and Sin-śar-iśkun, and larger ones, containing accounts of his first three campaigns, by Sennacherib. Barrel-cylinders, however, are principally associated with the later Babylonian kings. Most of them contain accounts of the building operations of NEBUCHADREZZAR II. (*q.v.*) and Nabonidus. The two latest barrel-cylinders that have been recovered are those of Cyrus (see below, § 69), describing his taking of Babylon (538 B.C.), and of Antiochus-Soter (280-270 B.C.), recording his rebuilding of the temple of E-zida in Borsippa.

Large clay tablets with one, two, or three columns of writing on each side were employed for long historical inscriptions. Among the best examples are the tablets of Tiglath-pileser III., which were found in the SE. palace at Nimrûd, the tablet of Esarhaddon inscribed with his genealogy and an account of his building operations, the tablet giving an account of Aśur-bāni-pal's accession to the throne of Assyria, and of the installation of his brother as viceroy of Babylon, and those recording Aśur-bāni-pal's conquests in Arabia and Elam, his campaigns in Egypt, and the embassy of Gyges, king of Lydia.

The Assyrians and Babylonians themselves were ardent students of their own literature, compiling cata-

23. Research. logues of their principal literary compositions, and writing explanatory tablets and commentaries on many of the more difficult texts. Their language itself and their method of writing

[1] Translation in *KB* 1 14-48. [2] Translation in *KB* 2 80-117.
[3] Translation in *KB* 2 124-140. [4] Translation in *KB* 2 152-236.

were studied in detail, archaic forms of characters being collected into lists and traced back to the pictures from which they originally sprang. Syllabaries giving the values of the characters in Sumerian, and their Assyrian names and meanings, were compiled. Collections of grammatical paradigms for every class of tablet were made for the use of beginners; examples of verbal formations were collected and classified; and explanatory lists of ideographs were made, arranged in some instances according to the forms of the characters with which they began or ended, in others according to the meanings or roots of their Assyrian equivalents. Perhaps the most interesting of the grammatical tablets are the lists of synonymous words, which served the purpose of a modern dictionary.

The most notable scientific achievements of the Babylonians were their knowledge of astronomy and

24. Astronomy. their method of reckoning time. These two achievements are to a great extent connected with each other, for it was owing to their astronomical knowledge that the Babylonians were enabled to form a calendar. From the earliest times, in fact, the Babylonians divided the year into months, partly of thirty and partly of twenty-nine days, and by means of intercalary months they brought their lunar and their solar year into harmony with each other. Their achievements in astronomy are the more remarkable as their knowledge of mathematics was not extraordinary: though we possess tablets containing correct calculations of square and cube roots, most of their calculations, even in the later astronomical tablets, are based principally on addition and subtraction.

Herodotus and other ancient writers concur in tracing to Babylonia the origin of the science of astronomy, as known to the ancient nations of Europe and W. Asia. In more recent times some scholars have asserted, with less probability, that Indian and Chinese astronomers also obtained their knowledge, in the first instance, from Babylon. That the Babylonians themselves took astronomical observations from the earliest periods of their history is attested by general tradition; and, though the forms this tradition assumed sometimes exhibit extraordinary exaggeration,—as in the calculations referred to by Pliny, according to one of which the Babylonians possessed records of astronomical calculations for 490,000 years, and according to another for 720,000 years, there is not sufficient reason for rejecting the tradition as having no substratum of truth, and it is not improbable that the Babylonians, even before the era of Sargon I., were watching the stars and laying the foundations of the science. The first observations naturally belonged rather to the practice of astrology and can hardly be reckoned as scientific, and it is not until the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history that we meet with tablets containing astronomical as opposed to astrological observations.

The Assyrians made their observations from specially constructed observatories, which were not improbably connected with the temples; the observatory was termed a *bît tamarti*, or 'house of observation'; and we possess the reports of the astronomers sent from these observatories to the king recording successful and unsuccessful observations of the moon, the unsuccessful observation of an expected eclipse, the date of the vernal equinox, etc. The astronomers, as a rule, sign their names in the reports, and from this source we know that there were important astronomical schools at Aśur, Nineveh, and Arbēla in the seventh and eighth centuries B.C.; the many fragments of tablets containing lists of stars, observations, and calendars, which date from the same period, are, however, of an astrological rather than a scientific character.

Although we first meet with astronomical inscriptions on Assyrian tablets, it is probable that the Assyrians derived their knowledge originally from Babylonia, and we may see an indication of this origin in a fragment of

an Assyrian commentary referring to an astronomical inscription which had been brought to Assyria from the ancient city of Agadê. At a later period there were important schools of astronomy in Babylonia, at Sippar, Borsippa, and Orchoe; but it is from inscriptions obtained from the site of the first of these three cities alone that our knowledge of Babylonian astronomy is principally derived. Excavations undertaken at Abū-Habbah, the site of Sippar, resulted in the discovery of many fragments of astronomical tablets (belonging principally to the Seleucid and Arsacid eras) written in the later cursive Babylonian; and these, though in but few instances unbroken, have sufficed to vindicate the scientific character of Babylonian astronomy. Though the Babylonians may have had no correct conception of the solar system, they had, at least in the later period of their history, arrived at the conclusion that the movements of the heavenly bodies were governed by laws and were amenable to calculation; and from the tablets we gather that they both observed and calculated the time of the appearance of the new moon and the periodical occurrence of lunar and solar eclipses, that they noted the courses of the planets, and that they included in their observations certain of the principal constellations and fixed stars.

25. Religion: its general character.

As in all primitive religions, the gods of Babylonia were in their origin personifications of the forces of nature. The various phenomena of the world were not regarded as the result of natural laws. They were explained as due to the arbitrary action of mysterious beings of more than human power. The tempest with its thunder and lightning was mysterious—it must therefore be the work of a god; the light of the sun is the gift of the god, to whose unwearying exertion its movements in heaven are due; heaven itself is a realm as solid as the earth on which men walk; and each must be controlled by its own peculiar deity. In fact, Babylonian religion was a worship of nature in all its parts, each part the province of a deity, friendly or hostile to man, subject to human passions, and, like man, endowed with the powers of thought and speech. Many of the gods resembled mankind in having human bodies; some resembled animals; and others were monsters, partly man and partly beast. They differed from man in the possession of superhuman powers; but no one deity was all-powerful. The authority, even of the greater gods, was specialised, and beneath them were a host of demons endowed with various qualities, but of more narrowly limited influence.

Such is the general character of the Babylonian pantheon regarded as a whole; but it was not in the mass that the Babylonians themselves worshipped their gods, and this fact serves to explain the varying theology presented by the Babylonian religious texts. Every city, for example, had its own special god (cp § 68), who was not only the god of that city but also, for its inhabitants, the greatest of the gods; so too in the temple of any god a worshipper could address him in terms of the highest praise, and ascribe to him the loftiest attributes, without in any way violating the canons of his creed, and with no danger of raising the jealousy or wrath of other deities. In fact, in the Babylonian system, there was no accurately determined hierarchy, and the rank and order of the various deities was not strictly defined, but varied at different periods and in the different cities throughout the land. The tolerant nature of the Babylonian deities and the elasticity of their character explain the ease with which foreign deities were adopted and assimilated by the pantheon, while the origin of this elasticity may be traced back to the mixture of races from which the Babylonian nation sprang.

In spite of the varying nature of the Babylonian pantheon, it is still possible to sketch the general character and attributes of the principal Babylonian

deities. At the head of the pantheon, from the earliest period, stood a powerful triad consisting of Anu, the god

26. The gods.

of heaven, Bēl, the god of the earth, and Ea, the god of the abyss and of hidden knowledge. Next in order comes a second triad, comprising the two chief light-gods and the god of the atmosphere; *i.e.*, Sin, the Moon-god, Šamaš, the Sun-god, and Rammān, the god of storm, thunder and lightning, clouds and rain. All of these gods had their own cities, which were especially devoted to their worship. Thus the worship of Anu was centred at Erech, that of Bēl at Nippur, and that of Ea at Eridu; the oldest seat of the worship of Sin was Ur, though in Harrān also there was an important temple of the Moon-god; and the cities of Larsa and Sippar were the principal centres of the Sun-god's worship. The city-god of Babylon was Marduk, whose importance in the pantheon increased as that city became the capital of the country, until in process of time he came to be identified with Bēl, 'the lord' *par excellence*. The nearness of Borsippa to the capital explains the close connection of Nabū, its city-god, with Marduk, whose attendant and minister he is represented to have been. The god Ninib, whose name is read by some as Adar, was of solar origin; the fire-god, who plays an important part in the magical beliefs and ceremonies of the Babylonians, was Nusku; and the god of battle was Nergal, the centre of whose worship was at Cuthah.

The Babylonian goddesses were in most cases of minor importance; they were overshadowed by the male deities with whom they were connected, and the principal function of each was to become the mother of other gods. In some cases their very names betray their secondary importance, as in that of Anatu, the spouse of Anu, and that of Bēlit, the spouse of Bēl. The spouse of Ea was Damkina; Ningal was the lady of the Moon-god, Ai of Šamaš, Sala of Rammān, Tašmētu of Nabū, Gula of Ninib, and Laz of Nergal.

The relationships of the gods to one another are not accurately determined, in some cases contradictory traditions having been handed down; Sin, Šamaš, and Ninib, however, were regarded as the children of Bēl, though Šamaš also passed as the son of Sin and Ningal, Marduk was the son of Ea, and Nabū the son of Marduk.

On a different plane from the other goddesses stands Ištar, one of the most powerful deities in the pantheon. She appears in two distinct characters, under which she assumes different titles, and is credited with different genealogies. As the goddess of battle she was hailed as Anunitu, the daughter of Sin and Ningal, and was worshipped at Agadê and at Sippar of Anunitu; as the goddess of love she was termed Bēlit-ilāni, the daughter of Anu and Anatu, and the chief seat of her worship was the temple of E-ana at Erech; it was here that the unchaste rites, referred to by Herodotus as having been paid to the goddess Mylitta, with whom Ištar is to be identified, were performed. Her name was connected in legend with Dumuzi or Tammūz, her youthful lover, on whose death, it is related, she descended to the lower world to recover him.

The conception of the Babylonian deities as actual personalities endowed with the bodies and swayed by the passions of mankind, and related to one another by human bonds of kindred, was not inconsistent with the other and more abstract side of their character which underlay and was to a great extent the origin of the human attributes with which they were credited. Thus, the return of Tammūz and Ištar to earth was the mythological conception of the yearly return of spring. Moreover, as each force in nature varies in its action at different seasons, so each of its manifestations may be connected with a separate deity. The attributes of several gods can thus be traced to a solar origin. Whilst Šamaš represented the sun in general, special manifestations of his power were connected with other deities; Nergal, the god of war, for example, represents

the sun's destructive heat in summer and at noon-day. Nimib the sun on the horizon at sunrise and sunset, and Marduk, the special friend of man, its temperate heat in the morning and in spring. The aspect of the heavens at night also plays a considerable part in the origin of the gods of Babylonia. Thus each of the planets was connected with one of the greater gods: the fixed stars represented lesser deities, and Bel and Ea, though ruling the earth and the abyss, also had astrological characters, in virtue of which they divided with Anu the control of the sky.

The worship of their deities by the Babylonians was attended by a complicated system of ritual and ceremony.

27. Temples. It formed one of the most important aspects of the national life, and, as their temples were the largest of their buildings, so the priests were the most powerful class in the community. In each city the largest and most important temple was that devoted to the city-god. Thus the chief temple at Babylon was E-sagila, the centre of the worship of Marduk; the great temple at Borsippa was E-zida, the temple of Nabû; the principal temple at Nippur was E-kur, the centre of Bel's worship; and E-hul-hul the temple of the Moon god at Harran, E-barra the temple of Šamaš both at Sippar and at Larsa, and E-ana the temple of Istar at Erech, were the principal temples in each of these cities. Situated on a lofty platform and rising stage upon stage, these ziggurats or temple-towers dominated the surrounding houses, and were more imposing than the royal palaces themselves. At the summit of each the image of the god reposed in his shrine, and around its base clustered the temple offices and the dwellings of the priests. To each temple was attached a trained and organised priesthood, devoted exclusively to the worship of its god, and preserving its own ritual and body of tradition. The temples were under the direct patronage of the kings, who prided themselves on the rebuilding and restoration of their fabrics as much as on the successful issue of their campaigns, while the priesthoods were supported by regular and appointed offerings in addition to the revenues they drew from the lands and property with which the temples were endowed.

28. Priests. The influence of the priests upon the people was exerted from many sides, for not only were they the god's representatives, whose services were required for any act of worship or intercession, but they also regulated and controlled all departments of civil life. They represented the learned section of the nation, and in all probability the scribes belonged entirely to the priestly class. They composed and preserved the national records, and although some of the later Assyrian kings collected libraries in their palaces, this was probably accomplished only with the co-operation of the priesthood and by drawing on the collections of tablets preserved in the great temples throughout the country.

A still more powerful influence was exerted by the priests on the common people in connection with their social life and commercial transactions, inasmuch as the administration of the law was in their hands.

The religious functions discharged by the priesthood were twofold. On the one hand, they carried out the regular sacrifices and services of the temple to which they were attached; on the other, they were always at the service of any one who wished to present an offering or make intercession in his own behalf. In their former capacity they celebrated regular feast-days in every month as well as the great festivals of the year, such as the New Year; in the latter their ministrations were more personal, and consisted in introducing the individual suppliant into the presence of the deity and performing for him the necessary rites.

29. Claims of religion. Every Babylonian had his own god and goddess, to whose worship he dedicated himself. They, in return, were his patrons and protectors. When any misfortune happened to

him it was a sure sign that his god and goddess were angry and had removed from him their countenance and protection, and in such a predicament he would have recourse to the temple of one of the greater gods whose influence he would invoke for his restoration to the favour of his patron deities. The protection of his god and goddess were necessary to preserve a man from the spiritual dangers that surrounded him, for he believed that on every side were evil gods, spirits, demons, and spectres, who were waiting for any opportunity he might give them to injure him. Any sickness or misfortune, in fact, he regarded as due to a spell cast upon him which had its origin in one of several causes. It might be the result of an act of sin or impurity committed by him with or without his own knowledge; or it was the work of an evil spirit or demon; or, finally, it was due to the machinations of a sorcerer or sorceress. Whatever its cause, his only hope of recovery lay in recourse to the priests, through whom he could approach one of the gods.

From the carvings on Babylonian cylinder-seals we know the attitude that the suppliant must assume when led into the presence of the god.

30. Religious observances. He is represented as standing with both hands raised before him, or, with one hand raised, he is being led forward by the priest, who grasps the other. The penitential psalms and incantations preserved on tablets from the library of Asur-bani-pal indicate the general character of the petitions he must make, consisting of invocations of the deity addressed, confessions of sin, and prayers for assistance, recited partly by the priest and partly by the suppliant himself. Many tablets record the offerings that must be made before the gods, comprising oxen, sheep, lambs, birds, fish, bread, dates, butter, honey, oil, date wine, sesame wine, pieces of precious woods, gold, jewels, and precious stones, plants, herbs, and flowers. Many magical rites and ceremonies were performed by the priests, such as the knotting and unknotting of coloured threads, the burning of small images made of a variety of substances, including bronze, clay, bitumen, plaster, wood, and honey, to the accompaniment of incantations; the throwing into a bright fire of certain substances, such as a fleece, a goat-skin, a piece of wool, certain seeds or a pod of garlic, a special form of words being recited by the priest as he performed the rite; the dropping of certain substances into oil and the pouring out of libations. Such ceremonies and rites were not regarded as symbolical, but were supposed to be sufficient in themselves to secure the suppliant's release from the spell or ban to which his sufferings or misfortunes were due.

The prediction of future events also plays an important part in the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

31. Augury. So far from being carried on in secret and by a few isolated soothsayers, augury was practised as a science by a large and organised body of the priesthood under the direct control and patronage of the king. This being the case, it is not surprising that a considerable portion of the native literature deals with the subject of omens and forecasts. Almost every event of common life was regarded by the pious Babylonian as perhaps a favourable or unfavourable sign requiring the interpretation of an expert, and necessitating a journey to the temple. Those whose duty it was to furnish the interpretation of such an event did not necessarily pretend to second sight or rely on a vision or any divine communication; their answer was based on their own knowledge, acquired by special training and study. In the course of time all events and the consequences said to result from them had been written down; the tablets on which they were inscribed had been divided into classes according to the subjects of their contents; and many were collected into series. Thus an important temple would contain a small library dealing with the subject, requiring to be mastered by

the novice and alwa[illegible] a hand for the consultation of the augurs themselve. Many of these tablets have been preserved, and it is to them that we owe our knowledge of this important department of Babylonian religion.

The text of an omen-tablet consists of short sentences, each of which generally occupies one line of the tablet

32. Omen-tablets. The construction of the sentence is invariably the same, and may be rendered by the following formula: "when [illegible] so and so is the case, such and such an event will happen." There are, therefore, two ways in which we may classify an omen, either by its protasis or its apodosis. Regarded from the latter point of view all omens may be roughly divided into those that relate to public affairs and those that relate to the fortunes of an individual. Thus certain occurrences may be looked upon as foretelling the death of the king or the future condition of the country, whether there will be a plentiful harvest or a famine, whether there will be war or peace, and if war, in what quarter it may be expected. Those which relate to private affairs, on the other hand, concern themselves with the health, sickness, or death of a man or of his wife or child, or forete[illegible] the stability or destruction of his house. Some few tablets [illegible] relate to [illegible] such as those which [illegible] disorders that may happen to women during pregnancy; but in the m[illegible] of omen texts the apodosis is couched in general terms and the same phrases [illegible] In fact, the events foretold are not very many and may [illegible] be classed under the heads of death and [illegible] and health [illegible] and poverty, war and peace, the prolongation [illegible] a [illegible] life and [illegible] the [illegible] of a man's death [illegible] In the protasis on the other hand, we find an almost bewildering variety of subjects, which [illegible] of [illegible] What is perhaps the largest section contains [illegible] the phenomena of human birth, the predictions being based on the manner of delivery and on the appearance of the child; and not only were [illegible] and the births of monstrosities regarded as of prophetic import, but variations in the [illegible] of normal offspring also formed the basis of prediction.

Different parts of the body of a newly-born child are dealt with independently, and to have grasped correctly the signi[illegible]ance of every part must have required a long course of training and study of the tablets. The state of the eyes or the hair, the position and size of the ears, mouth, hands and feet, the resemblance of the face to that of certain animals, were all carefully considered. The parturition of animals also was made a special study, the appearance of the off-spring of lions, oxen, horses, and other animals, the colour of their hair and the number and position of their limbs, being regarded as significant. Omens were drawn from the appearance of the various parts of the body of an adult, male or female, especially in sickness, such as the state and colour of the eyes, the ears, and the hair, the state of the heart, the lungs, the buttocks, and other members of the body, the resemblance of the head to that of a bird or beast, the condition of the urine, etc.; with a view to predictions, studies were also made of the actions of a man, such as that of eating, and certain other of his natural functions. Another large class of omens were drawn from the appearance of animals, such as the colour of the horns of oxen and the direction in which they [illegible] while the actions of certain animals (pigs, horses, etc.) were likewise studied. If a man is walking and wishes to know the future he must notice the direction in which an animal moves round him, and he must note if a lion, or a hyena, or a bird crosses his path. If he sees a snake at the entrance of a gate or at the doors of a temple, or dogs and calves as he is going out of a door, he must visit the augur for an interpretation. The appearance of animals, snakes, or scorpions in a man's house, or in a palace or a temple, was of significance, while the sting of a scorpion was a warning of various events, different results following from stings in different toes. The appearance and flight of birds were exhaustively treated, and a man was wise if he did not disregard the flappings of a bird's wing and did not fail to observe the direction in which it flew should it flutter round his head. Another class of omens laid stress on the locality of certain events: those occurring in cities and streets received a treatment different from that of occurrences in the houses in open country. Predictions were made from the state of the house, its walls, etc., and even from the state of the furniture which it contained. The time of the events or observations was in some instances considered important, and in these cases the month and day were specially noted.

As omens were taken from so many common objects and occurrences, it was natural that dreams and visions

33. Dreams. should be regarded as indications of future prosperity or misfortune, and that the objects or animals a man might behold in a dream had each a different signification. Thus, if he beheld in his dream certain people, or seemed to be fighting with a relation, such as his father or grandfather, the visions had a special meaning, while the fact that the person he fought with was alive or dead at the time was [illegible] importance; apparitions of spectres and deities in a house were indicative of the future. In the majority of omens the conditions on which they were [illegible] chance occurrences and events; it was, however, possible to obtain information as to the future by artificial means, such as by observing the entrails of victims, by kindling fire on an altar and noting the direction in which the smoke rose, or by observing the flickering of the flame of a lamp.

With omens it is difficult to say how far the facts on which the predictions were based were merely signs of

34. Astrology. prosperity or misfortune which would come in any case, and how far they were regarded as in themselves the actual cause of such prosperity or misfortune. In the case of astrological forecasts, however, which are closely connected with the omens, it seems probable that the latter concept[illegible] preponderated. The astrological phenomena [illegible] mentioned were not merely passive [illegible] future, but active forces influencing the lives and [illegible] of the individual and the state. The practice of astrology was based principally on observations of the sun and moon and stars, their relative positions at different times, and the various combinations presented by them. Another large body of forecasts was based on eclipses of the sun and moon, the results varying with the time of the eclipse, the appearance of the sun and moon during the eclipse, and the direction in which the shadow travels. Forecasts were based also on the appearance of meteors and shooting stars, on observations of lightning, clouds, and rain, on the direction of the wind, on the various directions in which a cloud may travel, and on the colour and shape of clouds and their resemblance to animals, fishes, ships, etc. As in the case of the omen tablets, the Babylonians possessed a great body of astrological literature; observations and forecasts in course of time were collected, grouped, and classified; and large works upon the subject were copied out on consecutive tablets for the training and use of the astrologers. Many tablets belonging to these larger works have come down to us; there are also preserved in the British Museum small oblong tablets containing the answers of astrologers who had been consulted as to the future, as well as their reports on recent astrological observations and the interpretation to be set on them.

Around the figures of their gods the Babylonians wove tales and legends, which, originating in remote antiquity,

35. Mythology. were handed down through countless generations, being added to and modified by the hands through which they passed. They were collected and arranged during the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history, and it is in these comparatively recent forms that they are preserved in the literature that has come down to us. It is true that the tablets containing the legends of Adapa and of the goddess Eriskigal were found at Tell el-Amarna and date from the fifteenth century B.C.; but not one of the tablets containing the other legends is earlier than the seventh century B.C. The antiquity of the legends themselves, however, is amply attested by the divergent forms which in some cases the same legend assumes, as related on different tablets belonging to the later Assyrian and Babylonian periods, or referred to in the works of classical writers. An additional interest attaches to two sections of the legendary literature of Babylon from their close resemblance to the narrative of the early part of

Genesis, relating to the creation and the deluge. Whether we are to trace the ultimate origin of both the Babylonian and the Hebrew versions of the legends to the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia need not concern us here. The contents of these legends and their relation to the Hebrew narratives [illegible] also be [illegible] elsewhere (see CREATION, [illegible], ADAM, EVE, NOAH). The legend of the creation and [illegible] of Cyrus [illegible] [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

of the 'Synchronous History' for certain portions of the third dynasty. Finally, (4) the 'Synchronous History'[1] (see ASSYRIA, § 21, beg.) itself connects the history of Babylonia with that of Assyria, with certain breaks, from about 1480 to 810 B.C.

For the third period of the history the succession of the kings is known from the Ptolemaic Canon, which, in addition to the names of the kings, gives the lengths of their respective reigns; and the information so obtained is controlled by the many Babylonian contract tablets which have been found dated according to their regnal years.

39. Third period.

The history of Babylonia falls naturally into three main periods. The first period comprises the history of the country from the earliest times down to the consolidation of its various elements into a single empire ruled by Semitic kings with their capital at Babylon. The second period begins with the first dynasty of Babylon, to whose greatest king, Hammurabi, was principally due the consolidation of the Babylonian empire, and extends to the fall of the power of Assyria, whose later kings included Babylonia in their dominions. The third period comprises the history of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

40. Historical periods.

The length of the first period can only be approximately determined, for it reaches back into remote antiquity; the second period deals with the history of some seventeen hundred years, extending from about 2300 to 625 B.C.; the third period is by far the shortest of the three, for it contains the history of an empire which lasted for less than a hundred years, from Nabopolassar's accession to the throne of Babylon in 625 B.C. to the capture of the city by Cyrus, king of Persia, in 538 B.C.

During the first period the name of Babylon is not known. The country is under the successive domination of the more ancient cities of the land until the Semitic element eventually predominates. During the second period Babylon holds her place as the centre of the country in spite of the influx of Kassite and Chaldean tribes and the opposition of Assyria. In the third period the magnificence of Babylon became one of the wonders of the ancient world.

In treating the earliest period of the history of the country we are, to a great extent, groping in the dark. Our principal sources of information are the archaic inscriptions found on many of the sites of the old Babylonian cities, and these have been considerably increased by recent excavations. In order, then, to understand clearly the problems they present, it will be necessary to proceed gradually from the points that may be regarded as definitely fixed into the regions where conjecture still holds her own. As the earliest date that can be regarded as settled is that of Sargon I., it necessarily forms the basis or starting-point from which to reconstruct the history of the period.

41. Earliest period.

Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, on a clay cylinder found at Abu-Habbah records the fact that while restoring the temple of the Sun-god in that city he came upon the foundation-stone of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, which for 3200 years no king that went before him had seen. As the cylinder of Nabonidus was inscribed about the year 550 B.C., we conclude that Naram-Sin lived about 3750 B.C., and Sargon his father about 3800 B.C.

During the French expedition to Mesopotamia (1851-1854) Oppert found in Babylon an alabaster vase inscribed in archaic characters with the name of Naram-Sin, to which was added the title 'king of the four quarters.' The vase, which was lost in the waters of the Tigris on 23rd May 1855, formed the only remains of this king that were recovered until the American expedition in 1888.

[1] *KB* I 194 *ff.*

Of Sargon, however, two inscriptions were known; the one on the cylinder in the possession of M. de Clerq, the other on a mace head in the British Museum. Some doubt was thrown on the identification of this king with the Sargon of Nabonidus; for, whilst the name of the latter was written Sargina, that of the former was Šargani-šar-ali. Such an abbreviation, however, was not unusual in the names of many of the early kings, and the identity of the two names is now put beyond a doubt by the discovery at Nippur of inscriptions of Šargani-šar-ali in the same stratum which held bricks stamped with the name of Naram-Sin.

That the empire over which Sargon ruled was extensive is attested by the legends that at a later period gathered round his name (see above, § 36). His name and that of Naram-Sin occur in an astrological tablet,[1] in which expeditions against Phœnicia, Elam, etc., made by these two kings during certain lunar phases and astrological conditions, are recounted; and, although it would be rash to regard such statements as historical on the authority of this tablet alone, they at least bear witness to the permanent hold which the name of Sargon had attained in the popular imagination. In a cylinder[2] of Nabonidus found at Muḳayyar (Ur) the title 'king of Babylon' is ascribed to both Sargon and Naram-Sin; but it is probable that the city of Agadê, not Babylon, formed the centre of their empire, as 'king of Agade' is the title by which Sargon invariably describes himself. The site of this city has not been identified; but it is probably to be sought in Northern Babylonia.

Both Sargon and Narām-Sin were Semites, and the extent of their empire shows the progress which the Semitic invaders were making towards the final subjugation of the country.

42. Semitic kingdoms.

The name of another king who was probably of Semitic origin is Uru-mu-uš, possibly to be read as Alušaršid, and from the fact that his inscriptions were found at Nippur near those of Sargon, which they closely resemble in character, it may be assumed that he belonged to about the same period. His name has been found on alabaster vases which he dedicated and placed in the great temple of Bêl at Nippur; the vases, he states, formed part of the spoil captured on a successful expedition against Elam and Barase to the E. of Babylonia. Moreover, Maništusu, whose name occurs on a mace-head preserved in the British Museum, must also be assigned to about the same period.

In addition to the empire established by Sargon, there is not lacking evidence of the existence at this time of other Semitic kings and principalities. The inhabitants of Lulubi spoke a Semitic dialect, as is evinced by the inscription engraved on the face of the rock at Ser-i-pul, a place on the frontier between Kurdistan and Turkey. The inscription accompanies and explains a relief representing the goddess Nini granting victory over his foes to Anu-banini, king of Lulubi, and from the archaic forms of the characters the work must be assigned to a period not later than that of Sargon. It is also probable that the inhabitants of Guti, a district to the NE. of Babylonia, were Semites; for an archaic inscription of a king of Guti, which was found at Sippar, is written in Semitic Babylonian. This, we may assume, was carried to Sippar as spoil from the land of Guti, though it is also possible that the stone containing the inscription was a gift of the king of Guti to the temple at Sippar, the inscription being composed, not in the king's own language, but in the Semitic dialect of Sippar.

Still, whilst a few of the inscriptions of this early period are undoubtedly Semitic and may be adduced as evidence of the first settlements of the Semites in Babylonia, the majority of the inscriptions that have come down to us are written in a non-Semitic tongue (to which the late Sir H. Rawlinson gave the name Accadian), now generally known as Sumerian.[3] These inscriptions

43. Sumerian rulers.

[1] *KB* 3*a* 102 *ff.* [2] *KB* 3 *84 f.*

[3] For many years a controversy has raged around the character, and even the existence, of this language. The theory put forward by Halévy that Sumerian was not a

have been found in the mounds which mark the sites of the ancient cities of the land, and were the work of the previous inhabitants of the country whom the invading Semites eventually displaced. One of the most important of their ancient cities is to day represented by the mounds known as Telloh, situated to the N. of Mukayyar and E. of Warka, on the E. bank of the Satt-el Hai. These mounds mark the site of a city called by the kings and governors who ruled there Śirpurla, but known at a later time as Lagaš. The excavations that were begun on this site by De Sarzec in 1877 have resulted in a rich harvest of inscriptions on statues, cylinders, cones, tablets, bricks, etc., from which it is possible to trace the history of the city throughout a long period. Its earlier rulers called themselves 'kings,' the later ones bearing the title of patesi, which is equivalent to the Assyrian issakku. The word patesi, whilst implying that the ruler is the representative of the national god, indicates the possession of a power less supreme than that attaching to the word lugal (Sem. šarru), 'king,' and it has been ingeniously suggested that the change in title was in consequence of an actual change in the fortunes of the city, the rule of the patesis being held to mark the subjection of their city to another power. The manner in which the succession of the various kings and patesis was determined has been already referred to (see above, § 37); the following is a brief description of their history based on those results.

44. Rulers of Śirpurla or Lagaš.

The oldest king of Śirpurla known to us is in all probability Urukagina. After an interval, the length of which is unknown, we find Ur-Nina on the throne; and, as he gives to neither father nor grandfather the title of king, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he was the originator of a new dynasty, a dynasty that we can trace through several generations. Ur-Nina was succeeded by his son Akurgal, who bore both the titles, king and patesi, and it was in the reign of E-dingira-nagin, Akurgal's son and successor, that the title patesi appears to have ousted that of king permanently. It is during the reign of E-dingira-nagin, however, that we find the first record of any extensive military operations undertaken by the inhabitants of Śirpurla. To his reign belongs the famous stele of vultures, carved to commemorate his victory over the city the name of which is provisionally read as Ishan. E-dingira-nagin was succeeded by his brother En-anna-tuma I., whose son Entena and grandson En-anna-tuma II. continued the succession. After a second interval comes Ur-Bau, from whom the throne passes through his daughter to his son-in-law Nammaghani. After a third but shorter interval there followed Gudea, who conducted a successful campaign against Elam, but, like his predecessors, devoted most of his energies to building operations. He was succeeded by his son Ur-Ningirsu; and finally there must be placed a second Akurgal, and either before or after him Lukani, whose son Ghalalama may possibly have succeeded him on the throne.

45. Their inscriptions.

The monumental inscriptions of these old kings and patesis of Śirpurla are, with the exception of one of Ur Bau and several of Gudea, comparatively short, and are generally concerned with the erection of buildings and temples in the city, an object to which both kings and patesis without exception devoted themselves. The thousands of clay tablets, however, which have been discovered dating from this period, the high point of development attained in their sculpture and carving in relief, the elaborate but solid construction of their temples and palaces, are all evidence of a highly developed civilisation, and the question at once arises as to what date must be assigned for the rise of the kingdom of Śirpurla.

46. Their date.

Additional interest is lent to the way in which this question may be answered by the fact that even the earliest inscriptions and carvings that have been discovered cannot have been the work of a barbarous race, but demand the assumption that at least one thousand years, during which they gradually attained their high level of civilisation and culture, had passed.

It will be obvious that, as the date of Sargon I. is already fixed, the simplest way of answering the question and of assigning a date to the earlier kings of Śirpurla is to determine the relation in which they stood to Sargon I. Until recently it was impossible to come to any definite conclusion, though it was generally held that the archaic forms of characters on the inscriptions of the kings of Śirpurla favoured the theory which assigned to them an early date. The excavations at Nippur, however, have now yielded sufficient data to justify a more conclusive answer.

In the same stratum as the inscriptions of Sargon and Alusarsid, and not far from them, was found a fragment of a vase inscribed with the name of Entena, patesi of Śirpurla, who is said to have presented the vase to En-lilla or Bel, the god of Nippur. It would be rash to conclude from this fact alone that Entena was the contemporary of Sargon I., though it may be held to indicate that approximately the same date may be assigned to Sargon and the earlier patesis of Śirpurla. Excavations, however, were subsequently extended below the level at which the records of Sargon had been found, and traces of a still more ancient civilisation were disclosed. An altar with a small enclosure or curb round it, two immense vases of clay standing at short intervals from each other, probably on an inclined plane leading up to the altar, and a massive building with an ancient arch, were the principal architectural remains discovered. However, there were also found inscriptions which, though occurring at a higher level and mixed with the inscriptions of Sargon, are probably to be assigned to a pre-Sargonic period. As the majority of these are broken into small fragments, it is not unlikely that they were intentionally broken and scattered by some subsequent invader of the country. Gate sockets and blocks of diorite, however, were not broken, and so were made use of by subsequent kings. Thus both Sargon I. and Bur-Sin II. used for their own inscriptions the blocks which already bore the rough inscription of Lugal kigub-nidudu, one of the kings of this early period. The characters in these early inscriptions, especially on the vases of Lugal-zaggisi, the most powerful of these early kings, bear a striking resemblance to those employed in the inscriptions of the earliest kings of Śirpurla (Urukagina, Ur Nina, and E-dingira-nagin), sharing with them certain peculiarities of form which are not met with elsewhere. The conclusion that they date from about the same period is therefore, not unwarranted; and, as this period must be placed before Sargon I., we are entitled in assigning to Urukagina a date not later than 4000 B.C.

47. Before Sargon.

To trace in detail the history of the predecessors of Sargon I., whose existence was not suspected until the lowest strata beneath the temple of Ekur at Nippur had been sifted, is a task that requires some ingenuity. Our only source of information is afforded by the fragmentary inscriptions themselves; but, as many of these are duplicates, it is possible to reconstruct their original text. The earliest rulers of Babylonia, such as Lugal-zaggisi, are found in conflict with the city of Kiš, and spoil from Kiš was from time to time placed as an offering in the temple at Nippur. Sometimes Kiš was victorious, and then the king of Kiš, as in the case of Ur Sulpaudda, made a presentation to the temple at Nippur in his own behalf, the ultimate superiority of Kiš, however, was assured by its alliance with the powerful city of Ishan; for Lugal-zaggisi, son of Ukuš, patesi of Ishan, on coming to the throne, extended his sway over the whole of Babylonia. He has left us a record of his achievements in a long inscription [illegible]

language but merely a cabalistic method of writing invented by the Semitic Babylonians themselves was for years strenuously defended by its adherents; it has now, however, given way before the results of recent excavations. The thousands of archaic tablets found at Telloh and elsewhere are written entirely in Sumerian by a people who both in their inscriptions and in their art exhibit no traces of Semitic origin. The existence of Sumerian as the language of these early inhabitants of Babylonia is now generally admitted. See [illegible]

on more than a hundred vases, which he deposited in Nippur. Though he especially favoured his own city of Isban, Erech was probably his capital, while Ur, Larsa, and Nippur were important centres. Lugal-zaggisi's empire did not long survive him, and the lead in Babylonian politics passed to the city of Śirpurla. E-dingira-nagin's conquest of Isban, however, was not followed up by his successors on the throne; and the hegemony passed once more to the north, this time to Sargon of Agadê, who laid all Babylonia under his sway, the rulers of Śirpurla exchanging the title of king for that of patesi in consequence of their subjection to him. Such may be taken as a general sketch of the course of Babylonian history up to the time of Sargon I.

It is impossible to say to what race or nationality Lugal-zaggisi and the earlier kings belonged, though we may mention the theory of Hilprecht, who sees in their successes against the cities of Babylonia the earliest Semitic invasions of the country; regarding Kiš as their first military outpost, and Isban, which he is probably wrong in identifying with Harrân, as their military base. Another patesi of Isban who may be placed in this early period is Mul-Babbar (in Semitic, Amêl-Šamaš), whose inscription on three clay cones is preserved in the British Museum.

After the fall of Sargon's empire, the first city that appears to have gained a considerable supremacy

48. Ur. throughout Babylonia is Ur. Under Lugal-kigub-nidudu Ur had already risen to some importance; but the city had been included in Sargon's kingdom, and it was not until nearly a thousand

circa 2800. years after his death that it again recovered its position. Only two of her kings at this later period are known to us, Ur-gur and Dungi. In addition to their title 'king of Ur,' both style themselves kings of Sumer and Akkad, a title implying that many cities throughout both southern and northern Babylonia had tendered their submission and acknowledged allegiance to them. The monuments themselves bear witness that this title was no empty boast, but had its foundation in a real supremacy.

A seal cylinder in the British Museum bears a dedication to Ur-Gur, 'the mighty hero, king of Ur,' by a 'patesi of the city of Iškun-Sin, his servant,' while there is evidence that the later patesis of Śirpurla were subject to Ur, the Louvre possessing a fragment of a statue dedicated to the goddess Bau by Ghalalama, 'son of Lukani, patesi of Śirpurla,' for the life of Dungi, 'the mighty king, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad'; an inscription with a similar purpose of the time of Ur-Ningirsu, Gudea's son and successor, is preserved in the British Museum. That Ur-gur was a great builder is attested by the many short inscriptions on bricks recovered from the ruins of the buildings which he either founded or restored. From these we gather that he built the great temple of the Moon-god in Ur, while in Erech he erected a temple to Ninâ, the goddess Ištar. On a brick from a tomb discovered by Loftus at Senkereh, the ancient Larsa, is recorded the fact that Ur-gur built a temple to the Sun-god there, and bricks found at Nippur record his rebuilding of the great temple of E-kur in that city. Excavations at the latter place show that this temple was larger than any of its predecessors; buildings that had been standing since the time of Narâm-Sin he razed to the ground in order to erect his huge platform of sun-dried bricks, in the NW. corner of which he built a huge zikkurratu (temple tower) of at least three stories. Ur-gur thus appears to have erected or rebuilt temples in most of the principal cities of Babylonia; in his zeal for religion, however, he did not neglect to strengthen his own capital, for we have evidence that he erected, or at any rate rebuilt, the city-wall of Ur. His son and successor Dungi, 'king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters,' carried on the work of temple-building to which his father had devoted himself, and restored the temple of Ištar in Erech. An interesting clay tablet in the British Museum contains a copy of an old inscription that once stood in a temple at Cuthah. The copy was made in the later Babylonian period by a scribe named Belshalti, and the archaic inscription, which his care has rescued from oblivion, records the erection by Dungi of a temple to the god Nergal in the city of Cuthah.

With Dungi our knowledge of the city of Ur and its supremacy comes to an end for a time. Whether

49. Isin. Dungi's successors retained for long their hold over the rest of Babylonia, or speedily sank into a position of dependence to some other city, we have no means of telling. When we once more

come across inscriptions we see that the lead in Sumer and Akkad has passed into the hands of the kings of Isin.

At present we possess inscriptions of four kings of Isin: Ur-Ninib, Libit-Ištar, Bur-Sin I., and Išme-Dagan. In the case

circa 2500. of each of them, before their chief title 'king of Isin' is given special mention is made of Nippur, Ur, Eridu, and Erech as being under their sway. The order in which these cities are mentioned is significant. The fact that Nippur heads the list proves that Ur sank greatly in importance after the days when she held the lead in Sumer and Akkad. A fifth king of Isin, named Ishigirra, is known to us; the only evidence of his existence, however, is the occurrence of his name and title on a fragment of a clay tablet in the British Museum. The rule in Babylonia now passes once more to the city of Ur, which regains its old supremacy. Išme-Dagan was the last king of Isin who retained the title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' and held together the confederation of Babylonian cities which that name implies; we find his son

50. 2nd Dyn. of Ur. erecting a temple for the life of Gungunu, king of Ur, as a token of homage. Under Gungunu began the second dynasty of Ur, to which the

circa 2400. kings Bur-Sin II., Ine-Sin, and Gâmil-Sin belong. The many inscriptions on clay tablets that have been recovered, dated in the reigns of these three kings, testify to the great commercial prosperity of Babylonia at this time. The rise of the city of Larsa followed

51. Larsa. the second dynasty of Ur. The kings of the former city held Ur as a dependency, and appear to have extended their rule still farther afield, for they assume also the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad.' The two principal kings of Larsa were Nûr-Rammân and his son Sin-iddina.

circa 2300. Both erected temples in Ur, and the latter founded a temple to the Sun-god in his capital. Sin-iddina also, after meeting with success in the field, turned his attention to the internal improvement of his territory. He rebuilt on a larger scale the wall of Larsa, and by cutting a canal obtained for that city a constant supply of water.

Sin-iddina does not mention the name of the enemy his victory over whom he records. It has been sug-

52. Elam. gested, however, with great probability, that it was Elam whom he repulsed. This must have been the period of the Elamite invasion to which Ašur-bâni-pal refers. On taking the city of Susa, about 650 B.C., Ašur-bâni-pal relates that he recovered the image of the goddess Nanâ, which the Elamite Kudur-Nanḫundi had carried off from Erech 1635 years before—*i.e.*, about 2285 B.C. Though Sin-iddina repulsed the Elamites, he did not check them for long. A few years later we find them under the leadership of Kudur-Mabug, son of Simti-šilḫak, again invading Babylonia. This time they met with more success and obtained a permanent footing in the south. Kudur-Mabug was not king of Elam. He styles himself 'prince of the Western land': that is to say, he was ruler of the tract of land lying on the W. frontier of Elam. From this position he invaded the country, and, having established himself as king of S. Babylonia, he erected a temple in Ur to the Moon-god in gratitude for his success. His son, Rim-aku, succeeded him and attempted to consolidate his kingdom, restoring and rebuilding Ur and extending his influence over Erech, Larsa, and other cities; his usual titles were 'exalter of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad.' It is a period of much interest for the biblical student (see CHEDORLAOMER).

During the second dynasty of Ur the city of Babylon had enjoyed a position of independence, with her own

53. Babylon. kings and system of government; but her influence does not appear to have extended beyond the limits of the city. It was not until the reign of Hammu-rabi, the contemporary of Sin-iddina and Rim-Aku, that she attained the position of importance in Babylonia which she held without interruption for nearly two thousand years. The dynasty to which Hammu-rabi belongs was called by the native historians the 'Dynasty of Babylon,' and, as far as we

circa 2400. at present know, forms the limit to which they traced back the existence, or at any rate the independence, of their city.

The dynasty was founded about 2400 B.C. by Sumu-abi, who was succeeded by Sumula-ilu and Zabum his son. It is possible that on Zabum's death a usurper, Immeru, attempted to ascend the throne; but his rule cannot have been for long, as scribes of contract tablets do not give him the title of king, and his name is omitted from the list of kings of Dynasty I., Zabum's

son, Apil-Sin, being stated to have directly succeeded his father. Of the reign of Apil-Sin's son, Sin-muḫallit, we know nothing, his only claim to remembrance being that he was the father of Ḫammu-rabi.

54. Ḫammu-rabi. *circa* 2285.

It is difficult to determine accurately the position occupied by Babylon when Ḫammu-rabi ascended the throne. That she was already beginning to extend her sway over the districts in her immediate neighbourhood we may conclude from a reference on a cylinder of Nabonidus, who states that the temples of the Sun-god and of the goddess Anunitu at Sippar had been falling into decay 'since the time of Zabum'; the phrase implies that Zabum had at any rate rebuilt these temples, and must, therefore, have included Sippar within his sphere of influence. We may regard it as certain, however, that the authority of the city had not penetrated into southern Babylonia. On Ḫammu-rabi's accession he first devoted himself to the internal improvement of his territory. In the past both Babylon and Sippar had suffered from floods, and the recurrence of these he sought to diminish by erecting dams and cutting canals. One inscription of his, written both in Sumerian and in Semitic Babylonian on clay cylinders in the British Museum, reads as follows:—

Ḫammu-rabi, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of the four quarters, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk are well-pleasing, am I. The summit of the wall of Sippar like a great mountain with earth I raised. With a swamp I surrounded it. The canal of Sippar to Sippar I dug out and a wall of safety I erected for it. Ḫammu-rabi, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk are well-pleasing, am I. Sippar and Babylon in a peaceful habitation I caused to dwell continuously. Ḫammu-rabi, the darling of Šamaš, the beloved of Marduk, am I. That which from days of old no king for his king had built, for Šamaš my lord gloriously have I accomplished.

In addition to his works at Sippar we learn from another inscription that he cut the 'Ḫammu-rabi canal' on both sides of which he sowed corn-fields. He erected a granary in Babylon, in which he stored grain for use in years of famine or scarcity. The inscription recording the erection of the granary has perished; but we possess a copy of it in clay, made in the Neo-Babylonian period by Rimût-Gula, and deposited in Babylon in the temple E-zida. Ḫammu-rabi's works of improvement, however, were not confined to Sippar and Babylon. As he extended his authority throughout the country, he introduced the same enlightened methods, rebuilding the temples of the gods in the various cities, conciliating the inhabitants, and out of scattered principalities forming a single and organic kingdom, with its metropolis at Babylon. The principal enemy to Babylonian independence at this period was Elam; but after a series of campaigns Ḫammu-rabi signally defeated her, and effectually hindered her advances to the S. and W., after which he was again at liberty to devote himself to the material improvement of his people. Ḫammu-rabi was not the first king of Babylonia to form a great empire out of scattered elements. Lugal-zaggisi and Sargon I. had already made this achievement, and it is not unlikely that their empires considerably exceeded that of Ḫammu-rabi in extent. Ḫammu-rabi's work, however, is distinguished from theirs by its permanence. Whilst Isban and Agadè soon sank back into comparative obscurity, Babylon remained the chief town of the kingdom throughout the whole course of its history.

55. His successors. *circa* 2230.

Ḫammu-rabi was succeeded by his son Samsu-iluna, the other kings of the first dynasty being Ebišum, Ammi-ditana, Ammi-zaduga, and Samsu-ditana, who follow one another in direct succession. Samsu-iluna continued his father's work of irrigation, and we know from two inscriptions that he built many temples to the gods. Of his successors, however, we possess few inscriptions, though many contracts, dated in the reign of each of the kings of this dynasty, have been found which throw an interesting light on the private and social sides of Babylonian life at this period.

The second dynasty consists of eleven kings—

Iluma-ilu, Itti-ilu-nibi, Damki-ilišu, Iš-ki-bal, and his brother Šu-uš-ši, Gul-ki-šar and his son Kirgal-dara-maš, and his grandson A-dara-kalama, A-kur-ul-ana, Melam-matati, and Ea-gamil. Of this dynasty we know nothing, though it has been conjectured with some probability that it was during this period that the Kassites first invaded Babylonia. Descending from the mountainous territory on the borders of Media and Elam, they overran the country and took possession of the cities; and at the beginning of the third dynasty we find them firmly seated on the throne. So far as we know, they were never ejected by force, but were absorbed in process of time by the Semitic element of the nation, which gradually recovered its predominance.

56. 2nd Dyn. Uru-Azag. *circa* 2060.

There were thirty-six kings of the third dynasty; but only the names of the kings at the beginning and of those at the end of the dynasty have been preserved in the Babylonian list of kings. Other sources of information, however, now become available; the 'Synchronous History' gives a résumé of the relations between Babylonia and Assyria, which during the early part of the third Babylonian dynasty attained its independence (cp ASSYRIA, § 25); the account furnished by the 'Synchronous History' is supplemented by the mutilated text of a somewhat similar Babylonian chronicle; the official correspondence between Babylonia and Egypt during a small part of this period is preserved on some of the tablets found at Tell el-Amarna; and, finally, inscriptions of several of the kings themselves have been recovered, as well as contract-tablets dated in their reigns.

57. 3rd Dyn. *circa* 1725.

The first king of the dynasty was Gandiš, who was succeeded by Agum-ši, Gu-ia-ši, Uš-ši, Adu-me-ur, and Uz-zi-u-maš. Here the gap occurs in the list of kings; and it is probably at some point in this gap that we must place Agum, who is known to us from a long inscription, a copy of which in Neo-Assyrian characters was preserved in the library of Ašur-bāni-pal; from it we learn that he recovered and restored to the temple of E-sagila in Babylon certain images of Marduk and of the goddess Zarpanitu, which had been carried off to the land of Ḫani. *circa* 1500.

A later place in the same gap must be assigned to Kallimma-Sin (or Kadashman-Bêl? cp Knudtzon, *ZA* 15 269 *f.*), four of whose letters are in the Amarna series; this correspondence serves to indicate the intimate relations between Egypt and Babylonia at this period, both the sister and daughter of Kallimma-Sin being among the princesses of western Asia whom the king of Egypt married. The order of the other kings, whose names have been recovered and must be placed within the same gap in the list of kings, has not yet been ascertained.

It has recently been suggested, for example, that Šagašalti-Buriaš, the son of Kudur-Bêl, should be placed before Kara-indaš, though a later date is possible; moreover, Kurigalzu I., the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, is usually placed after and not before Kara-indaš, though a suggestion has lately been made to the contrary. According to the 'Synchronous History' Kara-indaš was a contemporary of the Assyrian king, Ašur-bêl-nišišu, between whom and Ašur-uballiṭ at least two kings, Puzur-Ašur and Ašur-nādin-aḫê, occupied the throne of Assyria; from the same document we know that between Kara-indaš and Kara-ḫardaš, the contemporary of Ašur-uballiṭ, at least one king, Burna-Buriaš, occupied the throne of Babylon; yet on the similar Babylonian chronicle Kara-indaš is mentioned as the son-in-law of Ašur-uballiṭ, and the father of Kara-ḫardaš. It is possible to reconcile these two accounts only on the supposition that the Kara-indaš of the 'Synchronous History' is not to be identified with the son-in-law of Ašur-uballiṭ. On this assumption, and at the same time admitting that certain places in the order of succession are not definitely ascertained, we are still able to summarise the chief events of the period. Kara-indaš is the first Babylonian king mentioned in the 'Synchronous History,' where he is said to have formed a treaty with Ašur-bêl-nišišu, king of Assyria; similar friendly relations with the northern kingdom were probably maintained by Kurigalzu I. and his father Kadašman-Ḫarbe. Burna-Buriaš, the son of Kurigalzu I., formed a fresh treaty with Assyria concerning the frontier between the two kingdoms, and built a temple to the Sun-god at Larsa, as we learn from a brick that has been recovered from its ruins. Ašur-uballiṭ, who succeeded Ašur-nādin-aḫê on the throne of Assyria, strengthened the ties between his kingdom and *circa* 1480. *circa* 1440.

Babylonia by marrying his daughter Muballiṭat-Šerua to a king of Babylonia, who bore the name of Kara-indaš; and when his grandson, Kara-bardaš, the son of Kara-indaš, succeeded to the throne of Babylon, the relations between the two countries were still more cordial. The Kassite troops, however, possibly jealous of Assyrian influence, slew Kara-bardaš and set the usurper Nazi-bugaš on the throne. The death of Kara-bardaš led to the invasion of Babylonia by Aššur-uballiṭ, who avenged his grandson by slaying Nazi-bugaš, and putting Kurigalzu II., a son of Burna-Buriaš, the former king of Babylon, in his place. Kurigalzu II. was ambitious to extend the boundary of his kingdom; and with this end in view he undertook a campaign against Elam, the capital of which he conquered and sacked, as we learn from an inscription on an agate tablet which was found at Nippur. On undertaking hostilities against Assyria, however, he was defeated by Bēl-nirari, and was forced to accept the terms offered by the latter with regard to the boundary between the two kingdoms. The next defeat by the Assyrians which the Babylonians sustained was in the reign of Nazi-maruttaš, the son of Kurigalzu II., when Rammān-nirari inflicted a signal defeat on the Babylonian forces and extended the Assyrian boundary still farther southward. Kadašman-Turgu, whose name was also written Kadašman-Bēl, the son of Nazi-maruttaš, succeeded his father on the throne, and was in turn succeeded by his son, whose name, occurring in a broken inscription from Nippur, may probably be restored [Kadašman]-Buriaš. The Babylonian List of Kings furnishes the names of the last kings of the dynasty. Of Is-am-me- . . . -ti we know nothing, and of Šagašalti-Šuriaš only the fact that he dedicated an object to Bēl and placed it in the temple at Nippur. Šagašalti-Šuriaš was succeeded by his son Bibē, and the names of the next three occupants of the throne are Bēl-šum-iddina, Kadašman-Ḫarbe, and Rammān-šum-iddina. We do not know the relations between Babylonia and Assyria during the early part of this period; but it is probable that the last three kings acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria. Tukulti-Ninib, king of Assyria, to whom Rammān-nirari III. accorded the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' invaded Babylonia, captured Babylon, and for seven years maintained his hold upon the country. On the death of Rammān-šum-iddina, however, the Babylonian nobles placed his son Rammān-šum-uṣur on the throne, and, proclaiming him king, threw off the Assyrian yoke. Subsequently, during the reign of Rammān-šum-uṣur, the Assyrians suffered a crushing defeat; their king, Bel-kudur-uṣur, was slain in the battle; and although Rammān-šum-uṣur, on following up his victory by an invasion of Assyria, was repulsed by Ninib-pal-Ešara, he recovered a considerable portion of Babylonian territory. During the reigns of Meli-šihu, and of his son, Marduk-pal-iddina, the Assyrians made no attempt to wipe out the reverse they had sustained. On the accession of Zamama-šum-iddina, however, Aššur-dān crossed the frontier and recaptured several Babylonian cities. Zamama-šum-iddina reigned only one year, and was succeeded by Bēl-šum-iddina II., the last king of the Kassite dynasty. Under this king the country suffered attacks from Elam, and the discontent and misery which followed the defeats sustained by the Babylonians brought about the fall of the dynasty.

circa 1400.

circa 1380.

circa 1340.

circa 1210

circa 1155.

circa 1130.

The fourth dynasty is called the dynasty of Pašê; who its founder was we do not know, though an early place in it must be assigned to Nebuchadrezzar I. In one of the two monuments that we possess of this king he styles himself 'the Sun of his land, who makes his people prosperous, the protector of boundaries'; and it is certain that to a great extent he restored the fallen fortunes of the kingdom. He successfully prosecuted campaigns against Elam on the east, he conquered the Lulubi on the north, and even marched victoriously into Syria. Against Assyria, however, he did not meet with similar success.

58. 4th Dyn. (Pašê).

On Nebuchadrezzar's crossing the frontier, Aššur-rēš-iši, king of Assyria, marched against him, and Nebuchadrezzar, who was not then prepared to meet an army of the Assyrians, burnt what engines of war he had with him, in order to facilitate his retreat. He soon returned with reinforcements; but Aššur-rēš-iši, who had also strengthened his army, defeated him, plundered his camp, and carried off forty of his chariots. A king who reigned early in the dynasty and may possibly have succeeded Nebuchadrezzar is Bēl-nādin-aplu, whose name is known from a 'boundary stone' dated in the fourth year of his reign. Under Marduk-nādin-aḫê Assyria and Babylonia were again in conflict. It is probable that this king enjoyed a temporary success against Tiglath-pileser I., during which he carried off from the city of Ekallati the images of the gods Rammān and Šala which are mentioned by Sennacherib in his inscription on the rock at Bavian. This campaign is not mentioned in the 'Synchronous History,' though in the beginning of the account of the campaign there mentioned, which ended disastrously for Babylonia, the two kings, it is said, set their chariots in battle array 'a second time' (see ASSYRIA, § 25). This second campaign consisted of a series of successes for Tiglath-pileser, who, after defeating Marduk-nādin-aḫê in Akkad, captured Babylon itself and other important cities in the northern half of the kingdom. Aššur-bēl-kala, Tiglath-pileser's successor on the throne of Assyria, changed his father's policy and formed treaties with the Babylonian king Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti.[1] On this king's death Rammān-aplu-iddina, a man of obscure origin, was raised to the throne of Babylon, and Aššur-bēl-kala, in pursuance of his policy, allied himself to the new king by a marriage with his daughter. Only the beginnings of the names borne by the last three kings of the dynasty are preserved in the List of Kings.

circa 1110.

The fifth dynasty was called the dynasty of the 'Sea-land,' and was a short one, consisting of only three kings, Simmaš-šiḫu, Ea-mukīn-zēr, and Kaššu-nādin-aḫi. It is not improbable that the Chaldean tribes, which are not actually mentioned in the inscriptions before the time of Aššur-nāṣir-pal and Shalmaneser II., were even at this early period making their influence felt, overrunning southern Babylonia and spreading themselves throughout the country; and the fact that at a later time we find them especially connected with the district termed the 'Sea-land' in S. Babylonia lends colour to the suggestion that the dynasty of the Sea-land was of Chaldean origin.

59. 5th Dyn. (Sea).

circa 1050.

Of the three kings of the dynasty Ea-mukīn-zēr reigned but a few months; the other two kings, who occupied the throne for longer periods, are mentioned by Nabû-aplu-iddina in connection with the fortunes of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar. At the time of Simmaš-šiḫu this temple was in ruins in consequence of the troubles and disturbances in Akkad, the powerful tribes of the Sutu having previously invaded the country, laying the temple in ruins and breaking up the sculptures. Simmaš-šiḫu partially restored the structure of the temple, and placed it in charge of a priest for whose maintenance he appointed regular offerings. In the violent death of Simmaš-šiḫu, of which we learn from the fragment of a Babylonian Chronicle, and in the shortness of the reign of Ea-mukīn-zēr, we may probably see additional indications of the disturbed state of the country at this time. Under Kaššu-nādin-aḫi the general distress was increased by a famine, in consequence of which the regular offerings for the temple of Šamaš at Sippar ceased.

The first king of the sixth dynasty was E-ulbar-šākin-šum, and on his accession to the throne E-kur-šum-ušalši, the priest whom Simmaš-šiḫu had placed in charge of the temple at Sippar, complained to the king that the offerings had ceased. On hearing the state of the temple's resources E-ulbar-šākin-šum increased the regular offerings and endowed the temple with certain property situated in Babylon. The sixth dynasty consisted of only three kings, E-ulbar-šākin-šum being succeeded by Ninib-kudurri-uṣur and Šilanim-šukamuna; it was termed the dynasty of the House of Bazi, and each of the three kings on a fragment of a chronicle is termed a 'son of Bazi.'

60. 6th Dyn. (of Bazi).

circa 1025.

From this point onwards for nearly a hundred years there is a gap in our knowledge of Babylonian history. After the dynasty of the House of Bazi an Elamite occupied the throne for six years; but his name is not known, nor are the circumstances that attended his accession. He did not perpetuate his hold upon the country; for on his death the rule again passed to native Babylonians, the kings of the eighth dynasty, which was the second to bear the title 'the dynasty of Babylon.'

61. Gap.

circa 1005.

The names of the early kings of the dynasty are not preserved, though Sibir, a Babylonian king whom Aššur-nāṣir-pal mentions as having destroyed a city which he himself rebuilt, is probably to be placed in this period. The first king of this dynasty of whose reign details are known is Šamaš-mudammiḳ, who suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Rammān-nirari II., king of Assyria. Against Nabû-šum-iškun, his successor on the throne, Rammān-nirari scored another victory, several Babylonian cities falling into his hands, though we subsequently find him on good terms with Assyria and allying himself to Nabû-šum-iškun, or possibly his successor, each monarch marrying the other's daughter. Nabû-aplu-iddina is the next king who is known to have ruled in Babylon, and, though he aided the people of Suḫi against Aššur-nāṣir-pal, his relations with Shalmaneser II. were of a friendly nature. He is the king who restored and endowed so richly the temple of Šamaš at Sippar, digging in the ruins of former structures till he found the ancient image of the god. He restored and redecorated the shrine, and with much ceremony established the ritual and offerings for the god, placing them under the direction of Nabû-nādin-šum, the

26. 8th Dyn. (Babylon).

circa 910.

circa 900.

circa 880.

[1] The name has also been read Marduk-šapik-kullat.

son of the former priest E-kur-šum-ušabši. Marduk-šum-iddina succeeded his father on the throne; but his brother Marduk-bel-usāti headed a revolt against him, and
circa 850. compelled him to call in the aid of Shalmaneser of Assyria, who defeated the rebels and restored the land to order. Shalmaneser's son and successor, Šamši-Rammān II., was not on the same terms of friendship with Babylonia. He directed an expedition against that country and plundered many cities before meeting with serious opposition. Marduk-balaṭsu-
circa 812. iḳbi, the Babylonian king, had meanwhile collected his forces, which included bands from Elam, Chaldea, and other districts; and the two armies met near the city of Dūr-Papsukal. Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi was totally defeated: 5000 of his troops were slain; 2000 more were captured; and rich booty, including 100 chariots of war, fell into the hands of the Assyrians. Rammān-nirari III., the successor of Šamši-Rammān, also subjugated a considerable portion of Babylonia, carrying away to Assyria Bau-ah-iddina, the Babylonian king, together with the treasures of his palace.

Here the record of the 'Synchronous History' ceases, and there follows another gap, of about fifty years, in our knowledge of the history of the country.

63. Nabonassar.

The next king of Babylon whose name is known is Nabū-šum-iškun—the first name which occurs after the break in the List of Kings. His successor was Nabū-nāṣir, the Nabonassar of the Ptolemaic Canon; and with this
747. king our knowledge of the Babylonian succession becomes fuller, as, in addition to the evidence afforded by the List of Kings, the information contained in the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon becomes available. In the third year of Nabonassar's reign, Tiglath-pileser III. ascended the throne of Assyria; and one of his first acts was an invasion of Babylonia, during which he overran the northern districts and captured several cities, carrying away many of their inhabitants. The distress in the country due to the inroads of the Assyrians was aggravated during this reign by internal dissension: Sippar repudiated Nabonassar's authority, and the revolt was subdued only after a siege of the city.

The Babylonian Chronicle tells us that after a reign of fourteen years Nabonassar died in his palace at Babylon, and was succeeded by his son Nādinu, the
733. Nadios of the Ptolemaic Canon, who is to be identified with Nabū-nādin-zēr of the list of kings. The eighth dynasty ended with the country in confusion. Nabū-nādin-zēr, after a reign of only two years, was slain
731. in a revolt by his son Nabū-šum-ukīn or Šum-ukīn, who had hitherto held the position of governor of a province. After his accession the dynasty soon came to an end. He had not enjoyed his position for more than a month when the kingdom again changed hands and Ukīn-zēr ascended the throne.

64. Assyrian suzerainty.

From the fall of the eighth dynasty until the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire Babylonia was overshadowed by the power of Assyria, the kings of the latter country frequently ruling both at Nineveh and at Babylon. Ukīn-zēr had reigned only three years when Tiglath-pileser again invaded Babylonia, took him captive, and ascended the throne of Babylon, where he ruled under the name of
729. Pulu (see TIGLATH-PILESER). On his death, which occurred two years later, he was succeeded in Assyria by Shalmaneser IV., who, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, also succeeded him on the throne of Babylon, though in the List of Kings Pulu is succeeded
727 by Ululai. The two accounts can be reconciled by the supposition that Ululai was the name assumed by Shalmaneser as king of Babylon (see SHALMANESER). Shalmaneser died after a reign of five years, and, while Sargon held the throne, Merodach-baladan, a Chaldean from southern Babylonia, freed Babylonia for a time from Assyrian control. He
721. sided with Ummanigaš, king of Elam, in his struggle with Assyria; but ten years later was himself captured by Sargon after being besieged in
709. the city of Iḳbi-Bēl (see MERODACH-BALADAN, SARGON). Sargon then ascended the throne of Babylon, which he held until his death in 705.

According to the Ptolemaic Canon, the next two years were a period of interregnum, though the List of Kings assigns the throne to Sennacherib. However this may be, we know that in 703 Marduk-zākir-šum proclaimed himself king; but he had reigned for only one month
703. when he was murdered by Merodach-baladan, who had escaped from Assyria. Merodach-baladan thus once more found himself king in Babylon; but Sennacherib marched against him, defeated him, and caused him to seek safety by hiding himself in the Babylonian swamps. After plundering Babylon and the neighbouring cities, Sennacherib returned to
702. Assyria, leaving the kingdom in the charge of Bēl-ibni, a young native Babylonian who had been brought up at the Assyrian court. On the death of Merodach-baladan, shortly afterwards, a rising headed by Šuzub, another Chaldean, brought Sennacherib again into the country. Bēl-ibni also must have displeased the king; for, after defeating Šuzub Sennacherib carried Bēl-ibni and his nobles to Assyria
700. leaving his own son Aššur-nadin-šum upon the throne. Sennacherib next planned an expedition against the Chaldeans whom Merodach-baladan had settled at Nagitu, on the Elamite shore of the Persian Gulf, whence they were able in safety to foment insurrections and plan revolt. Sennacherib, determined to stamp out this disaffection, transported his troops in ships across the Persian Gulf. Disembarking at the mouth of the Eulæus, they routed the Chaldeans and their allies, and returned with much booty and many captives to the Babylonian coast. Meanwhile Šuzub, who had previously escaped Sennacherib's pursuit, collected his forces and with the help of Elam captured Babylon and placed himself upon the throne.
694. He is to be identified with the Nergal-ušēzib of the Babylonian Chronicle and the List of Kings. He, however, ruled for only one year. Sennacherib, on his return from the Persian Gulf, defeated his army and sent him in chains to Nineveh. Turning his forces against Elam, he plundered a considerable portion of the country, and was stopped in his advance into the interior only by the setting in of winter. In his absence a rebel bearing the name
692. of Šuzub—the Mušēzib-Marduk of the Chronicle and the List of Kings—seized the throne of Babylon. Allying his forces with those of Elam, he attempted to oppose Sennacherib in the field; but the combined armies were defeated at Halule. Next year Sennacherib returned to Babylonia, captured the city of Babylon, and deported Mušēzib-Marduk and his
689. family to Assyria. According to the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon, there now occurred a second interregnum, though the List of Kings credits Sennacherib with the control of Babylonia.

On Sennacherib's murder in 681 his son Esarhaddon
681. was proclaimed king of Assyria. He succeeded to the rule of Babylonia also, though a son of Merodach-baladan made an attempt to gain the throne. He came to Babylon and personally superintended the restoration of the city, rebuilding the temples and the walls, and placing new images in the shrines of the gods. During his reign Babylon enjoyed a season of unusual prosperity, and was free from the internal feuds and dissensions from which she had been suffering.

On Esarhaddon's death the throne of Babylon passed
669. to his son Šamaš-šum-ukīn, his elder son, Aššur-bani-pal, having already been installed on the Assyrian throne during his father's lifetime. For some years the two brothers were on friendly terms, and when Urtaku and the Elamites, with the aid of some discontented Babylonian chiefs, invaded the country, Aššur-bani-pal assisted his brother in repelling their attack. During all this time Šamaš-šum-ukīn acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria and acquiesced in his brother's active control of the internal affairs of both kingdoms.

At length, however, he wearied of this state of dependence, and seizing an opportunity, organised a general rising against Assyria among the neighbouring tribes and nations who had hitherto owned her supremacy. He bought the support of Ummanigaš, king of Elam, contracted an alliance with Arabia, and at the same time enlisted the services of smaller chiefs. Though one half of the Arabian army was defeated by the Assyrians, the other half effected a junction with the Elamites. This powerful combination, however, was neutralised by the revolt of Tammaritu, the son of Ummanigaš, the king of Elam. In fact, the dissensions in the Elamite camp proved of great service to Ašur-bāni-pal, who completely crushed the confederation that Šamaš-šum-ukin had brought against him (see AŠUR-BANI-PAL, § 7). Šamaš-šum-ukin himself was besieged in Babylon, and, on the capture of the city, he set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. According to the List of Kings, he was succeeded by Kandalanu, the
647. Kineladanos of the Ptolemaic Canon; but this king is probably to be identified with Ašur-bāni-pal himself, who, on this supposition, like Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV., ruled Assyria and Babylonia under different names. The last years of his reign are wrapped in obscurity; but on his death the throne was secured by Nabopolassar, who was destined

65. Nabopolassar.

to raise the fortunes of his country and to found an empire, which, though it lasted for
625. less than one hundred years, eclipsed by its magnificence any previous period in the varied history of the nation. Nabopolassar, in fact, was the founder of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

During the early part of Nabopolassar's reign Ašur-bāni-pal's successors on the throne of Assyria did not relinquish their hold upon the southern kingdom. They retained their authority for some time over a great part of the country (see ASSYRIA, § 33 *f.*). Though we do not possess historical documents relating to this period, we may conclude that Nabopolassar during all these years was strengthening his kingdom and seeking any opportunity of freeing at least a part of it from the Assyrian yoke, and it is not improbable that conflicts between the Assyrian and Babylonian forces were constantly occurring. Towards the end of his reign he found the opportunity for which he was waiting in the invasion of Assyria by the Medes. He allied himself with the invaders by marrying Nebuchadrezzar, his
circa 606. eldest son, to the daughter of Cyaxares, and on the fall of Nineveh had a share in the partition of the kingdom. While N. Assyria and her subject provinces on the N. and NW. fell to the Medes, S. Assyria and the remaining provinces of the empire were added to the territory of Babylon.

Before Nabopolassar could regard these acquisitions of territory as secure, he had first to reckon with the power of Egypt. Necho II., the son and successor of Psammetichus I., soon after his accession to the throne had set himself to accomplish the conquest of Syria. In 608, therefore, he had crossed the frontier of Egypt and begun his march northwards along the Mediterranean coast. Vainly opposed by JOSIAH (*q.v.*), he pressed forward and subdued the whole tract of country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. For three years he retained his hold on Syria, and it was only after the fall of Nineveh that Nabopolassar successfully disputed his possession of the country. Nabopolassar did not himself head the expedition against the Egyptians, for he was now old; but he placed the troops under the command of Nebuchadrezzar his son. The two armies
605. met at Carchemish, where a decisive battle took place. Necho was utterly defeated; thousands of his troops were slain; and Nebuchadrezzar pressed after his flying army up to the very borders of Egypt.

While Nebuchadrezzar was still absent on this expedition Nabopolassar died. His son, therefore, returned to Babylon and was duly installed as king in his

stead. It is probable that during the early part of his reign Nebuchadrezzar consolidated his rule in Syria and on the Mediterranean coast by

66. Nebuchadrezzar.

yearly expeditions in those regions.
604. After a few years, however, the country showed signs of repudiating Babylonian control. Nebuchadrezzar returned to the coast to suppress the rising. For some years things remained quiet; but soon after the accession of Apries (see EGYPT, § 69) to the throne of Egypt the ferment revived. After a siege of a year and a half Jerusalem fell (see JERUSALEM).

Tyre, the siege of which also Nebuchadrezzar undertook, held out for thirteen years, 585-572 (see PHŒNICIA). Built on an island, it was practically impregnable from the land, while the blockade instituted by the Babylonians did not prevent the entry of supplies by water. More successful were Nebuchadrezzar's campaigns against Egypt. We do not possess his own account of them; but an Egyptian inscription records that on one of them (undertaken against Apries) he forced his way through the country as far as Syēnē, the modern Aswān, on the borders of Ethiopia; and it is not improbable that the country was subject to Babylonia during the first few years of the reign of Amasis II., who succeeded Apries on the Egyptian throne (see EGYPT, § 69). Nebuchadrezzar's hold upon Egypt cannot, however, have been permanent: a fragment of one of his own inscriptions mentions his sending an expedition to Egypt in his thirty-seventh year. During his reign the relations between Babylonia and Media were of a friendly nature, as was not unnatural from the close alliance that had been established between the two kingdoms before the fall of Nineveh. In a war between Media and Lydia, some twenty years later, the Babylonians did not take part; but, when an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of May in the year 585 put an end to a battle between the Lydians and Medes, Nebuchadrezzar, in conjunction with the king of Cilicia, used his influence to reconcile the combatants and bring the war to a close.

While constantly engaged in extending and solidifying his empire, Nebuchadrezzar did not neglect the internal improvement of his kingdom. He rebuilt the cities and temples throughout the country, and in particular devoted himself to the enlargement of Babylon, completing its walls and rebuilding its temples with such magnificence that the city became famous throughout the world (see NEBUCHADREZZAR, BABYLON). Nebuchadrezzar died after reigning forty-three years, and was succeeded by his son Amēl-Marduk,
561. mentioned as EVIL-MERODACH (*q.v.*) in 2 K. 25 27 *ff.* Of this king we possess no inscription, though contracts dated in his reign have been found.

67. His successors.

He was assassinated after a reign of two years in a revolt led by Neriglissar, his
559. brother-in-law, who succeeded him upon the throne (see NERGAL-SHAREZER). His inscriptions that have been recovered are concerned merely with his building operations. He
556. was succeeded by his son Labaši-Marduk, who, after reigning nine months, was murdered by his nobles Nabu-na'id or Nabonidus, the son of Nabu-balaṭsu-ikbi, was placed upon the throne.

Nabonidus was a ruler more energetic than his immediate predecessors on the throne. He devoted himself

68. Nabonidus.

to rebuilding the ancient temples throughout the kingdom, and dug in
555. their foundations until he found the ancient inscriptions of the kings who had first founded or subsequently restored them. In his own inscriptions recording his building operations he recounts his finding of several such inscriptions, and, as he mentions the number of years that had passed since they had been buried by their writers, his evidence with regard to the settlement of Babylonian chronology is invaluable.

Nabonidus, however, in spite of his zeal for rebuilding the temples of the gods, incurred the hatred of the priesthood by his attempt to centralise Babylonian religion. Although the rise of Babylon to the position of the principal city of the land had been reflected in the importance of Marduk in the Babylonian pantheon, the religion of the country had never radically changed its character. It had always remained a body of local worships, each deity retaining his own separate centre of ritual. Nabonidus set himself to centralise all these worships in Babylon. He removed the images of the gods from their shrines in the various cities throughout the country and transported them to the capital. By this act he brought down upon himself the resentment of the priests, who formed the most powerful section of the community, and they, by the support they gave to Cyrus on his capture of Babylon, considerably aided the Persian conquest of the country.

Cyrus, who had previously conquered the Medes, imprisoning Astyages and sacking Ecbatana, next turned his attention to the conquest of Babylonia.

69. Cyrus. The Babylonian army was commanded
549. by Bēl-šar-uṣur (Belshazzar), the son of Nabonidus; but it did not offer an effective opposition to the Persian forces. After
538. suffering a defeat at Opis on the Tigris, it was broken. Cyrus marched on and entered Sippar without further fighting, and Nabonidus fled. Babylon itself was taken two days later, and Nabonidus fell into the hands of the conqueror (cp CYRUS, § 2). In restoring order to the country, Cyrus adopted the wise policy of conciliating the conquered. He restored to their shrines the images of the gods which Nabonidus had removed. The popularity he acquired by this act is reflected in the inscription on his cylinder recording his taking of the city, which was probably composed at his orders by the official scribes of Babylon. Although naturally couched in flattering terms, it bears ample witness to the pacific policy of Cyrus, who therein allows himself to be represented as the vindicator and champion of Marduk, the principal deity of his conquered foe:

'He (*i.e.* Marduk) sought out a righteous prince after his own heart, whom he might take by the hand; Cyrus, king of Anšan, he called by his name, for empire over the whole world he proclaimed his title. The land of Kutu, the whole of the tribal hordes, he forced into submission at his feet; as for the men whom he had delivered into his hands, with justice and righteousness did he care for them. Marduk the great lord, the protector of his people, beheld his upright deeds and his righteous heart with joy. To his city of Babylon he commanded him to go, he made him take the road to Babylon; like a friend and helper he went by his side. His wide-spreading host, the number of which, like the waters of a river, cannot be numbered, girt with their weapons advance at his side. Without contest and battle he made him enter into Babylon his city; Babylon he spared from tribulation. Nabonidus, the king that did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, the whole of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors beneath him bowed down, they kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his kingdom, bright was their countenance. To the lord, who through his strength raises the dead to life and from destruction and misery had spared all, joyfully they paid homage, they reverenced his name.' Other passages in the cylinder refer to the zeal displayed by Cyrus for Marduk and the other Babylonian gods.—'When into Babylon I entered favourably, with exultation and shouts of joy in the palace of the princes I took up a lordly dwelling, Marduk the great lord [inclined] the great heart of the sons of Babylon to me and daily do I care for his worship. . . . And the gods of Sumer and Akkad, which Nabonidus to the anger of the gods had brought into Babylon, at the word of Marduk the great lord one and all in their own shrines did I cause to take up the habitation of their heart's delight. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities pray daily before Bēl and Nabū for the lengthening of my days, let them speak the word for my good fortune, and unto Marduk my lord let them say: "May Cyrus the king that feareth thee and Cambyses his son [have prosperity]."'

With the capture of Babylon by Cyrus the history of the Babylonians as an independent nation comes to

70. End. an end. The country never regained her independence, but remained a province subject to the powers which succeeded one another in the rule of W. Asia. Under Cambyses, indeed, and still more under Darius Hystaspis, discontent became very prevalent in Babylonia. Soon after the accession of Darius a certain Nadintu-Bēl put himself at the head of a revolt, declaring himself to be Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. Darius stamped out the rebellion and executed Nadintu-Bēl. A few years later he quelled a second rebellion headed by Arakhu, who was captured and crucified, and during the reign of Xerxes a similar rising proved equally unsuccessful. These rebellions were the last struggles of the national spirit to reassert itself. They met with no response among the general body of the people, who were content to serve their foreign masters. Babylonia, in fact, remained subject to the Persians until the conquests of Alexander brought her under Greek control, which she exchanged only for the Parthian supremacy.

(*a*) For the history of Babylonia, see the works by Tiele, Hommel, Delitzsch, and Winckler cited under ASSYRIA. For the early

71. Bibliography. period these histories may be supplemented by reference to the inscriptions which are being published in E. de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée* (1804, etc.), *The Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (1893, etc.), edited by Hilprecht, and *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (1896, etc.). Among English histories reference may be made to George Smith's *Babylonia* (SPCK, 1877) and G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. i. and ii. (1871). In Schr.'s *KB*, vol. iii., translations of many of the historical inscriptions of Babylonia are given, while the same author's *COT* describes the principal points in the OT which are illustrated by the monuments. For other works dealing with the inscriptions of Babylonia, the bibliographies mentioned in the article ASSYRIA (§ 34) may be consulted.

(*b*) [On the religion of the Babylonians we have as yet only one students' handbook, Jastrow's *Religion of Assyria and Babylonia* (reviewed by D. G. Lyon, *New World*, March, 1899). Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures* (for 1887) on the same subject are less systematic. On the cosmology of Babylonia, Jensen's *Kosmologie der Babylonier* is still the most complete authority; but editions of religious texts must be consulted by the advanced student.]

(*c*) With regard to books for the study of the language, the first dictionary to appear was Norris's *Assyrian Dictionary* (1868-72), which he did not live to complete. In his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter* (1886), Strassmaier published an immense collection of material, which has been used in subsequent dictionaries; among these may be mentioned Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* (1887, etc.; unfinished), the same author's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (96), Muss Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (1894, etc., in progress), and Meissner's *Supplemente zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch* (1898); Brünnow's *Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs*, 1889 (*Indices*, 1897), contains a full list of ideographs with their values. The best Assyrian grammar is Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gramm.* (1889; transl. by Kennedy).

(*d*) The existence of the Sumerian language, which for long was disputed, is now generally acknowledged; but a grammar of the language has yet to be written; it should be noted that the views on Sumerian which Delitzsch expressed in his *Assyr. Gram.* he has since completely changed. A list of the Sumerian values of the cuneiform signs is given by Brünnow in his *Classified List*, while Weisbach's *Die sumerische Frage* (98) may be consulted for the history of the controversy.

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BABYLONIANS (בְּנֵי בָבֶל; ΥΙΟΙ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ [BAQ], Ez. 23 15 [BA om. BAB.]. 17 [-ΟΝΟΣ, B], 23; in Aram. בָּבְלָיֵא. ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΟΙ [BAL], Ezra 4 9), in every case the land, not the city, is referred to: cp especially Ez. 23 15, 'the Babylonians, the land of whose nativity is Chaldea.'

BABYLONISH GARMENT, RV **Babylonish Mantle** (אַדֶּרֶת שִׁנְעָר, lit. 'mantle of Shinar,' so RV^mg.), Josh. 7 21. See MANTLE.

BACA, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא, § 103), or Valley of Weeping (RV, Ⓖ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΟΙΛΑΔΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΑΥΘΜΩΝΟΣ [BA*R], ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΛΑΔΑ Τ. Κ. [N^c.A.T] cp Aq. Vg. Pesh.), mentioned only in Ps. 84 6 [7]. For the meaning given above cp the Wady of Weeping وادى البكا found by Burckhardt near Sinai. The name is frequently explained 'balsam vale' (so RV^mg.); but cp Cheyne, who reads בְּכִים (cp Ⓖ here and at Judg. 2 5), and supposes a play on the name Bekā'im. The pl. בְּכָאִים occurs in 2 Sam. 5 22 *ff.* (= 1 Ch. 14 14 *f.*), apparently

as the name of a spot (see REPHAIM, VALLEY OF) where there were Baca-trees. David took his stand there to wait for Yahwè's signal to attack the Philistine's.[1] 𝔊 (2 S. 5 24) speaks of it as a 'grove,' meaning an Asherah; there is no mention of trees in 𝔊. On the meaning of Baca trees see MULBERRY.

BACCHIDES (ΒΑΚΧΙΔΗΣ, also ΒΑ[Χ]ΧΙΔΗΣ; ΒΑΡΑΚΧ. [1 Macc. 7 8, A], ΚΑΚΧ. [*ib.* v. 12, A], ΒΑΚΧΧ. [*ib.* 9 1, ℵ*A]), the chief general of DEMETRIUS I. [*q.v.*, 1], who was sent to Judæa to enforce the claims of Alcimus to the priesthood (1 Macc. 7 8 *ff.*). Almost immediately after the death of NICANOR, he was sent again with Alcimus, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Maccabæan party at Elasa,[2] who lost their leader Judas (chap. 9, 161 B.C.). Judæa suffered heavily at the hands of Bacchides; nor did any real advantage accrue when Jonathan took up the leadership (9 32 *ff.*). The capital and other important strongholds remained in the hands of Bacchides, who was engaged in fortifying them until the death of Alcimus (159 B.C.), when he returned to Demetrius (9 57). At the end of two years the opponents of the Maccabæan party (whose hands had become strengthened) agreed to betray Jonathan and his followers to Bacchides. This piece of treachery was discovered and avenged (9 58 *ff.*). Bacchides set out against Judæa (158 B.C.) and besieged Beth-basi, but met with ill success everywhere, until at last he was only too glad to accept Jonathan's overtures of peace (9 68). The Jewish captives of the former wars were restored, and the Maccabees had rest for four or five years.

BACCHURUS (ΒΑΚΧΟΥΡΟΣ [BA], ΣΑΚΧΟΥΡ [L], ZACCHURUS), singer in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), 1 Esd. 9 24; but not in Ezra 10 24 [MT EV 𝔊BNA], though 𝔊L adds ΖΑΚΧΟΥΡ.

BACCHUS (*Liber*), the equivalent of the Greek Dionysus (so RVmg. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ [AV]), is mentioned in 2 Macc. 6 7, where it is said that on the occasion of the birthday of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) the unhappy Jews were compelled to attend the feast of Bacchus (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ; RVmg. 'feast of Dionysia') wearing the ivy-wreath (*κισσόν*), the peculiar emblem of the god. A few years later Nicanor (the general of Demetrius) threatened to pull down the temple and supplant it by one dedicated to Bacchus unless Judas was handed over to him (*ib.* 14 33, Διονυσος [A]). The worship of Bacchus seems to have been introduced first by the Ptolemies, of which family he was the patron-god, and according to 3 Macc. 2 29 several years previously the Jews in Alexandria had been branded by Ptolemy Philopator (222-204) with the sign of the ivy: the object of this obviously being forcibly to identify the unwilling Jews with the detested worship of Bacchus. See CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 6. His worship would be specially abhorrent to pious Jews, since one of the greatest of the Dionysian festivals fell in the month Elaphebolion (March-April), thus synchronising closely with the passover. In course of time the Hellenising Jews and Greek residents were more attracted by the cult, and when Jerusalem became a Roman colony (Ælia Capitolina) we find Dionysus with his thyrsus and panther figuring upon the coins as one of the patron gods.[3]

The worship of Dionysus flourished at Cæsarea, at Damascus, and in the Haurān. He was the special patron of Scythopolis, and from him the town Dionysia (Soada) received its name. Dionysus, however, soon became identified with the Nabatæan deity Dusares (the Baal, the god of heaven, and of wine). The

[1] In *v.* 24 emend צְעָדָה to כְּעָדָה (συσσεισμός [L] for συν-κλεισμός [BA]), 'when thou hearest the sound of a stormy wind in the tops of the Baca trees.' It is in the tempest that Yahwè 'goes out against the Philistines.'

[2] Doubtless an error for ADASA.

[3] See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 252 *f.*

Dionysiac character which the latter presents is not native: it is directly due to the northern influence.[1] The priest of Dionysia (see above) calls himself the priest of Dusares, and on the coins of Bostra the latter appears with the Dionysian emblem of the wine-press. Figures of the vine and wine-cup are still found upon the lintels in many of the villages in the Haurān. Although the worship of Yahwè had little in common with that of Bacchus (*neque quam congruentibus institutis*, Tacit. *Hist.* 5 5), classical writers, observing the musical and joyful nature of their ceremonial rites, now and then fell into the error of making Bacchus a Jewish god that had been worshipped by the earliest patriarchs (cp *e.g.* Plut. *Sympos.* 1 6).

For the various mythological forms of Bacchus, see *Ency. Brit.*(9) *s.v.* 'Dionysus'; and Roscher, *s.v.*

BACENOR occurs in an uncertain passage, 2 Macc. 12 35, Δωσιθεος δέ τις τῶν τοῦ βακήνορος [VA]. It is doubtful whether it is the name of a captain or the cognomen of a company or division in the army of Judas. See DOSITHEUS.

BACHRITES, THE (הַבַּכְרִי; Nu. 26 35, 𝔊BAL [*v.* 39] om.). See BECHER.

BADGER, ROCK (שָׁפָן). Lev. 11 5 RVmg.; RV CONEY.

BADGERS' SKINS, RV SEALSKINS (עֹרֹת תְּחָשִׁים, תְּחַשׁ, עוֹר תָּחַשׁ, ΔΕΡΜΑΤΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΝΑ [ΙΑΝΘΙΝΑ, Aq., Sym., Ezek. 16 10] [BAL]; Ex. 25 5 26 14 35 23 36 19 [BAL om.] 39 34 Nu. 4 8 [δερματίνῳ ὑακινθινῳ] 10-12 14 25 Ez. 16 10†), are mentioned as the fourth or outermost covering of the tabernacle (next above the 'rams' skins dyed red'), and as outer wrappings for the ark and different vessels of the tabernacle during journeys. In Ezekiel's figurative description of Yahwè's adorning of Israel as a beautiful maiden, shoes of this material are included. As to the meaning of *taḥaš* there have been many opinions: five chief views may be indicated.

(1) The ancient versions with one consent understood a colour: 𝔊 Syr. Chald. Vg. render 'blue' or 'violet,' Ar. Samar. 'black' or 'dark.' This view, which has been strongly maintained by Bochart, rests, however, on no philological ground, and is refuted by the syntax of the Hebrew words.[2] Apart from the versions, all Hebrew tradition is in favour of the view that *taḥaš* is an animal.

(2) In the discussion on this animal in the Talmud (*Shabb. c.* 2, fol. 28) the opinion prevails that it is a species of חלא איל (prob. = 'ferret'), a description which would roughly suit the *badger*; and the claim of this animal has been supported (by Ges. and others) by comparison with late Lat. *Taxus* or *taxo* (Ital. *tasso*, Fr. *taisson*) and Germ. *Dachs*.[3] The common badger, *Meles taxus*, found throughout Europe and Northern Asia, reaches its southernmost limits in Palestine, where it is common in the hilly and woody parts of the country. It is, however, improbable that the reference is to the skins of these animals. They would be difficult to procure either in Egypt or in the desert, and there is no evidence of their being used in those regions for such a purpose.[4]

[1] For the god Dusares (Δουσαρης, on Nab. inscr. דושרא); see *ZDMG* 14 465, 41 711, Baethg. *Beitr.* 92 *ff.*, WRS, *Kins.* 292 *ff.*, and We. *Heid.*(2) 48 *ff.* The name means 'possessor (*du*) of שרא.' The latter is often taken to be equivalent to 'Sarah,' in which case Dusares is equivalent to Abraham—a hazardous theory.

[2] תְּחָשִׁים is obviously gen. after עֹרוֹת—*i.e.*, equivalent to אֵילִים, not to מְאֻדָּמִים, in the phrase for 'rams' skins dyed red.'

[3] Philological explanations involving roots common to the Aryan and Semitic languages are, however, notoriously precarious.

[4] How little value attaches to the opinion of the Rabbis may be gathered from another view, strongly supported in the Talmud, that the תחש was a kind of unicorn which specially appeared to Moses for this purpose, and immediately afterwards disappeared (Bochart, i. 2 30).

(3) A more scientific etymology is that which compares the Ar. *tuḥas* or *duḥas*, 'a dolphin.' This would indicate a marine animal, probably (*a*) the *seal* (RV text), or (*b*) the *porpoise* (RV^mg.), or (*c*) the *dugong* or sea-cow. (*a*) has in its favour the adaptability of sealskins to the purposes referred to, the statement of Artemidorus (in Strab. 16 776) that seals abounded in the Red Sea, one island there being called νῆσοι φωκῶν, and the actual use of a sealskin covering in antiquity to protect buildings, because it was supposed that lightning never struck this material (*e.g.*, Pliny, *H.N* 2 55, Suet. *Oct.* 90). One species of seal, *Monachus albiventer*, undoubtedly occurs in the Mediterranean, and some authorities are of opinion that the same is true of the common seal, *Phoca vitulina*. (*b*) The *porpoise*, like the seal, is as a rule a denizen of the colder waters of the globe; but *Phocaena communis*, the common porpoise of the British coasts, occasionally enters the Mediterranean, whilst the Indian porpoise, *Ph. phocaenoides*, inhabits the shores of the Indian Ocean from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, and may have been captured in the Red Sea. (*c*) The *Dugong*, being more like the dolphin, has the etymology in its favour. According to Knobel (Comm. on Ex. 25 5) this animal (*Halicore tabernaculi*) 'is found in the Red Sea, attaining a length of 8 to 10 or more feet, is hunted like the whale, and has a skin well adapted for sandals or coverings.' Friedr. Del. sought to strengthen the case for this identification (Prol. to Baer's *Ezek.* p. xvi *f.*) by comparison with Ass. *taḫîu*, an animal whose skin, according to various Ass. inscriptions, was used to cover the beams of ships in the manner described by Herodotus (1 194). He has since (*Prol.* 77-79 [86]), however, abandoned the view that *taḫîu* was the dugong, and supposes it to mean *wether*.[1] The dugong of the Indian Ocean, with the Manatee of the Atlantic, composes the class Sirenia. They are usually found in the estuaries of large rivers browsing on sea-weed, and they are still actively sought off the coast of Queensland for the sake of their blubber and hide.

(4) Much less probable is the opinion of Bottcher (*Neue Aehrenl.* 32 *ff.*) that תָּחָשׁ is a form of תַּיִשׁ (he-goat) with the middle radical hardened; he supposes that goat-skin was manufactured into a kind of morocco leather. It is natural that 'rams' and 'he-goats' should come together as in Gen. 32 15 [14] 2 Ch. 17 11; but apart from this the explanation has little to recommend it.

(5) The latest and perhaps most probable view is that put forward by Bondi (*Ægyptiaca*, 1 *ff.*), who makes תָּחָשׁ a loan-word from Egyptian *ṯḥs*, 'Egyptian leather,' and gives a thorough discussion of views. This meaning is especially suitable to Ez. 16 10 but is also appropriate in the other passages.

Of all the explanations those by Ar. *duḥas* or *tuḥas*, by Ass. *taḫîu*, and by Eg. *ṯḥs*, most deserve attention.

N. M.—A. R. S.

BAEAN (Βαιαν [ANV]). 1 Macc. 5 4 *f.* RV; AV BEAN.

BAG. Several of the Hebrew words are much more general in signification than the English 'bag.'—(1) כִּיס *kîs* (Dt. 25 13 Pr. 16 11 Mi. 6 11 Is. 46 6) for holding money, or the weights employed by merchants. In Pr. 1 14 (βαλλάντιον), EV renders PURSE. (2) חָרִיט *ḥārîṭ* (cp Ar. *ḥarîṭatun*, bag of skin, etc., and see Fränk. 296) in 2 K. 5 23 (θύλακος) of Naaman's bag which contained a talent of silver. In Is. 3 22 it is mentioned in the list of women's adornments, and signifies probably a satchel (so RV; AV 'crisping pin'). (3) כְּלִי *kĕlî*, a word of very general meaning (see VESSEL), used of a sack for containing corn (Gen. 42 25 ἄγγιον) or

[1] Cp Shalmaneser, Monolith inscr. ii. 16, *ina eli-šu la malak taḫîi*, 'on boats of skins of wethers'; so Wi. for good reasons; but see references in Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.* s.v. 'ab-šu-u.

of the instruments carried by a shepherd (Zech. 11 15). It is rendered 'bag' only in 1 S. 17 40 49 (AV^mg 'vessel'): see SLING. (4) מְעִיל *mĕʿîl* (lit. 'a land, cp verb in 2 K. 12 10 [11]), מעיל, 'and they put in bags' (Job 14 17 βαλλάντιον), Pr. 7 20, צְרוֹר, 'a bag with holes' (Hag 1 6). It is rendered 'bundle' in 1 S. 25 29 Gen. 42 35 (of money) and Cant. 1 13 (of myrrh, RV^mg. 'bag'). (5) βαλλάντιον, Lk 12 33, RV 'purse'; and (6) γλωσσόκομον (Jn. 12 6 13 29, RV^mg 'box'). See BOX, 3.

BAGO (Βαγο [A]). 1 Esd. 8 40 = Ezra 8 14, BIGVAI, 3

BAGOAS (from Pers. *bagô*, 'God'; see Ed. Meyer, *Ent.* 157; cp Bigvai, Bigthai, Abagthar), a eunuch in the household of Holofernes; Judith 12 11 *ff.* (Βαγωας [BA^1]; in 2. 1 Βαγωσ [A^1]).

BAGOI (Βαγοι [A]). 1 Esd. 5 14 = Ezra 2 2, BIGVAI, 2

BAGPIPE (RV^mg. of כּוּמְפּוֹנְיָה Dan 3 5 [10 15], Kr. 'סוּם'. Gr. συμφωνια, EV 'dulcimer'). The Aramaic word is from συμφωνια, a late Gr. word used, curiously enough, by Polybius in his account of the festivities in which Antiochus Epiphanes (who is so frequently alluded to in Daniel) indulged (xxvi. 10 5 xxxi. 13; see DANIEL, § 7). For the *form* of the Aram. cp סִמְפּוֹנִי, συμφωνος, 'agreed,' in the Fiscal Inscription from Palmyra, 137 A.D. (col. 3, *ll.* 14 45). See MUSIC, § 4 (c).

BAHARUMITE, THE (הַבַּחֲרוּמִי. 1 Ch. 11 33; ο Βεερμειν [B, ℵ^c], ο ρβειν [ℵ*], ο Βαρσαμι [A], ο Βαραμαι [L]), evidently a scribe's error for 'the Bahurimite'—*i.e.*, 'the man of BAHURIM' (הַבַּחוּרִמִי). The same reading should be restored in 2 S. 23 31. See BAHURIMITE.

BAHURIM (בַּחוּרִים and בַּחֲרִים; βαουρειμ [A], 2 S. 3 16 βαραιει [B], -μ [L]; 16 5 βουρειμ [B], χορραμ [L]; 17 18 βαιρειμ [B], βαιθχορρων [L]; 19 16 βαουρειμ [B], χορραι [L]; 1 K. 2 8 βαιθουρειμ [B], βαθουρειμ [AL], βοκχορης [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 9 7]), a place in Benjamin (2 S. 19 16 [17]), not included in the list of Benjamite towns, which appears prominently in two very interesting narratives—that of the return of MICHAL to David, and that of the flight of David from Absalom. Michal had been given by David's angry father-in-law to PALTI (פַּלְטִי...) or Paltiel of Gallim, and David in his returning prosperity demanded her back. Followed by her weeping husband, Michal went from Gallim[1] to Bahurim. There Abner commanded Paltiel to return. It may naturally be asked, Why was Bahurim selected as the scene of this leave-taking? The answer is furnished by the story of David's flight. It is clear from 2 S. 16 1 5 (cp 17 24) that Bahurim lay near the road from Jerusalem to the Jordan valley. Abner would have to take this road on his return to Mahanaim, and would naturally wait at Bahurim until he knew for certain that a visit to Hebron would be acceptable to the king. Meantime the envoys of David conducted Michal to Hebron. Later it was David's turn to pass by Bahurim, when he sought the Jordan valley as a fugitive (2 S. 15 28). At Bahurim he would apparently have made his first halt had not the insults of SHIMEI compelled him to go farther[2] (2 S. 16 5-14). It was at Bahurim also that Jonathan and Ahimaaz lay hid in a well, when pursued by the servants of Absalom (2 S. 17 18). The spot which best answers the topographical conditions is (as Barclay was the first to see) SE. of the village of *el-ʿIsāwîyeh* (see LAISHAH). Here, to the S. of the old Roman road, van Kasteren found in the upper *Wâdy er-Rawâby* a ruin without a name, which he believes to be on the site of Bahurim (*ZDPV* 13 101 *ff.*). For a less probable view, fully discussed by van Kasteren, see Marti, *ZDPV* 38 *ff.*

T. K. C.

[1] Sir G. Grove (Smith's *DB*) thinks this may be doubtful. The rendering of ℭ^L, however, in 2 S. 3 15 (υἱοῦ σελλειμ) suggests that the verse originally closed with מִגַּלִּים, 'from Gallim.' That Palti was with Ishbosheth at Mahanaim seems very improbable.

[2] The name of the village where he 'refreshed himself' (2 S. 16 14) seems to have dropped out. See AVEPHIM.

BAITERUS (Βαιτηρος [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 17 RV, AV METERUS; see GIBBAR.

BAJITH, RV BAYITH (הַבַּיִת, 'the temple'; text of 𝔊 differs), is taken in EV of Is. 15 2 as the name of a place, the article being neglected (cp AIN, 2). It is perhaps more defensible to render the stichus containing the word thus: 'They go up to the temple, Dibon (goes up) to the high places to weep' (so Ges. and formerly Che.). The temple referred to might be the Bethbamoth of the inscription of Mesha (*l.* 26; cp BAMOTH-BAAL). בית and בת, however, are so easily confounded (see, *e.g.*, Is. 10 32 Kt.) that it is still better to read עירת בת דיבן, 'the daughter (= people) of Dibon is gone up,' with Duhm and Cheyne (*SBOT*).

BAKBAKKAR (בַּקְבַּקַּר), form strange, probably corrupt; Βακαρ [B], Βακβ. [AL]; Peshi. has ירדום, which in 1 Ch. 8 12, etc. = Heb. יְרֹחָם, Jeroham), a Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*h*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 15; not in 1 Neh. 11 26, but perhaps transposed to *v.* 17 (where MT and 𝔊[BNA] mg. read BAKBUKIAH [*q.v.*], though 𝔊[BA] omits, 𝔊[L] βοκχειας).

BAKBUK (בַּקְבּוּק), §§ 38, 71, 'pitcher'; but see below; Βακβουκ [AL]). The b'ne Bakbûk, a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 51 (βακουκ [L], βακκ. [B]) = Neh. 7 53 (βακβουκ [B], νεκουβ [𝔄]) = 1 Esd. 5 31† (ακουφ [B], ακουμ[1] [A]; EV, ACUB). The name can hardly be Hebrew. It may be corrupted from Assyr. Habbakuka, a plant name (see HABAKKUK).

T. K. C.

BAKBUKIAH (בַּקְבֻּקְיָה), § 38, 'pitcher of Yahwè' [or else = bakbuk, יה being probably a simple affirmative (Jastrow, *JBL* 13 127)], cp BAKBUK; Βακβακιαϲ [𝔄 mg. sup. L], Βα𝔄*A om.), one of the Nethinim; a singer in list of Levite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*h*], § 15 [1] *a*, and cp *Herstel*, 105), Neh. 11 17 (Βοκχειας [L]; omitted in 1 Ch. 9 16 before Obadiah = Abda of Neh.); and porter in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6 *b*, § 11, and *Herstel*, 110), Neh. 12 25. In Neh. 11 17, of the three persons named, Mattaniah is a 'son' of Asaph, and Abda is a 'son' of Jeduthun. It is plausible, therefore, to take Bakbukiah to be the same name as בַּקֻּקִיָּה (cp 𝔊[L]) and identify with BUKKIAH [*q.v.*], one of the sons of Heman. The three great guilds of temple-singers will then be represented.

BAKEMEATS. In his dream Pharaoh's chief baker carried on his head 'three baskets of white bread' (סַלֵּי חֹרִי, Gen. 40 16—so RV and most modern scholars; AV 'three white baskets'), in the uppermost of which were 'all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh,' literally, as we read in the margin of AV, 'meat [food] of Pharaoh, the work of a baker' (40 17). The best commentary on these verses is the representation of the royal bakery on the tomb of Ramses III. at Thebes, which has been reproduced by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.*, 1 878, 1 176), and more recently by Erman (*Anc. Eg.* 191). The process of making the ordinary household supply is described under BREAD; here it is proposed to bring together the scattered notices in Scripture regarding other products of the baker's skill. In this connection, it is interesting to note the remarkable variety of shapes assumed by the bread and pastry in the representation referred to. Additional varieties are collected by Erman from other sources and represented on the same page. How far the Hebrew court bakers (1 S. 8 13) were able to imitate those of Egypt we do not know.

1. Baking.

There is certainly no lack of names for different species of bakemeats in the OT; but it is now impossible to identify them (cp BREAD). Thus we can only conjecture, although with a fair amount of certainty, that the cake named *kikkār* (כִּכָּר, AV

2. Cakes.

[1] Cp AKKUB, 2. It is possible, however, that BA omit the name (L has βακβουκ), since ακουφ, etc. may be a duplicate of HAKUPHA (*q.v.*).

'morsel,' RV 'loaf'), 1 S. 2 36, must have been round, like a Scottish 'bannock'; which, from the context, must hold good also of the barley-cake (עֻגַת) of Gideon's dream (Judg. 7 13†). The *nikkudim* (נקודים), possibly from נָקַד, to prick) may have been thin cakes pricked over like a modern biscuit or dotted over with the seeds of some condiment (see below). They were part of the present which the wife of Jeroboam I. took to the prophet Ahijah (1 K 14 3), and are rendered by AV cracknels, for which the American revisers prefer to read 'cakes.'[1] Still, judging from etymology, we may consider the *hallā* (חַלָּה), the cake which so frequently occurs in the sacrificial ritual, as having been perforated (חלל, to pierce) like a modern Passover cake. It was made of the finest flour (סֹלֶת). Mention is made of another kind of sacrificial cakes, apparently of foreign origin, which the women of Jerusalem kneaded and baked in connection with the idolatrous worship of the 'QUEEN OF HEAVEN' (*q.v.*), Jer. 7 18 44 19. 𝔊 merely transliterates the Heb. word (כַּוָּנִים, χαυῶνας [BA.AQ]; χαυβῶνας [𝔄*], χαιανας [Q*] in Jer. 44 19), and the exegetical tradition varies. That these *kawwānim* were some kind of bakemeats is clear from the kneading of the dough in their preparation (7 18). It is generally thought that they may have resembled the *selenai* (σελῆναι), cakes shaped like the full moon, which were offered in Athens to Artemis, the moon-goddess, at the time of full moon (see especially Kue.'s essay 'De melecheth des hemels,' translated in Bu.'s edition of his *Gesammelte Abh.* 208, and the comm. of Graf and of Giesebrecht *in loc.*). A similar custom is said to have prevailed in the worship of the Arabic goddess Al-'Uzza (We. *Ar. Heid.*[1] 38 *f.*, and ed. 41 *f.*).

3. Pastry.

With regard to what may be called the pastry of the Hebrews, all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that a more delicate relish was imparted to the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats in three ways. (1) The dough was baked in olive oil. Thus the taste of the manna is said in one passage (Nu. 11 8 JE) to be like the taste of 'cakes baked with oil' (RV mg., לְשַׁד הַיָּצְהָר), generally understood of some dainty cooked in oil (but EV 'like the taste of fresh oil'). (2) The dough was prepared by being mixed with oil and then fried. This mode of preparation was extensively used in the ritual of P; see, for example, Lev. 2 4 *ff.*, where a distinction is made between cakes 'mingled (בְּלוּלָה—see בלל in BDB *Lex.*) with oil' and cakes merely 'anointed (מְשֻׁחִים) with oil.' (3) In the passage parallel to that quoted above (1), viz., Ex. 16 31 [P], the taste of the manna is likened to 'wafers (צְפִיחִת, for which see BREAD) made with honey.' From this passage, from the prohibition of honey in the ritual (Lev. 2 11), and from the post-biblical use of the verbal stem רבש (DBS), we learn that honey (*dᵉbaš*)—no doubt both the product of the bee and the artificial grape-syrup (the modern *dibs*; see HONEY)—was used in the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats. 𝔊[BAL] in both the passages discussed (Nu. 11 8 Ex. 16 31) rendered by ἐγκρίς, which, according to Athenæus (in Di. on Ex. 16 31) denoted 'a bakemeat made with oil *and* honey.' Saadia's word here is *kaṭā'if*ᵃ (*pastilli dulciarii*), a species of confection still made in Syria. Landberg (*Proverbes et Dictons*, 125) defines it as 'a flaky paste (*pâtisserie feuilletée*) made with walnut and sugar and, in spring, with cream.'[2] Some sort of dainty confection is evidently intended by the obscure *lᵉbibōth* (לְבִבֹת; 2 S. 13 6 8 10†; EV 'cakes') which Tamar baked for Amnon.[3] If the etymology

[1] For Josh. 9 5, the only other passage where נקודים occurs (EV 'mouldy'), see Di. *in loc.*

[2] The curious in these matters are referred to Landberg's book for a detailed list of modern Arab confections, 122-128; cp Wetz. *ZDMG* 11 517 *ff.*

[3] On the reading in *v.* 9 see COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 [i.].

from לב (heart) were more secure, we might conclude that the tit-bit in question was heart-shaped.

In Ez. 27 17 we find among the trade products of Tyre a substance called *pannag* (פנג) which, according to the Targum, was a 'kind of confection'; so RV[mg]. The meaning is quite uncertain, and probably the text is corrupt (Co. would read פנים, wax; see PANNAG). For the frequently mentioned מגרגרות of grape-cake, see FRUIT, § 5; and for the use of condiments in baking, see FOOD and SPICES. A. R. S. K.

BAKING. See BREAD, § 2; OVEN.

BAKING PAN (מחבת), Lev. 2 5 7 9. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 7.

BALAAM (בִּלְעָם; etymology uncertain; Winckler's Bel-lam [*GI* 1 12] seems improbable; cp perhaps Bi-lum-me-se (Am. Tab.) and see BILEAM, BELA, NICOLAITANS; BALAAM [BAL.]; Joseph. ΒΑΛΑΑΜΟΣ), b. Beor; a soothsayer or prophet whom BALAK, king of Moab, made anxious by Israel's victory over the Amorites, summoned to curse his enemies. Instead of doing so, Balaam bore himself as the prophetic mouthpiece of Yahwè, whom he acknowledged as his God (Nu. 22 18), and by the spirit of Elohim (24 2) foretold the future glory of Israel. No wonder that a prophet of Judah, writing probably in the dark and idolatrous days of Manasseh, recalled the history of Balaam, when he would remind his ungrateful countrymen of Yahwè's 'beneficent deeds' (Mic. 6 5). Balaam's character has long been regarded as an enigma, and from Bishop Butler's time onwards many subtle solutions have been offered. The enigma, however, is mainly produced by the combination of two traditions belonging to different periods, and it is the duty of the critic to distinguish, as far as possible, the two traditions which, though one in spirit, present a palpable difference in details.

1. Two accounts.

According to J, Balak, king of Moab, dismayed by the number of his new and unwelcome neighbours, called Balaam from the land of the b'nē Ammon[1] to curse Israel. Balaam protested that he could not, for all the royal treasure, go beyond Yahwè's word; but he saddled his ass and set out.[2] On the road, the angel of Yahwe, invisible to Balaam, but visible to the beast he rode, stopped his way with a drawn sword. Yahwe endowed the ass with speech, and at last opened the prophet's eyes to the apparition, and, had it not been for the fear which held the animal back, Balaam would have paid for his rashness with his life. Still, he received permission to go, and was only warned to report Yahwè's oracle faithfully. The Elohist has no occasion for these marvels. In his account, Balaam, who is an Aramæan of PETHOR (*q.v.*) on the Euphrates (or perhaps rather a N. Arabian of Rehoboth by the river of Muṣṛi), did not yield to Balak's repeated solicitations till God (Elōhim) appeared in a dream and told him to go with the Moabite ambassadors.

From this point it is not possible to separate the E and J documents with full confidence. In what follows we have four great prophecies concerning Israel's future, besides three short oracles on the destruction of the Amalekites, the Kenites, and the Assyrians. Probably the first two of the four great prophecies come to us in their present form from the hand of the Elohist,[4] while the last two are derived from the narrative of the Yahwist.

Balaam prepares for his work rather after the fashion of a sorcerer than in accordance with the spiritual ideas of Hebrew prophecy. In order to influence Elohim, he directs Balak to offer sacrifices of special solemnity[1] (seven altars, seven oxen, seven rams; cp BEER-SHEBA). 'Bamoth baal, the scene of the sacrifices, was no ordinary high place,' but (probably) one of those high hills where huge dolmens still suggest primeval communing with God, and, as we learn, it commanded a view of at least 'the utmost part' of the Israelitish encampment. This was important, for a curse must be uttered in sight of those upon whom it is to fall (cp 23 13 a). When Balaam returns to Balak and his princes after meeting God, he can but break forth into jubilant praise of Israel. Curse it he cannot. The people has a destiny of its own which parts it from the surrounding nations. The Israelite hosts N. of Arnon are the token of a mightier multitude unborn. All individual desire loses itself in the sense of Israel's greatness. Happy is he who dies in Yeshurun, and, dying, knows that his people is immortal! In vain Balak changes the seer's place of outlook. As Balaam beholds all Israel from the top of PISGAH,[2] he receives a divine oracle which confirms and transcends the former blessing. God, says Balaam, is not a man: he does not change his mind. Nor can trouble touch Israel, for Yahwè himself reigns in their midst; and the people (if we may trust the reading[3]) greet this divine king with exultant shout. With the strength of a wild-ox, they fling their foes to the ground. No magical arts avail in Israel's case: even now all has been decided, and one can but cry 'What has God done!' Like a lion, Israel rises up to devour the prey.

2. Oracles 1 and 2 [E].

Again sacrificial rites are performed, and again Balaam has to disappoint the king (see PEOR). The third prophecy (J), together with some striking parallels to the second,[4] has characteristic features of its own. The poet still dwells on the numbers and prowess of Israel, but adds a panegyric of its well-watered and fruitful land, and surprises us by a definite mention of the kingly power as distinct from the reign of Yahwe. The king of Israel is described as raised even above Agag (24 7). Still more definite is the fourth prophecy. He (or he) sees in spirit the rise of David, and chaunts the victories which are to crush Moab and subdue Edom.

3. Oracles 3 and 4 [J].

The basis of the story of Balaam is evidently a patriotic legend, which, as we now have it, presupposes a comparatively advanced historical period. It is true, the story of the ass, which sees the angel invisible to man, and speaks (Nu 22 22-34; cp 2 Pe. 2 16), has a highly primitive flavour.[5] Still, this story, though welded with some psychological skill into the surrounding narrative, is a decoration derived from folklore, and the narrative as a whole is designed to accentuate the recklessness of jealous and rebellious feelings in the Ammonitish and Edomitish neighbours of Israel. Ammon and Edom

4. Origin of story.

[1] The word 'confection' here used in the RVmg. refers everywhere else in EV to perfumes or spices (Ex. 30 35, RV 'perfume'; 1 Ch. 9 30, AV 'ointment,' RV 'confection'; Eccles. 38 8); cp the 'confectionaries' or perfume-compounders of 1 S. 8 13.

[2] 22 5*b*; read עקר for עמי with Di. after Sam. Pesh. Vg., and some Heb. MSS. For a third view, however, see PETHOR.

[3] Nu. 22 19-21*a* belongs to E. The reason why Balaam went is not told in the extant portions of J.

[4] The Elohistic account of the prophecies, however, have made some reference to Moab, and must, therefore, have contained more than is now given in chap. 23.

[1] It is Balak, not Balaam, who sacrifices; 'Balak and Balaam' in Nu. 23 2 should evidently be omitted (as in ⊕BAL).

[2] This is certainly E's meaning in Nu. 23 13*a*. The second part of *v.* 13, which limits Balaam's range of vision to 'the utmost part of the people,' must be due to a redactor. Its object is to harmonise *vv.* 13*a* [E] with 24 2 (J), which tells us that Balaam is *now* taking his first complete view of the people of Israel. In reality, however, 13*b* destroys the progress which E intended from 22 41 to 23 13. Since a limited view of Israel had resulted in the utterance of a curse, Balak deemed it necessary to try the effect of the wider outlook from Pisgah.

[3] Cheyne, however, reads תרועת, 'and the glory of the king is among them.'

[4] It is doubtful, however, whether Nu. 23 22 24 is not a Yahwistic fragment (see Bacon, *Triple Tradition*, 228, and cp Di.'s note). According to Cheyne, מראה occurs both in *vv.* 21 *d* and [illegible]

[5] Cp the Babylonian beast-stories, the speaking horse in Hom. *Il.* 19 404, and the speaking serpent in Genesis.

were older as nations; but Israel alone had secured permanent foothold W. of Jordan, and for a time reduced the oldest nationalities to vassalage. The story of Balaam points out that Yahwe had ordained these privileges of Israel long before. The Moabitish king and the Ammonitish, Arabian,[1] or Aramean soothsayer had striven to turn aside the irreversible decree, and Yahwe had turned the very means they took into the instrument by which he announced the triumphs and the unique destiny of his people.

8. Origin of poems. It is much harder to fix the date and origin of the poems. We can scarcely attribute them without reserve to J and E, for the points of contact between the prophecies (especially 23 22 and 24 8) suggest that an ancient poem has been expanded and changed in diverse ways. The kernel of the poem may go back to the early days of the kingdom, even, it may be, to those of Solomon. The national fortune is painted in glowing colours, and the historical references stop short at David, who was the only king to conquer both Moab and Edom. On the other hand, the clear sense of Israel's separateness from the nations (23 9) had not arisen, so far as is known, before the time of the literary prophets, and the phraseology does not permit us to place the poems as we now have them, earlier.

9. The appendix. The appendix (24 20-24), at any rate, is generally admitted to be comparatively modern (note the exaggeration respecting the Amalekites). The structure shows that the oracles are from one hand (cp 24 20, end, with v. 24, end). The writer was quite familiar with the Assyrian power, and speaks of the deportation of the Kenites by the Assyrians. He speaks of the Kenites, rather than more famous peoples, because he considers them to be (like the Amalekites; cp 1 S. 15 6) within Balaam's horizon. He also (if the text of 24 24 be correct) predicts that Assyria in its turn will be destroyed by ships from CHITTIM (q.v.). Was he thinking of the Persian empire (Assyria = Persia, Ezra 6 22), and its overthrow by Alexander the Great (cp 1 Macc. 1 1)? The theory has been widely accepted, and much controversy as to the limits of prophecy has grown out of it. It seems bolder than the evidence as a whole warrants (see Di.), and it has lately been pointed out that 'they shall afflict' (עוּנּוּ, v. 24) is a misreading which has arisen out of the loss of an ethnic name in v. 23. Analogy requires that the last of the three little oracles in vv. 22-24 should begin thus

> And he saw . . . and began his oracle, and said,
> Alas who will live (survive) of . . .

And the discoveries of the Tell of Zenjirli enable us to restore the missing name, which was, not 'Samuel' (שמואל, as many MSS and some editions), but 'Sham'al.' Then in v. 24 we may continue:

> And there shall be ships from the direction of Cyprus,
> And Assyria shall afflict him (עוּנּוּ), and Eber shall afflict him,
> And he too (shall come) to destruction.[2]

The kingdom of Sham'al in NW. Syria was not so very far from Balaam's native place Pethor. (The *poet*, at any rate, placed Pethor in Aram.) That it was destroyed by Assyrians and peoples from the other side of the Euphrates (= Eber), and plundered by shipmen from Cyprus, was probably within the recollection of the author, who is, therefore, not to be regarded as post-

[1] See above, § 1, second paragraph. Cp Gen. 36 32, and see PELA (2), MIZRAIM.

[2] The importance of this correction will appear if we compare the alternative explanation of Hommel (*ZDMG* 245 *f.*), which produces the following most unnatural and unworthy distich:

> 'Jackals (אִיִּים) shall come from the north
> And wild cats (צִיִּים) from the coast of Kittim,'

where 'jackals' and 'wild cats' are figurative expressions for wild invaders, and Kittim is, Hommel says, 'the familiar term for the Hittites (var. chittim).' See ASSHURIM, EBER.

exile. Assyria may have been no longer at the height of its prosperity, but was still a conquering power.[1]

We have passing notices of Balaam in Josh. 24 9 (E_2) and in Dt. 23 4 *f.*, cp Neh. 13 1 *f.* (see AMMONITES, § 3).

7. Allusions to Balaam. In Dt. *l.c.*, as in E, he is an Aramean from Mesopotamia, hired to curse Israel, but Yahwe turned his curse into a blessing. The Priestly Writer represents Balaam in a much more unfavourable light. Nu. 31 8 16 Josh 13 22 (cp Nu. 25 6-18). He is a sorcerer, at whose instigation the Midianite women seduced the Israelites into sensual idolatry, and he died in the battle between the Israelites and the Midianites. Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 6 6) dwells at great length on the corrupting advice of Balaam, given in the first instance (cp Rev. 2 14) to Balak, and in Rabbinical literature Balaam is the type of false teachers (*Abôth*, 5 19; cp Rev. *l.c.*) and sorcerers. Cp also 2 Pet. 2 15 Jude 11. For Arabic parallels to the efficacy of Balaam's oracles, see Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, 20 *ff.*

See Di.'s *Comm.* and cp Tholuck, 'Die Gesch. Bileams,' *Vermischte Schriften*, 1 4-6-412; Ort, *Disput. de Nu.* xxiv. xxiii., 1860; Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, pt. 1, 1877; Kue. *Theol. Tijd.* 18 497-540 [84]; van Hoonacker, 'Observations critiques concernant Bileam,' *Le Muséon*, 1888; Halévy, *Rev. sém.* 1894, pp. 201-20; Schr. *COT* 1 143-145; We. *CH* 146 *ff.*; Kit. *Hist.* 1 202, 214, 229; Kautzsch, *Abriss* (sketch of literature appended to *HS*), 143; Hommel, *GBA* 9; Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899, pp. 399-400.

W. E. A.

BALAC (Βαλαακ [Ti. WH]). Rev. 2 14. See BALAK.

BALADAN (בְּלַאדָן). 2 K. 20 12 Is. 39 1. See MERODACH-BALADAN.

BALAH (בָּלָה). Josh. 19 3. See BAALAH, 2.

BALAK (בָּלָק, Βαλακ [BAL]; *BALAC*), b. Zippor, an early king of Moab (Nu. 22-24 Judg. 11 25, and elsewhere; cp Rev. 2 14, BALAC), inseparably connected with Balaam. For the alliteration cp Jabal and Jubal, Bera and Birsha, Eldad and Medad, etc. See BALAAM.

BALAMO, RV **Balamon** (Βαλαμων [BNA]). Judith 8 3. See BEL-MEN.

BALANCE. (1) *Mô'zenîm* (מֹאזְנַיִם),—the dual refers to the two *ear-like* pendants[2]) are scales for weighing money (Jer. 32 10), hair (Ez. 5 1, מֹאזְנֵי מִשְׁקָל), etc.; cp the metaphor of weighing calamity (Job 6 2), men (Ps. 62 9 [10], cp Dan. 5 27),[3] and hills (Is. 40 12). The dust of the balance is a simile for an insignificant or negligible quantity (Is. 40 15). The frequent metaphor of a just or even balance (מ׳ צֶדֶק, Lev. 19 36, cp Job 31 6 Ez. 45 10; מ׳ מִשְׁקָל, Prov. 16 11, RV 'scales'), as opposed to one that is false (מ׳ מִרְמָה, Prov. 11 1, cp 20 23 Am. 8 5 Hos. 12 7 [8]; מ׳ רָשָׁע, Mic. 6 11), is analogous to the well-known Heb. and Aram. idiom which expresses honour and integrity by the simile of 'heaviness' (cp כָּבֵד and יְקָר).[4]

(2) For *kâneh*, קָנֶה (Is. 46 6: only here in this sense), see REED, 1, n. Other words are (3) *peles*, פֶּלֶס, Prov. 16 11 RV, AV 'weight,' Is. 40 12 (σταθμός [BNAQ]), RV 'scales'; cp the verb in Ps. 58 2 [3]; but hardly מפשי in Job 37 16, 'the balancings (מפלס) of the clouds?' (see Budde). (4) σφαῖρα, Rev. 6 5, frequent in 𝔊 for the above.

The balances used in Palestine were probably similar to those found on Egyptian monuments. One type consists of an upright pole rising from a broad base with

[1] Che. *Expositor*, 1896, pp. 77-80 (following D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten*, 1 215 *f.*).

[2] In Ar. *mîzân* with *z*, whereas *uzn* (אזן) has *d*; see Frankel, 198.

[3] Cp Phœn. בעלמלם, 'B. hath weighed out.'

[4] Cp the deprecation of unfair weights (אֲבָנִים, lit. 'stones') in Lev. 19 35 Prov. 11 1 Mic. 6 11.

cross beams turning upon a pin. An arm on either side ended in a hook to which the article to be weighed was attached in bags (cp Wilk. *Ins. Eg.* 2 246, fig. 415 *sqq*, see BAG, 1). Small ones of a particularly ingenious nature, as well as hand-scales, are found (Wilk. I [illegible] fig 95). Above the pole is sometimes placed the figure of a baboon representing Thoth the regulator of measures. The steelyard (in Egypt) does not seem to have been known until the Roman period.

BALASAMUS (ΒΑΛΑϹΑΜΟϹ [BA]). 1 Esd 9 [illegible] Neh. 8 4. MAASEIAH, 15.

BALD LOCUST (קֵרְחָה, ΑΤΤΑΚΗϹ [BAFL]). The *qēraḥ* is apparently a species of edible locust, or a locust in a particular stage of growth. See further LOCUST, 2.

BALDNESS. See CUTTINGS, § 1; HAIR.

BALM (צֳרִי or צָרִי; ΡΗΤΙΝΗ [ΡΙΤ AEF] ΡΙΤΗΝΗ [E once]: cp Ezek. 27 17 AV^mg. 'rosin'; Vg. *resina*).

1. OT Sōrī. Gen. 37 25 43 11, Jer. 8 22 46 11 51 8, Ezek. 27 17), a valuable product of Palestine the identification of which has given much trouble. AV's rendering, 'balm,' is an unfortunate inheritance from Coverdale's Bible (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). We must look first at the Hebrew name צֳרִי (*ṣōrī*). The Arabic *ḍarw* or *ḍirw*[1] is identical with it, and since the means to 'drip' or 'bleed,' the product referred to may be *resinous*, but it need not be *aromatic*. From the OT notices we learn that *ṣōrī* (EV 'balm') was found abundantly in Gilead, that it was in early times exported thence to Egypt (Gen. 37 25), was sufficiently prized to form an appropriate gift to a lord of that country (Gen. 43 11), was applied as a remedy for violent pain (Jer. *ll. cc.*), and was among the chief products of Palestine that were brought into the Tyrian market (Ez. 27 17).

Next, we must point out that the modern commercial name 'balm of Gilead' has, like the botanical specific name *Gileadense*, no foundation but the hypothesis that the substance so designated is the OT '*ṣōrī* of Gilead'; and that from the earliest times resins and turpentines have been used in medicine, as stimulants and as antiseptics for wounds, and as counter-irritants for pain. The *ṣōrī* (EV 'balm') of Jer. 8 22 46 11 is clearly a local product in Gilead; its association with *mōr* (EV 'myrrh') in Gen. 37 25 43 11 proves that it was a valuable article of commerce.

It has been shown elsewhere (BALSAM) that the so-called 'balsam of Mecca,' produced by the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, is most probably not the '*ṣōrī* of Gilead' but the Hebrew *mōr*, which EV mistakenly renders 'myrrh' (see BALSAM, MYRRH). *Ṣōrī* (EV balm), then, must be something else.

2. Probably = mastic.

(1) Arabic usage is in favour of the rendering of RV^mg. Gen. 37 25 etc., MASTIC—*i.e.*, the resin yielded by the mastic tree, *Pistacia Lentiscus*.

This tree 'is a native of the Mediterranean shores, and is found in Portugal, Morocco, and the Canaries' (Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacogr.*, 161). According to Tristram (*NHB* 362), it is extremely common in all the Mediterranean countries, especially on the African coasts and in the Greek islands, where it overruns whole districts for many miles. Tristram states, also, that it is indigenous in all parts of Palestine, though, according to Post (Hastings, *BD* 236 *a*), it is not now to be found E. of the Jordan. The mastic of commerce is mainly derived from the Isle of Scio. Down to the seventeenth century mastic was an ingredient of many medicines. Unlike most resins, it readily softens with moderate heat, even that of the mouth.

As the Arabic word *ḍarw* (or *ḍirw*) is used mainly of this tree and its products, we are not rash in concluding that a substance of this kind is intended in the biblical passages, though it seems unnecessary to limit צֳרִי *ṣōrī* to the resin of *P. Lentiscus*: it may include the resins of the *terebinth* (*P. Terebinthus*) and *Aleppo pine* (*Pinus halepensis*; see ASH). The former yields 'Chian turpentine,' which has recently been brought into notice as an alleged remedy for cancer. According to Tristram (*op. cit.* 400), the terebinth is not now tapped for turpentine in Palestine, 'where the inhabitants seem to be ignorant of its commercial value.' There is abundant evidence of the medicinal use of these resins in antiquity (see Movers, *Phön.* III iii 1 221).

(2) [illegible] *Commiphora ægyptiaca*, called *Lakkum* by the Arabs (Tristram, *op. cit.* 366), yields an oil 'prepared by the Arabs of Jericho and sold to large quantities to the pilgrims as balm of Gilead.' This, however, was the κορκα of Greek writers, and clearly, therefore, distinguished by them from βαλσαμον [illegible] ρητινη. It is merely a modern substitute.

(3) Lastly must be mentioned Lagarde's view that the σπορας = צֳרִי (*ṣōrī*). There is great probability in this identification of the words, for σρ- is employed in several instances to transliterate ṣ (צ); but evidence is wanting to connect [illegible] the substance σπορας, which seems to have been called [illegible] לִבְנֹנָה (*libnōnāh*). See further STORAX.

W. T. T.-D. — S. M.

BALNUS (ΒΑΛΝΟΥϹ [A]). 1 Esd [illegible]

[illegible] once for בֹּשֶׂם *bōsem* [illegible] in rendering בְּרוֹשׁ [illegible] *berōsh* [illegible] balsam' (Cant. 5 13 [illegible] RV text and AV have [illegible] verb (in Aram. *bsem*) [illegible] be attracted by desire,'[2] [illegible] denote enjoyment con[illegible] sense that of smell. From [illegible] forms comes Gr. βάλσαμον. Although [illegible] the above passages *may* have [illegible] sense of [illegible] or perfume,[3] it is more probable [illegible] *bōsem* and βάλσαμον, they denote the balsam tree or plant *par excellence*. We now know that the proper source of Mecca balsam is *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* (see § 4); and a tree of this kind seems to be intended in the passages from ancient writers which are here summarised.

2. Ancient References. *circa* 322 B.C.

(*a*) Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 9 6) has a long passage about the production of balsam. It is produced, he says, 'in the hollow about Syria' (ἐν τῷ αὐλῶνι τῷ περὶ Συρίαν). This phrase Stackhouse explains from Strabo as meaning Κοιλε-Συρια; but at the present day *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* does not grow farther N. than Suākim; it is essentially a tropical plant. Theophrastus, who is so minutely accurate in all his other details (note his happy expression φύλλον δὲ . . . ὅμοιον πηγάνῳ, 'with leaves like rue'), cannot have meant [illegible] but Stackhouse supposes. It is certain, however, that the term CŒLE-SYRIA [*q.v.*] in the Greek period had a wider application, and Vesdingius (*Opobalsami Vindiciæ*, 24) rightly remarks, 'Vallem hic intelligendam esse Hierichuntis . . . persuademur.' The fruit, Theophrastus continues, resembles the terminth (turpentine) in size, shape, and colour. The 'tear' is gathered from an excision made with iron at the season when the stems and the upper parts are tensest (πνιγη). The odour is very strong; the twigs also are very sweet-smelling. No wild balsam is met with anywhere. The unmixed juice is sold for twice its weight in silver; even the mixed, which is often met with in Greece, is singularly fragrant.

(*b*) Strabo (764) is somewhat less full; but there can be no doubt that it is the Mecca balsam plant which he describes as grown in a παραδεισος at Jericho. He says that it is

24 B.C.

shrub-like (θαμνώδες), resembling cytisus and terminth, and sweet-smelling. The juice is obtained by means of incisions in the bark; it is very much like a viscous milk (γλισχρῳ γάλακτι) and solidifies when stored in little shells (κογχαρια). He praises its medicinal use, and says that it is produced nowhere else.

Diodorus Siculus (2 48) mentions 'a certain hollow' in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea as the habitat of the balsam,

8 B.C.

and adds that great revenue is derived from this plant, because it is met with nowhere else in the world, and is of great value to physicians.

Pliny too (*HN* 12 25) affirms that the balsam plant is confined

[1] The Syriac *ṣarwā* must be a loan-word from Arabic (Lag. *Mitth.* 1 234).

[1] Curiously enough, Ar. *basima* has the contrary sense of *loathing* (see Lag. *Uebers.* 143); but *baḏam* denotes the balsam tree.

[2] Heb. does not possess the verb.

[3] See SPICE. *bōsem* is the word used in 1 K. 10 2 10 25 (Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon).

to Judæa. 'In former times it was cultivated only in two gardens, both of them royal; one of them was no more than twenty jugera in extent, and the other less. The emperors Vespasian and Titus had this shrub exhibited at Rome; . . . it bears a much stronger resemblance to the vine [*i.e.*, in the stems; here Pliny seems to borrow from Trogus Pompeius] than to the myrtle. The leaf bears a very close resemblance to that of [rue][1] and it is an evergreen. . . . At the present day it is cultivated by the fiscal authorities, and the plants were never known to be more numerous. They never exceed a couple of cubits in height.'

70 A.D.

Josephus makes several references to the balsam. He says (*Ant.* viii. 6 6) that the first roots of balsam (ὀποβαλσάμου) were brought to Palestine by the queen of Sheba. To give an idea of the site of Pompey's camp (at Jericho), he says it is where that balsam (ὀποβαλσαμον) which is of all unguents (μύρα) the chief grows, and describes how the juice (ὀπός) is obtained (*Ant.* xiv. 4 1). Again, when speaking of the districts around Jericho assigned to Cleopatra, he speaks of the preciousness of this plant, which grows there alone (*Ant.* xv. 4 2). Lastly, in a second reference to Pompey, he says that the region of Jericho bears the balsam tree (βαλσαμον), whose stems (πρεμνα) were cut with sharp stones, upon which the juice 'drops down like tears' (*BJ* i. 6 6).

90 A.D.

Trogus, an author of the time of Augustus, is reproduced by Justin (36 3). He describes the closely shut in valley in which grows the opobalsam in Jericho (Hierichus). 'In that valley is a wood, notable alike for its fertility and its pleasantness, being adorned with a palm grove and opobalsamum. The opobalsamum trees have a form like pine trees (*pinis*), except that they are less tall (*minus humiles*), and are cultivated after the manner of vineyards. These at a certain time of the year sweat balsam.'

1st cent. A.D.

It is remarkable that the Greek and the Roman writers dwell so constantly on the uniqueness of the balsam-tree of Jericho. Some of them, at any rate (*e.g.*, Strabo, Pausanias, Diodorus), were not unaware that the plant grew on the coasts of Arabia; and Josephus, in his legendary style, actually attributes to importation from Arabia its presence in Palestine (*Ant.* viii. 6 6). No doubt this is substantially correct. Prosper Alpinus (*De Balsamo*, 1592) and Veslingius (*Opobalsami Vindiciæ*, 1643) long ago investigated the subject. In the time of the former, balsam plants were brought to Cairo from Arabia; Alpinus himself (*op. cit.* 64) apparently possessed a living specimen. The Arabic writer 'Abdallatif (*d* 1231) also speaks of the balsam tree as in Egypt at 'Ain Shems ('Fountain of the Sun') *i.e.*, in the gardens of Matariya, close to Heliopolis. It was about a cubit high, and had two barks; the outer red and fine, the inner green and thick. When the latter was macerated in the mouth, it left an oily taste, and an aromatic odour. Incisions were made in the barks, and the amount of balsam oil obtained formed a tenth part of all the liquid collected.[2] The last balsam tree cultivated in Egypt died in 1615; but two were alive in 1612. This was the only place in Egypt where the balsam tree would grow. We can well understand, therefore, that the neighbourhood of Jericho was the only habitat of the tree in Palestine.

3. Balsam in Arabia.

It would, however, be unreasonable to suppose that the needs of the luxurious class in Palestine in pre-Roman times were altogether supplied from Jericho. The precious unguent derived from the balsam tree, not less than the costly frankincense, was doubtless always one of the chief articles brought by Arabian caravans. The tree that produces the so-called 'balsam of Mecca' is the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*. This tree, as Schweinfurth reports,[3] 'averages above 15 ft in height, possesses a yellow papery exfoliating bark, and produces thin, gravish black twigs, from the ends of which a small quantity of balsam exudes.' 'It is widely distributed over the coast territory of Arabia, the adjacent islands, and S. Nubia'; but 'the balsam is collected only in the valleys near Mecca.' It is thus described by Dymock (*Pharmacogr. Ind.* i. 117): 'Balsam of Mecca, when freshly imported into Bombay, is a greenish turbid fluid of syrupy consistence, having a very grateful odour, something like oil of rosemary.' Jewish tradition seems to have held that Mecca balsam is what the OT writers call *ṣŏrî*—whence the rendering 'balm' of AV and RV (text); but the tradition was impugned long ago by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 251), and does not agree with the use of the Arabic cognate word *darîo* (mastic; see BALM, 1). Schweinfurth holds that the OT name for Mecca balsam was not *ṣŏrî* (EV balm, perhaps really mastic; see BALM, 1), nor *bŏsem* (see above, § 1), but *mōr* (see MYRRH). Certainly *mōr* was (like Mecca balsam) strongly aromatic and also a *liquid* substance (Ex 30 23 Cant. 5 5 13), whilst the OT references do not necessarily imply that *ṣŏrî* was aromatic. It is not unlikely that both *bŏsem* (§ 1) and *mōr* mean Mecca balsam. (Cp *Kew Bulletin* for Mar.-Apr. 1896, p. 80.) See MYRRH. N. M. W. T. T.-D.—T. K. C.

4. Probably = OT *mōr* EV *myrrh*.

BALSAM TREES (בְּכָאִים; RV^mg 2 S. 5 23 1 Ch. 14 14 Ps. 84 6). See MULBERRY.

BALTHASAR, RV **Baltasar** (Βαλτασαρ [BAQ]). Bar. 1 11 *f.* See BELSHA'ZAR.

BAMAH (בָּמָה, Ez. 20 29). See HIGH PLACES, § 5.

BAMOTH (בָּמוֹת; Βαμωθ [BAFL]), a station of the Israelites between NAHALIEL (*q.v.*) and 'the glen (G^A νάπη) which is in the field [plateau] of Moab, [by] the summit of [the] Pisgah, etc.' (Nu. 21 19). Eus. (*OS* 101 22) describes it as 'on the Arnon' (like Nahaliel), which must be wrong. See BAMOTH-BAAL.

BAMOTH-BAAL (בָּמוֹת בָּעַל—*i.e.*, 'the high places of Baal') lay in the Moabite territory (see Nu. 22 41, RV; ΣΤΗΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΑΛ [BAFL]), to the north of the Arnon, and was assigned to Reuben (Josh. 13 17: ΒΑΙΜΩΝ ΒΑΑΛ [B], ΒΑΜΩΘ Β. [AL]). The order of enumeration in Nu 21 19 *f.*, where it is called simply BAMOTH, leads to the supposition (so Di.) that it must have lain somewhere on or near the Jebel 'Attârûs, on the south side of the Wady Zerka Ma'in (cp Is. 15 2: 'the high places'). Conder (*Heth and Moab*, 144) and G. A. Smith (*HG* 562), however, find the Bamoth in the dolmens immediately north of el-Maslubiyeh, near the Wady Jideid. The Beth Bamoth of the Moabite stone is perhaps the same place (cp BAJITH); but this whole region is thickly strewn with the remains of ancient altars and other religious monuments (Conder, *op cit.* 140 *ff.*). The name Bamoth-baal is suggested also by Nu. 21 28, where the בעלי בָּמוֹת אַרְנֹן (EV 'lords of the high places of Arnon'—but see G) are mentioned in parallelism with Ar of Moab. G. A. S

BAN, RV^mg. BAENAN (Βαν [A], Βαεναν [B]), 1 Esd. 5 37 = Ezra 2 60, TOBIJAH, 2

BAN (חֵרֶם), **to Ban** (הֶחֱרִים).

G renders by ἀνάθεμα, ἀνάθημα, ἀνατεθεματισμένον, and in a few instances ἀπωλεία and other words denoting destruction; ἀναθεματίζειν and more rarely ἀνατίθεναι once, 1 Esd. 9 4, ἀνιεροῦν, ἐξολοθρεύειν, and in a few instances other verbs denoting 'kill' or 'destroy.' V.g. has *anathema, consecratio*, etc.; *occido, consumo, consecro*, etc. AV translates *curse, utterly destroy, accursed thing*, etc.; RV, *devote, utterly destroy, devoted thing*.

1. Terms.

The root *ḤRM* in Hebrew denotes devoting anything to Yahwè by destroying it: *ḥērem* is any person or thing thus devoted. The root is found in a similar sense in all the Semitic languages, of sacred things which men are partly or wholly forbidden to use. It is especially common in Arabic: *e.g.*, the sacred territory of Mecca and Medina is *haram*, and the *ḥarîm* (harem) is ground forbidden to all men other than the master and his eunuchs. It may be noted that the exclusive use of the root in the strong sense of devoting by destroying is characteristic of Hebrew (and of the dialect spoken by the Moabites; see §§ 3 *f.*), and that in other languages *ḥrm* bears a meaning more nearly approaching טָמֵא (unclean), קָדַשׁ (consecrated)

[1] *Rutæ* in old editions; but Mayhoff prefers *tuburi* (*tuberi*).
[2] See 'Abdallatif, ed. De Sacy, 88; Badge, *The Nile*, 121.
[3] We quote from a *résumé* of his researches in *Pharm. Journ.* April 1894, p. 897.

(*a*) Idols are herem in themselves. In Dt. 7 25 the Israelites are ordered to burn all heathen idols and not to bring them into their houses. The idols are herem, and make those who keep them herem. (*b*) Public herem. The Israelites or their rulers are ordered to treat as herem in certain circumstances, guilty citizens or obnoxious enemies. In Ex 22 19[20] (Book of the Covenant, E) any one sacrificing to any deity other than Yahwè is to be made herem. So in substance Dt 13 6-11, though the term herem does not occur till v. 16. In Dt. 13 12-19[13-18] any idolatrous Israelite city is to be made herem: all living things are to be killed and 'all its spoil' is to be burnt. So far, in (*a*) as in (*b*), the herem is something abominable in itself and distasteful to God. Its destruction is a religious duty, and an acceptable service to Yahwè. Similarly, in Dt. 20 16-18 all Canaanite cities are to be made herem, that they may not seduce Israel to idolatry. In Dt. 20 10-14, if any distant city refuses to surrender when summoned, all the males are to be slain, and all other persons and things may be taken as spoil. The term 'herem' is not used in that paragraph, and is perhaps not applicable to it. (*c*) We gather from certain passages that individuals might devote some possession to destruction as a kind of service to Yahwè, and that also is called herem (see VOW). In a section of P concerning vows, Lev. 27, two verses (28 *f.*) deal with this individual herem. Other vows may be redeemed; but individual (like public) herem must be destroyed: it may not be sold or redeemed: it is most holy (*kodesh kodashim*) unto Yahwè. Among the objects which an individual may make herem, men are specially mentioned: they must be put to death. It is startling to find such a provision in one of the latest strata of the Pentateuch. Possibly only criminals could be made herem; or the text may be fragmentary. Cp Dillmann and Kalisch on Lev. 27 28, 29.

2. Law of Hērem.

In Josh. 6 24 we have a provision that metal herem (obviously because indestructible) is to be put into the treasury of the sanctuary. By an extension of this principle, Nu 18 14 (P) and Ez. 44 29 ordain that herem shall be the property of the priests.

Herem is met with in Hebrew literature in all periods. The sweeping statements that all Canaanite cities E and W. of the Jordan were made herem are late generalisations; but Nu. 21 2 (JE) and Judg. 1 17 (J), though otherwise discrepant, agree that the city on whose site Hormah was built was made hērem. Other instances of herem are Jabesh-gilead (Judg. 21 10 *f.*), Jericho (rebuilding forbidden under supernatural penalty, Josh. 6 26 *f.*), the Amalekites (1 S. 15), and the children of Ham at Gedor (1 Ch. 4 41). Similar cases—in regard to which, however, the term hērem is not used—are Gibeah and Benjamin (Judg. 20) and Saul's attempt to execute Jonathan (1 S 14 24-46). On the Moabite stone (*l.* 16 *f.*) Mesha' says that he made the whole Israelite populace of Nebo herem to Ashtarchemosh. The prophets speak of Israel or Yahwè making hērem of enemies (Is 34 5 etc.) or of enemies' property (Mic. 4 13), or, conversely, of the heathen (Jer. 25 9), or Yahwè (Is. 43 28), making hērem of Israel. In the later literature the root *ḥrm* often only means exterminate (2 Ch. 20 23). The old meaning, however, was not quite forgotten, and in Ezra 10 8, if any Jew failed to obey Ezra's summons to Jerusalem, his property was to be made herem and he himself excommunicated. In post-biblical Hebrew herem came to mean excommunication as well as property set apart for the priests and the temple (Levy and Jastrow's Dictionaries, *s.v.*; S. Mandl, *Der Bann*, '94, pp. 24-51). See, further, EXCOMMUNICATION.

3. Practice.

The character of herem, the diffusion of the root in a similar sense throughout Semitic languages, and its use in the Hebrew sense by the Moabites, show that it was an ancient Semitic institution belonging to Israel in common with its kinsmen. Stade (*Gesch.* 1 490) holds that a Semitic people besieging a city vowed to make it herem to their god in order to secure his aid. Moreover, the idea of herem as the use of the root in allied languages shows was kindred to that of sanctity and uncleanness. Like these, it was contagious (cp CLAN, §§ 2, 14): the possessor of herem became herem (Dt. 7 26, Josh 6 18, Achan). OT legislation, as we have seen, converts the bribe to a venal deity into a legitimate penalty. The various degrees of severity are not important in relation to the principle.

4. Origin and parallels.

Herem has something in common with taboos, especially in its fatal effect on its possessor—*e.g.*, in New Zealand tabooed food is fatal to any one who eats it (FRAZER, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. 'Taboos'); but it is not so closely allied to taboos as the idea of uncleanness (טמא, WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 450 *ff.*). The Arab *ḥarīm* often assimilates to herem—*e.g.*, clothes used at the circuit of the Ka'aba are *ḥarīm*, and may not be worn or sold. Cp also the Roman ceremony of *devotio*, by which an enemy was devoted to destruction as an offering to the infernal gods (Preller, *Rom. Myth.* 124, 466). The instance of Kirrha and the Amphictyonic council, in which the cultivation of land laid under a curse was made the pretext for a holy war, may also be compared with the case of Jericho. W. H. B.

BANAIAS (ΒΑΝΑΙΑϹ [BV]), 1 Esd. 9 25 = Ezra 10 43, BENAIAH, 10.

BAND. 1. In the sense of a troop or company of men, soldiers, etc. (see ARMY, § 3).

The rendering of *'agappīm*, אגפים (prop. wings, cp Bab. *agappu*), Ex. 12 14, etc.; *gedūd*, גדוד, 1 K. 11 24 AV, 2 K. 13 21, etc.; *ḥayil*, חיל (prop. force), 1 S. 10 26 AV, Ezra 8 22; *maḥaneh*, מחנה, Gen. 32 7[8] AV (prop. camp), see MAHANAIM; and *nōṣ*, נוץ, 1 Ch. 12 21 AV, Job 1 17; 'by bands,' Pr. 30 27, represents a participle חלוצים, *ḥalūṣīm*, 'dividing (itself).' In this sense the common Gr. word is σπεῖρα (cp Mt. 27 27, Mk. 15 16, etc.), 'cohort' (so RV[m.], Acts 10 1).

2. In the sense of a ribbon.

So *ḥēḥesh*, חשב, Ex. 28 8, RV 'cunningly woven band'; AV 'curious girdle.'

3. Finally, to denote anything that connects or encloses, the following words (also rendered 'bonds,' etc.) are employed.

'Eṣūr, אסור, Judg. 15 14, cp Aram. אסור, Dan. 4 15 23[12 7 1]; *'ebel*, חבל, Ps. 119 61 (RV CORDS, *q.v.*), and esp. Zech. 11 7 14, where 'Bands' (mg. 'binders' or 'union') is the name of one of the prophet's staves; *ḥarṣubbōth*, חרצבות, Is. 58 6 and Ps. 73 4 (RV[mg.] 'pangs,' doubtful); *mōṭāh*, מוטה, Lev. 26 13, Ez. 34 27, RV 'bars' (AGRICULTURE, § 4); *mōsēr*, מוסר, Job 39 5, Ps. 2 3; *mōwkēsōth*, מוכסות, Job 38 31[f], of the 'bands' of Orion; see STARS, § 3 *b*; *'ēbōth*, עבות, Job 39 10, elsewhere (in plur.) rendered 'cords,' 'ropes,' etc.

BANI (בָּנִי, §§ 5, 52; cp Palm. and Nab. בני, probably shortened from BINAIAH, 'Yah hath built up'; cp Gen. 30 3, Dt. 25 9, Ruth 4 11, and see Haupt, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* Ap. 22 ['92]; ΒΑΝ[Є]Ι [BNAL], -ΑΙ [L], -ΑΙΑ [BL], -ΑΙΑϹ [NAL], ΒΑΑΝ[Є]Ι [BNV] is a frequently occurring name (chiefly post-exilic), and in some cases it is difficult to separate the persons bearing it; there is often confusion between it, the parallel names BUNNI and BINNUI [*qq.v.*], and the noun Bine (בני). See Mey. *Entsteh.* 142.

1. A Gadite, one of David's 'thirty': 2 S. 23 36 (υἱὸς γαλαάδδει [B], υἱ. γαδδί [A], υἱ. αγηρει [L]) 1 Ch. 11 38, on which see HAGRI. Cp DAVID, § 11 (c).

2. A Levite. The Bani occurs in the great post-exilic list (Ezra 8 33, Ezra 2 [Βαανι [L]], 10 [AV], Neh. 7 [Βαανι [BNA], -αιου [L]] AV BINNUI (*q.v.*) 1 Esd. 5 12; and very many members of it are enumerated in Ezra 10 29 (Βαουνι [BN], -Α [A]) 30 (Βανι [BA]) 34 (Μαδαι [A]) and among those who had married foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 8) in Ezra 10 34-42; viz. 10 37, 38 (Ωηλ [BN], Βανουι [L]) 1 Esd. 9 34 AV MAANI, RV BAANI, and in 37, 38 (οἱ υἱοὶ Βανουι [BNA], Βουνει, καὶ υἱοὶ

βουνει [L] = MT בָּנִי יבני, EV BANI and BINNUI) — 1 Esd. 9 34 (EV BANNUS, ELIALI; βαννους, εδιαλεις [B], β., ελιαλει [A], βεννει, και υιοι βουνει [L]). It is plausible, however, to correct Bani into BINNUI or perhaps Bigvai in *v.* 14 (cp. 2 14). The family is also referred to on important occasions in Neh. 8 17 and 10 13 (βανουια [L]?) and as in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*), 1 Esd. 8 36, AV BANID, RV BANIAS (βανειας [B], -ναιας [L], -νι αυ- [A]). Ezra 8 10 (υιων [Σαλειμουθ, B], υι. [Σαλιμωθ, L], βαανις [αλειμουθ', A^vid.]) where Bani should be restored in MT (see Be. *ad loc.*).

4. One of the expounders of the Law (Neh. 8 7; see EZRA, ii. § 13 *f.*; cp i. § 8, ii. § 16 [1] 15 [1] *c*) who officiated at the constitution of the 'congregation' (9 4 *f.*; see EZRA, ii. § 12, § 13 [*f.*]). In 9 4 (Bani Kadmiel; ⊕BNAI. υιοι καδμιηλ) the name is repeated, probably by an error (cp Ryssel); Gratz, after Pesh., reads Binnui for the second Bani. In 9 5 ⊕BNA has simply καδμιηλ. Cp also Ezra 2 40 ('and Kadmiel of the children of Hodaviah') · Neh. 7 43 with 1 Esd. 5 26 (καδμιηλου και βαννου [A]). In Neh. 11 22, UZZI (5) b. Bani (βουνει [N^c.a], βουνει [L]) is called overseer of the Levites at Jerusalem.

4. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7). Neh. 10 14 [15] (βανι [L]: υιοι βανι [BNA]; cp BUNNI, 1)

5. A Merarite; 1 Ch. 6 31 [46].

6. A Judahite; 1 Ch. 9 4 Kr. (⊕BAL. omit).

BANID, RV **Banias** (ΒΑΝΕΙΑΣ [B]), *i.e.*, BANI (*q.v.* 2 [end]).

BANISHMENT. On various forms of temporary or permanent exclusion from the community as a consequence of crime or ceremonial disqualification, see BAN, § 3; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 15 *f.*; SYNAGOGUE; EXCOMMUNICATION.

In 2 S. 14 14 allusion is made to Absalom in the word נִדָּח (EV 'banished'), elsewhere usually rendered 'outcast' ('outcasts' or 'dispersed of Israel'); see DISPERSION, § 1. The nature of the punishment threatened in Ezra 7 26† (שרש) RVmg. 'rooting out' (παιδεια [BA], παιδευειν [L]) was already obscure to the editor of 1 Esd. (8 24: τιμωρια [BA], ατιμια [L]). Ezra 10 8 ('separated [נבדל] from the congregation of the captivity') may give an explanation of the phrase.

BANK. For *sōlēlāh*, סֹלֵלָה, in 2 S. 20 15 2 K. 19 32 Is. 37 33 AV (elsewhere EV always MOUNT) and χάραξ in Lk. 19 43 (AV TRENCH, RV^mg. PALISADE) see FORTIFICATION.

BANK (ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ, Lk. 19 23 EV), **BANKER** (ΤΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΗΣ, Mt. 25 27 RV). See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

BANNAIA (ΒΑΝΝΑΙΟΥΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 33 AV = Ezra 10 33, ZABAD, 5

BANNAS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 26 RV = Ezra 2 40, BANI, 3.

BANNEAS (ΒΑΝΝΑΙΑΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 26 RV = Ezra 10 25, BENAIAH, 7

BANNER (נֵס, דֶּגֶל, אֹת). See ENSIGNS, § 1, *a*, *b*, *c*.

BANNUS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 38, BANI, 2.

BANQUET, Banqueting House. See MEALS.

BANUAS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 26, apparently a misprint for Bannas (so RV). See BANI (3).

BAPTISM (ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ, ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕΙΝ). Among the permanent witnesses to the birth of Christianity

1. Origin. out of Judaism is the primary institution of the Christian Church, the rite of baptism. With the Jews the bathing of the whole body in pure cold water—if possible, in a running stream—was a recognised means of restoration from a state of ceremonial uncleanness. Passages like Num. 19 11 *f.*, 31 19, also Is. 1 16 Zech. 13 1, and especially Ezek. 36 24 *ff.*, may be compared. The pouring of water on the hands—a symbolic representation, perhaps, of baptism in a running stream—was a Pharisaic precaution insisted on before every meal (cp Mk. 7 3 Lk. 11 38). The Gentile, whose whole life had been ceremonially unclean, was required to submit to baptism among other conditions of his reception as a Jewish proselyte (Schurer, *Gesch.* ⁴ ② 2 569 *ff.*; 3rd ed. 3 129). See PROSELYTE, § 5.

The connection between Jewish and Christian baptism is strikingly illustrated by the regulations prescribed for the latter in the *Didaché*, to be noticed presently; but, the ceremonial baptisms of Judaism, though they lie behind Christian baptism and exert an influence on its history, are not its immediate antecedent. The Jewish baptisms were the outcome of the Jewish distinction between clean and unclean—a distinction which was done away by Christianity (cp WASHINGS). Christian baptism is a purification, not from ceremonial, but from moral impurity. The historical link is found in the baptism of John in the river Jordan. John adapted the familiar ceremony of baptism to a moral purpose: his was 'a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,' a purification of the nation from that moral uncleanness of which ceremonial uncleanness was properly typical. It was by means of this development of its true significance that baptism was rescued from mere formalism, and prepared to become the initiatory rite of the new Christian society.

As Jesus' work took up John's, and as he himself had chosen to be baptized by John, it was natural that his first preaching of repentance should be coupled, like John's, with a baptism. It is significant, however, that he did not perform the rite himself: only his disciples did so (Jn. 4 1 *f.*). Christian baptism was not yet instituted; and when it came it was to add a spiritual element which John's baptism lacked. Meanwhile Jesus was indicating by his own action, and by his defence of the action of his disciples, that the frequent Pharisaic baptisms—the ceremonial washing of the hands, and the 'baptisms' of vessels and dishes (Mk. 7 4)—had no permanent claim on the conscience; and certain of his words are directly explained by one of the Evangelists as repealing altogether the ceremonial distinction of clean and unclean, and as 'cleansing all meats' (Mk. 7 19). Only when the whole purport of Jewish baptisms was annulled was the way clear for the institution of the Christian rite, one of the essential principles of which was that it should be performed once for all, with no possibility of repetition.

On the day of Pentecost Peter answers the inquiries of the multitude in words which, whilst they recall the baptism of John, indicate the fuller significance of Christian baptism: 'Repent ye, and be baptized, each one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit' (Acts 2 38). About three thousand were thereupon added by baptism to the original band of believers. It is expressly stated that at Samaria, as the result of Philip's preaching, both men and women were baptized 'in the name of the Lord Jesus'; but the gift of the Holy Spirit did not follow until the arrival of Peter and John from Jerusalem (8 12-17). The eunuch after Philip's instructions asks for baptism; and 'they ... down both together into the water' (8 36 38). Saul is baptized by Ananias at Damascus (9 18). When Peter preached to Cornelius and his friends 'the Holy Spirit fell on all that heard the word'; whereupon the apostle 'commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ' (10 44 *ff.*). Special stress is laid on this incident as the first occasion of the baptism of Gentiles as such (10 45 11 18). It was justified by the apostle on the ground of the previous gift of the Holy Spirit, which was the baptism promised by Christ in contradistinction to John's baptism (11 16 *ff.*).

Baptism was thus recognised as the door of admission into the Christian Church for Jews and Gentiles alike; and certain disciples of the Baptist whom Paul found at Ephesus were baptized afresh 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' (19 5). Of Lydia, the purple seller of Thyatira found by Paul at Philippi, we read that she 'was baptized, and her household' (16 15); and of the Philippian gaoler, that he was baptized, 'he and all his straightway,'—*i.e.*, in the middle of the night (16 33). At Corinth a few of the earliest converts were baptized by Paul himself—Crispus, Gaius, and the household of

Stephanas;—but the apostle's language shows that this was quite exceptional (1 Cor. 1 14-17). In 1 Cor. 15 29 Paul mentions a custom, apparently prevailing in Corinth, of vicarious baptism in behalf of the dead. He neither commends nor rebukes it, and it would seem to have soon died out.[1]

2. Method. The earliest notice of the method of baptism is perhaps that which is found in the *Didaché*, and, as we have already said, it illustrates the recognition of a connection between the Jewish and the Christian baptisms. The *Didaché*, here as elsewhere, is strongly anti-Judaic in its tone, and at the same time shows the influence of Jewish practices upon the community which it represents. The Mishna draws six distinctions in the kinds of water available for various purificatory purposes (*Mikvaoth* 1 1-8, quoted by Schürer, 2 4 03 *ff.*), and in certain cases it insists upon the full stream of running water, in which the whole body can be immersed. The *Didaché* (chap. 7) recognises 'living water'—*i.e.*, the running stream 'other water,' 'cold,' and 'warm'; and finally allows a triple pouring, where a sufficiency of any water for immersion cannot be had; but, though it indicates a preference in the order here given, it admits the validity of baptism under any of these conditions.

It is sometimes urged that, because βαπτίζειν means 'to dip,' Christian baptism must originally have been by immersion. In the NT, however, as in classical writers, the usual word for 'to dip' is βάπτειν (Lk. 16 24 Jn. 13 26). βαπτίζειν had a wider usage, and could be used even of a mere ceremonial handwashing, as we see from Lk. 11 38, 'he marvelled that he had not first washed (ἐβαπτίσθη) before dinner.' Already the partial ablution would seem to have been regarded as symbolical of the whole. It is difficult to suppose that the 3000 converts on the day of Pentecost could all have been baptized by immersion. Such a method is indeed presupposed as the ideal, at any rate, in Paul's words about death, burial, and resurrection in baptism (Rom. 6 3 *f.*); but pouring water on the head was in any case symbolical of immersion, and tantamount to it for ritual purposes.

3. Formula. (*a*) *In the Name*, not 'into the name.' Although εἰς is the preposition most frequently used, we find ἐν in Acts 2 38 10 48; and the interchangeability of the two prepositions in late Greek may be plentifully illustrated from the NT. Moreover, the expression is a Hebraism; cp ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Mt. 21 9 (= Ps. 118 26 בשם יהוה); so in the baptismal formula of Mt. 28 19 the Syr. version has ܒܫܡܐ (Lat. *in nomine*).

(*b*) *In the name of Jesus Christ*, or *of the Lord Jesus*. The former expression is used in Acts 2 38 10 48, the latter in Acts 8 16 19 5; cp also Acts 22 16, 'Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on his name.' From these passages, and from Paul's words in 1 Cor. 1 13 ('Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?'), it is natural to conclude that baptism was administered in the earliest times 'in the name of Jesus Christ,' or in that 'of the Lord Jesus.' This view is confirmed by the fact that the earliest forms of the baptismal confession appear to have been single not triple, as was the later creed. When Philip's baptism of the eunuch appeared to have been abruptly interrupted, the confession was inserted in the simple form 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God' (Acts 8 37); and the formula 'Jesus is Lord' appears soon to have become a stereotyped confession of Christian faith (cp Ro. 10 9 1 Cor. 12 3 Phil. 2 11); moreover the 'question and answer' (ἐπερώτημα) connected with baptism in 1 Pet. 3 21 would appear to represent only the central section of the later creed.

On the other hand, we have in Mt 28 19 the full formula, 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' We have no synoptic parallel at this point; and thus, from a documentary point of view we must regard this evidence as posterior to that of Paul's Epistles and of Acts.

The apparent contradiction was felt by Cyprian, who suggested (*Ep.* 73 17 *f.*) that in baptizing Jews the apostles may have been contented with the one name of the Lord Jesus Christ, as they already believed in the Father; whilst in baptizing Gentiles they used the full formula, which was given (as he points out) with the command to 'make disciples of all the nations' or 'Gentiles.' This explanation, however, breaks down in face of Acts 10 45-48, the opening of the door to the Gentiles.

Three explanations deserve consideration: (1) that in Acts we have merely a compendious statement—*i.e.*, that as a matter of fact all the persons there spoken of were baptized in the threefold name, though for brevity's sake they are simply said to have been baptized in the single name; (2) that Matthew does indeed report exactly the words uttered by Jesus, but that those words were not regarded as prescribing an actual formula to be used on every occasion, and that the spirit of them was fulfilled by baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus; (3) that Matthew does not here report the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but transfers to him the familiar language of the Church of the evangelist's own time and locality.

The first of these explanations cannot be regarded as satisfactory in the absence of any historical evidence of the employment of the threefold formula in the earliest times. A decision between the second and the third would involve an inquiry into the usage of the evangelist in other parts of his Gospel, and belongs to the discussion of the synoptic problem; but in favour of the third it may be stated that the language of the First Gospel, where it does not exactly reproduce an earlier document, shows traces of modifications of a later kind.

It has been argued that when Paul (Acts 19 2 *f.*), in answer to the statement of the Ephesian disciples of the Baptist, 'We have not so much as heard if there be a Holy Spirit' (εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιόν ἐστιν), said, 'Unto what, then, were ye baptized?' he presupposed the use of the longer formula which expressly named the Holy Spirit. The statement can hardly mean, however, that they had never even heard of a Holy Spirit, for disciples of the Baptist could scarcely so speak (Mk. 1 8): it must refer to the special gift of the Holy Spirit which Christians were to receive. Accordingly, Paul's question simply implies that Christian baptism could scarcely have been given without some instruction as to this gift which was to follow it. In any case, it would be exceedingly strange that at this point Lk. should not have referred to the threefold formula, had it been in use, instead of simply saying, 'When they heard it, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19 5).

The threefold formula is attested by the *Didaché* (chap. 7), both in express words and by the mention of the alternative practice of triple effusion; but, as the *Didaché* shows elsewhere its dependence on Matthew, this is not independent evidence.

Justin Martyr (chap. 153), in describing baptism to heathen readers, gives the full formula in a paraphrastic form (*Apol.* 1 61), 'in the name of God, Father of the Universe and Ruler, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.' Such a paraphrase was necessary to make the meaning clear to those for whom he wrote.

We find the full formula again in Tertullian some

[1] Tertullian (*Res.* 48 *c. Marc.* 5 10) assumes that the custom was current in Paul's time, but is wrongly cited as attesting it for his own day. Chrysostom (*ad loc.*) says that Marcionites practised it, and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 28 6) had heard of a tradition that the Corinthians had done the same. This is very weak evidence for a second-century custom, and it is most probable that if the practice was found it was due to the passage in Paul's Epistle, and cannot be regarded as independent testimony to the existence of the custom among primitive Christians.

The difficulties in which Commentators who reject the obvious meaning of the words find themselves involved may be seen at length in Stanley's *Corinthians* (*ad loc.*).

forty years later (*De Bapt.* 13, *Adv. Prax.* 26); and when the First Gospel was widely known it was certain to prevail. Exceptions are found which perhaps point to an old practice dying out. Cyprian (*Ep.* 73) and the Apostolic Canons (n. 50) combat the shorter formula, thereby attesting its use in certain quarters. The ordinance of *Can. Apost.* 50 runs—'If any bishop or presbyter fulfil not three baptisms of one initiation (τριὰ βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μυήσεως), but one baptism which is given (as) into the death of the Lord, let him be deposed.' This was the formula of the followers of Eunomius (Socr. 5 24), 'for they baptize not into the Trinity, but into the death of Christ' (for other references see Usener, *Relig. Untersuch.*, 1889, 1 184); they, accordingly, used single immersion only.

4. Age. No statement is found in the NT as to the age at which baptism might be administered. Circumcision, which Paul regards as fulfilled in Christian baptism (see below § 5), enrolled the Jewish boy in the covenant of his fathers on the eighth day after birth, so that there could be no doubt that young children were truly members of the holy people. Thus, if children had been excluded from baptism when whole families were won to Christianity, we should almost certainly have had some record of the protest which would have been raised against what must have seemed so inconsistent a limitation to the membership of the new 'Israel of God.' It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that where 'households' are spoken of as being baptized (Acts 16 15 31-33 1 Cor. 1 16), there must have been at least in some cases, instances of the baptism of infants. That Paul could speak of the children of a believing husband, or of a believing wife, as 'holy' is an indication in the same direction.

5. Interpretation. Paul, as we might expect, sees in baptism the means by which the individual is admitted to his place in the one body, of which he thus becomes a member; 'For as the body is one and hath many members, but all the members, many though they be, are one body, so also is the Christ; for indeed by one Spirit (ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι) we all were baptized into one body—whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bondmen or free' (1 Cor. 12 12 *f.*). Baptism was thus the fundamental witness of Christian unity (Eph. 4 5, 'one baptism'); and in both the passages here referred to it is emphasised as such in view of the variety of spiritual gifts. A parable of Christian baptism might be found in the cloud and the sea through which all the Israelites had alike passed; 'they were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea' (1 Cor. 10).

In Rom. 6 1 *ff.* Paul regards baptism as effecting a union with the death of Christ: 'we were baptized into his death.' It was a kind of burial of the former self, with a view to a resurrection and a new life. The same conception recurs in Col. 2 11 *f.*, where it is immediately preceded by the thought that it corresponds in a certain way to the circumcision of the old covenant. It is 'the putting off'—totally, not merely partially and symbolically—of the whole 'body of the flesh'; and so it is the fulfilment of the old rite—it is 'the circumcision of the Christ.'

In Gal. 3 26 *f.* Paul further speaks of baptism as involving a kind of identification with the person of Christ, so that the divine sonship becomes ours in him; 'For ye are all sons of God, through faith (or 'the faith') in Christ Jesus; for as many of you as were baptized into Christ put on (or 'clothed yourselves with') Christ.' The old distinctions, he again reminds us, thus disappear: 'there is no Greek, bond nor free, male and female, for ye are all one [man] in Christ Jesus' (εἷς ἐστὲ ἐν Χ. Ἰ.).

Eph. 5 26 speaks of Christ as cleansing the Church by the 'washing' (λουτρόν = 'washing,' probably [illegible]). In LXX [illegible] is always λουτήρ; λουτρόν is [illegible] but 1 2 6; Eccles. 34 25; so Aquila renders [illegible] in

Ps. 60 10 108 10]) of water with the word' (ἐν ῥήματι). This last expression finds its interpretation in the ῥῆμα, or formula of faith, to which we have already referred—which, whether as the confession in the mouth of the baptized or as the baptismal formula on the lips of the baptizer, transformed the process of ablution into the rite of Christian baptism. With this passage we may compare Tit. 3 5, 'He saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit' (διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πν. ἁγ.).

This last passage reminds us of the teaching of Jn. 3. The relation of that chapter to the sacrament of baptism is exactly parallel to that of chap 6 to the sacrament of the eucharist (see EUCHARIST). We are secure in saying that the evangelist's interpretation of the significance of baptism must have followed the line of Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus as there related. That a Gentile, or even a Jew who had been neglectful of the Rabbinical discipline of ablutions, should need to begin entirely anew in the religious life, to be 'born again of water and the Spirit,' as a condition of entry into 'the kingdom of God,' would seem natural. The marvel and the stumbling-block was that this should be required of those who, like this 'teacher of Israel,' had been strictest in their ceremonial purity; 'Marvel not that I said unto *thee*: *ye* must be born again.'

Jn., then, recognises, with Paul, the universal character of the initial rite; whilst at the same time the narrative teaches the radical nature of the change in the individual soul.

J. A. R.

BAPTISMS (ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΟΙ), Mk. 7 4, etc., RV^mg EV WASHINGS (*q.v.*).

BARABBAS (ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΣ [Ti. WH], § 48), the name of the prisoner whom, in accordance with a Passover custom, Pilate released at the demand of the Jews while condemning Jesus to death (so Mt. 27 15-26 Mk. 15 6-15 Lk. 23 17-25 Jn. 18 39 *f.*).

1. Story. More precisely than Mt., who simply calls him a 'notable' (ἐπίσημον) prisoner, and Jn., who calls him a robber, Mk. describes him as lying 'bound with them that had made insurrection (μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος), men who in the insurrection had committed murder.' As Mk. has not previously referred to these insurgents, it seems all the more probable that he is borrowing verbatim from another source, although about this particular insurrection we are in as complete ignorance as about the Galileans mentioned in Lk. 13 1. Lk. (23 19), who follows Mk., adds that the insurrection had occurred in Jerusalem, but says nothing about any fellow-prisoners with Barabbas, and thus leaves the impression that Barabbas personally had committed murder. Mk. is entitled to the preference, not only on this point but also when he represents the Jews as having demanded the release of a prisoner on their own initiative, as against the less probable view that Pilate offered them this of his own accord.

Reference is sometimes made to the analogy of the Roman Lectisternia; but of these all that Livy (v. 13 9) says—and that only with reference to their first celebration—is that during those days such also as were bound (*vinctis*) were relieved of their chains (*vincula*), and such was the religious awe inspired by the proceedings that no one dared afterwards to rebind (*vinciri*) the recipients of the divine favour. Thus he says nothing about release from prison; and his contemporary Dion. Halicar. (12 9 [10]), on the authority of the Annals of a certain Piso, who himself had been censor, while he does indeed speak of such release, limits it to the case of slaves who had been laid under arrest by their masters (λελυμένων μὲν τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσους πρότερον ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς εἶχον οἱ δεσπόται).

Those who find some difficulty in accepting the narrative as it stands may perhaps find themselves better able to explain its origin on the lines indicated by W. Brandt, by whom every detail has been discussed with great care (*Evangelische Geschicht.*, 1893, pp. 94-105). Brandt takes the kernel of the story to be that a certain prisoner who had been arrested in connexion with some insurrection, but against whom no

crime or at least no grave crime could be proved, was released on the application of the people, who intervened in his behalf because he was the son of a Rabban (see below, § 2). The incident, even although it was not simultaneous with the condemnation of Jesus, gave occasion in Christian circles for the drawing of the contrast: the son of the rabbin was interceded for and released, Jesus was condemned. In the course of transmission by oral tradition the statement of this contrast might gradually, without any conscious departure from historical truth, have led to the assumption that the two things occurred at the same time and on the same occasion. Finally, the liberation of a seditious prisoner—in any case a somewhat surprising occurrence—seemed explicable only on the assumption of some standing custom to account for it; this assumption must presumably have arisen elsewhere than in Palestine.

The above theory presupposes that Βαρα[illegible] was for בַּר אַבָּא, 'son of the father'—*i. e.*, here, of the rabbinical 'master.' (It was not till after-[illegible] אבא began to come into use [illegible] a proper name for [illegible] אבי, of אבי in the time of Jesus it was a title of honour [Mt. 23[illegible]].)

2. Name. Jerome, indeed, in his commentary [illegible] that in the Gospel of the H[illegible] Barabbas is [illegible] (*nomen* [illegible] *filii magistri*, [illegible]); similar to that found in a scholion of a Venice MS (WH App. [illegible]), viz., that βαραμβαν (only another form for Βαρ(ι)βᾶν; see Winer, *Gram.*(9) § 5, n. 70) means 'son of our teacher.' In that case we must (with Syr. hr.) write βαρραββαν, taking the second element as being 'teacher,' and assume that ραββαν was explained as = רַבָּנָא, 'our teacher,' or רַבָּנִין, 'their teacher.' The meaning, however, is not essentially changed by this, as רַבָּן (as also רַבִּין) is, like אַבָּא, a title of honour for a great teacher.

The most remarkable fact in connection with the name of Bar-abbas is that Origen knew MSS. and did not absolutely reject them, in which Mt. 27 16 *f.* read 'Jesus' (Ἰησοῦν) before 'Barabbas'—a reading still extant in some cursives, as well as in the [illegible] in Syr. sin., and partly also in Syr. hr. Whether the Gospel of the Hebrews, referred to by Jerome, also had this reading is uncertain (see WH). In this reading 'Barabbas' would be only an addition made for the sake of distinction, as in Simon Bar-iona, but not with the full force of a proper name.

Some support for it might perhaps be found in the fact that the first mention of the name in Mk. is preceded by ὁ λεγόμενος. The meaning would then be 'He who, [illegible] (though it was not his proper name), was called Bar[illegible]. Only, in that case, in Mt. the λεγόμενον (there without the article), since it is followed, on the reading at present in question, by Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν, would simply mean 'which [illegible] was Jesus Barabbas'; and it may be so in Mk. also. In [illegible] it is remarkable that in all the MSS in question Barabbas [illegible] have the name Ἰησοῦς exclusively in Mt. and there only in two verses, while [illegible] and 26 simply give τον Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν as an antithesis. Thus we may be tolerably certain that the name Jesus as given to Barabbas has arisen merely from mistake.

A fairly obvious explanation would be the conjecture of Tregelles, that a very early transcriber had 'per lacuriam' repeated the last two letters of ὑμῖν and that these were at a later date taken for the familiar abbreviation of the name of Jesus. If this theory be adopted we must assume further that a later copyist inserted also in *v.* 16 the name Ἰησοῦν, which he had found in [illegible], but it is specially interesting to observe that in the Latin translation of Origen the word Jesus stands in *v.* 17 but not in *v.* 16 also. Cp Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, 2697-700.

P. W.

BARACHEL (בָּרְכֵאל, 'God blesses,' § 28; Βαραχιηλ [BA]), the father of Job's friend Elihu (Job 32 26).

BARACHIAH (בֶּרֶכְיָה, בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ), Zech. 1 7, the reading of AV ed. 1611, and some other old editions. See BERECHIAH (4).

BARACHIAS, RV **Barachiah** (Βαραχιας [Tr WH]), Mt. 23 35. See ZACHARIAS.

BARAK (בָּרָק, 'lightning,' § 66, cp Sab. ברקם, Palm. ברק, Pun. *Barcas* [the surname of Hamilcar] and the Ass. divine names *Kamman-birku* and *Gibil birku* [Del. *Ass. HWB* 187]), b. Abinoam (Judg. 4 6 5 12; Βαρακ [BL], Βαραχ [A]). See DEBORAH.

BARBARIAN (βαρβαρος), primarily, one who speaks in an unintelligible manner:[1] hence a foreigner (cp *Il.* 2 867), in which sense it is employed by Paul in 1 Cor. 14 11 Acts 28 2. This usage was not restricted to the Greeks alone: it is met with among the Romans (cp Ovid, *Trist.* v. 10 37), and (according to Herod. 2 158) among the Egyptians. In agreement with this, the people of Melita, who perhaps spoke some Phœnician dialect, are called 'barbarians' (Acts 28 2 4), and 𝔊 uses βαρβαρος to render the [illegible] of Ps. 114 1—a people 'of [illegible] tongue' (Targ. [illegible]).[2] The not [illegible] Ἕλληνες καὶ βαρβαροι, accordingly, includes [illegible] world: cp Rom. 1 14 (also Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 1) and the similar 'Barbarian, Scythian, Col. 3 11; see HELLENISM, § 2.

The use of βαρβαρος became so customary that the term was used actually in referring to the speaker's or writer's own people; cp Philo, *Vit. Mos.* § 5, and Jos. (*BJ*, pref., § 1), who applies the designation 'upper barbarians' to his countrymen beyond the Euphrates.[3] At a later date the word gets the meaning 'cruel,' 'savage,' etc. (cp Cic. *Pontin.* 10 21, 'immanis is barbara consuetudo'), in which sense it recurs in 2 Macc. 2 21 4 25 15 2 and in the 𝔊 of Ez. 21 36 [31] (for MT בערים, 'brutish').

BARBER (גַּלָּב, Ph גלב, Ass. *gallabu*), Ex. 5 1.† See BLADE.

BARCHUS (βαρχουε [A], 1 Esd 5 32 RV = Ezra 2 51, BAKBUK).

BARHUMITE, THE הַבַּרְחֻמִי, 2 S. 23 31; ο βαρ διαμειτης [B], ο βαραιαμ [Mai], ο βαρωμ [A], ο αβενηι [L]). See BAHARUMITE.

BARIAH (בָּרִיחַ, μαρει [B], βερια [AL]), a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3).

BARJESUS, the Jewish sorcerer and false prophet in the train of the proconsul Sergius Paulus, in Cyprus, who (Acts 13 6-12) withstood the preaching of Paul, and was punished with temporary blindness.

At the outset the names present great difficulties. In 13 6 his name (ὄνομα) is expressly said to have been

1. Names. Barjesus (Βαρ-ιησοῦς), and such a combination of a father named Jesus (!) can [illegible] easily have been a proper name (cp Bar-abbas, Bar-iona, Bartholomew). In *v.* 8, however, he is abruptly called 'Elymas the sorcerer, for so is his name by interpretation' (Ἐλυμᾶς ὁ μάγος, οὕτως γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ). A translation has relevance only when it is translated into the language of the readers: in any other case it would be incumbent on the author to state what [illegible] language he is translating into.

(*a*) This being assumed, we must take it that 'the sorcerer' (ὁ μάγος) is the translation of Elymas (Ἐλυμᾶς), in that case, would be the word translated. Accordingly, the name has been identified with the Arabic *'alīm*, which occurs in the Koran (71 [illegible]) 26 33 and 36 [illegible] and 37]) as an adjective following the noun *sāhir* which denotes a sorcerer, and has thus been taken to mean 'wise,' 'able.' Less appropriate is the derivation from Aram. אלים or איל, meaning 'strong.' Equate μάγος, however, etymologically, with Ἐλυμᾶς as we

[1] Del. (*Ass. HWB*) explains Ass. *barbaru* 'jackal.'

[2] Akin to this are the expressions οἱ ἔξω (1 Cor. 5 12 [illegible]) and τὰ ἔθνη (like the Heb. גוים, see GENTILES, § 1) to denote the [illegible] the Christian world. Cp the Talm. use of ארעית.

[3] Similarly, the Jews frequently employed [illegible]ארמי, Syr. *armāyā*—*i.e.*, 'Aramean,' in the sense of 'Pagan' [illegible] the Syr. translations of the NT, under their influence, retain the term to translate Ἕλληνες, ἐθνικοί,—etc. In process of time it was felt that a word which was used in the NT to [illegible] the 'heathen' could hardly be borne by a Christian people, and the old name was modified into *ārāmāyā*; cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 25 113, Wright, *Comp. Gram.* [illegible]

may, it still has to be explained how Barjesus came suddenly to be called by the other name, Elymas. The only way in which a plausible explanation could be reached would be if Elymas (in the sense indicated) could be taken as a title or cognomen assumed by Barjesus—a foreign tongue being used to heighten still further the prestige which he sought to acquire by it. It is not as a title, however, that the author employs it. On the contrary, he gives the word without the definite article, and expressly adds that the word which he is translating was the actual name (ὄνομα) of the bearer.

(*b*) It was quite sound method, therefore, to take Barjesus for the name translated, and Elymas for the translation.

Even Pesh., in *v.* 8, for Ελυμας ὁ μάγος arbitrarily has 'this sorcerer; Barshuma [so Pesh. reads for Βαρησους in *v.* 6; see below, (*c*)], whose name, being interpreted, means Elymas.' Klostermann (*Probleme im Apostelte[illegible]*, 188[illegible], pp. 21-33), however, is able to support this view only on three assumptions, each one of which is bolder than the other. We must read, he holds, not Ελυμας, but Ἕτοιμος; secondly, we must read, not Βαρησουν, but Βαρησουαν, or, to be exact, the Latin *Barjesuan;* and, in the third place, the Latin *Barjesuan;* and, in the third place, the בַּר יֵשׁוּעַ so transcribed (whether we derive it etymologically from the root יֵשׁ, or, with more probability, from the root ישע which underlies יָשָׁר, *praestiit*) means 'son of preparedness' or 'son of fitness,' and thus, by the same Hebraism as we find in the name Barnabas (*q.v.*), *paratus*, ἕτοιμος.

α. As to the first of these assumptions, it has to be noted that the reading Ἕτοιμος is met with only in Lucifer of Calaris (*ob.* 371), and even there not as Hetoimus but as Etoemus; D has Ετοιμας, which, indeed, we cannot explain, but which, from its ending, is clearly intended to be taken as a proper name; *paratus* is found only in Lucifer, one Vg. MS, and two Latin MSS, in which in many places is found the markedly divergent text of A to which Blass takes to be Luke's earliest draft (see ACTS, § 17).

β. Next, as regards the second assumption. Βαρησουαν is found only in Lucifer *barjesuam*, only in the Latin translation of D; *Barjesuba* rather, according to the one MS known to us, *Barjesuban* only in Lucifer. The corrector of D has restored Βαριησουν, which, as accusative, fits his reading ὀνοματι καλουμενον for ᾧ ὄνομα, but, in spite of ᾧ ὄνομα, is found also in AHLP and the Greek margin of the Philoxenian; ℵ, Vg., Copt., Armen., and the Philoxenian version as well as *nonnulli* known to Jerome, read Βαρησου—that is to say, the simple Hebrew form without a Greek termination. On this Jerome (on the Hebrew name in Acts; *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, 800) remarks, 'in omnulli Bar-Jesu corrupte legunt,' himself declaring the right reading to be Barieu or Berieu, for which, by very daring etymologising from the Hebrew, he obtains the meanings *maleficium*, or *maleficus*, or *in malo*. Perhaps, however, even Jerome's aversion to Βαρησου rests upon the very obvious dogmatic consideration put forward by Beda in the eighth century: 'non convenit hominem flagitiosum et magum filium Jesu, id est, salvatoris, appellari quem e contrario Paulus (*v.* 10) filium diaboli nuncupat.' The form Barjeu in Jerome can readily be accounted for as merely a clerical error for Barjesu or as arising out of the Greek abbreviation ΙΗΥ which is met with in the oldest MSS along with the more frequently occurring ΙΥ for Ἰησοῦ. The explanation in the case of the readings preferred by Klostermann is much less easy. On this account, in spite of their weak attestation, one might be inclined to regard them as the true ones; but all the authorities for the reading *paratus* have the word, not in *v.* 8 instead of Ελυμας, but as an interpolation after Βαρησουν in *v.* 6, 'quod interpretatur paratus.' This addition is met with elsewhere only in E, in the form ὁ μεθερμηνεύεται Ελυμας rendered in the Latin of this MS: *quod interpretatur Elymas.* It is evident that in neither case have we more than a late attempt to obviate the impression that Elymas, first introduced in *v.* 8, was the name of another person. Blass, on the other hand, regards the added words as part of Luke's earliest draft. He sees, however, that Luke could not have written at the same time in *v.* 8 'for thus is his name interpreted' (οὕτως γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται το ὄνομα αὐτοῦ); and, accordingly, he rejects these words from Luke's earliest draft. In this he has not a single authority [illegible] has [illegible] transcript, [illegible] those in *v.* 6 instead? Are we [illegible] to believe that with his own [illegible] Luke changed [illegible] and thoroughly intelligible first text into a positively misleading after-text? (Cp ACTS, § 17 (*c*)). If, however, the addition '*quod interpretatur paratus*' at the end of *v.* 6 is to be regarded as a [illegible] interpolation [illegible] who has it, it is open to suspicion: [illegible] Etoemus in *v.* 8 may be not taken from an authentic [illegible] [illegible] it is it regarded as a rendering of Βαρ[illegible].

γ. What etymology he was following when he preferred [illegible] (perhaps [illegible] naturally introduced) the form *Barjesuan* is [illegible] difference. In ancient times, as the *Onomastica* [illegible] abundantly show, people made out H[illegible]

γ. Klostermann's proposed etymology, *paratus*, rests upon a very weak foundation, as no such word as בר (יאשוען) can be shown to exist (the proper name בר, ISHVAH, in Gen. 46 17 has no importance in this connection), and the root בר or בר which is used in Syriac frequently for ἄξιος, ἴσος, ὁμαλός, as also for συν-, ὁμο-, ἀξιο-, in compounds, is never used for ἕτοιμος. Besides, as we have said, the codex has not *Barjesuban* but *Barjesuban*. Above all, however, Klostermann's hypothesis remains untenable as long as one is unprepared to accept the further assumption that ὁ μάγος after Ελυμας (or Ἕτοιμος) in *v.* 8 is a mere gloss to be deleted; for ὁ μάγος necessarily leads to the assumption dealt with under (α). This had no doubt already been perceived by the scribe of H, who wrote ὁ μεγας (the great) for ὁ μάγος, and so also by Lucifer, if the *editio princeps* (of Tilius) is right in attributing the reading *magnus* to him (the only MS of Lucifer at present known has *magus*). If Lucifer really wrote *magnus*, this increases the suspicion that the other variants in Lucifer are in like manner arbitrary and unauthorised alterations of the text.

(*c*) In order to make out Elymas to be a translation of the name of the sorcerer, stress has been laid on the remarkable Peshitta rendering Barshuma for Βαρησουν.

Already, in the seventeenth century, we find Castell (*Lex. Heptagl.* s.v. שׁוּם) and Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* ad loc.) interpreting Βαρησουν as *filius vulneris*, and deriving Elymas from the Arabic *'alima* = *doluit* (علم). Over and above the reasons to the contrary that have already been urged under (*b*), however, it has to be observed (see above) that a translation into Arabic would explain nothing to the readers: it would itself require to be explained. A somewhat different turn is given to the matter by Payne Smith (*Thes. Syr.* 508). Barshuma was in the first instance given in *v.* 8 as a rendering of Elymas, and only later introduced by copyists also into *v.* 6 in substitution for Barjesus in the erroneous belief that it was the man's proper name. But the Peshitta in its arbitrary change of text in *v.* 8 (see above (*b*), *ad init.*) says precisely the opposite,—that Barshuma was the proper name, and Elymas the translation. It must, therefore, from the outset have held Barshuma to be a reproduction of the proper name Barjesus. Thus Barshuma probably means merely 'son of the name'; and 'the name' is most easily to be accounted for as a substitute for 'Jesus' from the feeling of reverence which we have already heard expressing itself in Beda [see above (*b*) β], a reverence similar to that shown by the Jews when they said 'the name' instead of 'Yahwè.'

(*d*) Van Manen, contrariwise (*Paulus* I, Leyden, 1890, pp. 98 *f.* 147), holds Elymas to be the proper name, and interprets Barjesus in the Hebrew sense as meaning 'son of Jesus' *i.e.*, 'follower of Jesus.'

In this he assumes that the primary document here made use of by the author of Acts did not refer to the man as a Jew, or as a sorcerer, or as a false prophet; that it simply contained the information that at Paphos Paul came into opposition with one of the older and very conservative disciples of Jesus, and got the better of him with Sergius Paulus. This hypothesis admittedly departs so widely from the text of Acts that it is impossible to control it thereby.

(*e*) Dalman (*Gram.* 129, n. 1 ['94]) proposes a purely Greek explanation.

Ἐλυμᾶς (so accented) he regards as contracted from Ἐλυμαῖος (on these contractions see NAVILLE, § 16 *ad fin.*). In Ⓖ [esp. in the Apocrypha] and NT, indeed, the Elamites are always Ἔλαμ, Ἐλαμῖται; but with the Greeks the forms are as in variably Ἐλυμαῖς, Ἐλυμαῖοι; so in Tobit 2 10 [illegible] 1 Macc. 6 1 has Ἔλυμαι.

Philologically this derivation is the simplest of all, but it contributes nothing towards the solution of the riddle.

The failure of all the attempts enumerated above renders inevitable the suggestion that here the author of Acts has amalgamated two sources, each of which called the man Barjesus while the other called him Elymas. Even Klostermann, in order to explain the peculiar distribution of the names in *vv.* 6 8, seeks the aid of this hypothesis in addition to the hypotheses already referred to [above (*c*), beg.]. The addition, οὕτως γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (for so is his name translated), however, would in any case be a very unskilful way of amalgamating the two sources unless ὁ μάγος (see (*c*)), as suggested above, be deleted as a gloss. Still, if [illegible] it is agreed to assume two sources, a further and [illegible] arises: the question, namely, whether [illegible] itself be substantially right—that is to [illegible] one name be really a translation of the other: it is even conceivable that the two names do not denote the same person; that accounts relating to

2. Different sources?

[illegible] Nestle, in private letter to the present writer.

two different persons have been transferred to a single person. This inference is suggested also by the epithets applied; for, though it is not altogether inconceivable that a 'sorcerer' (μάγος) should be a 'false prophet' (ψευδοπροφήτης), the two ideas are widely different.

Of the critics mentioned in ACTS, § 11, who discuss our present passage with reference to the distinction of sources, only Spitta and B. Weiss regard 13 6-12 as all of one piece; Clemen and Hilgenfeld are convinced of the opposite, but make no definite suggestions as to separation of the portions; Soro and Jüngst derive v. 6 f. from a written source, vv. 8-12 from the pen of the redactor or from oral tradition. Jüngst further attributes to the redactor the word μαγον in v. 6. Yet not even so are all the difficulties cleared up.

3. Credibility of Narrative.

How far the narrative as a whole is to be accepted as historical becomes a serious question as soon as it has been traced to more than one source; but its credibility has been doubted even by Spitta, B. Weiss, and others, who defend its unity. As regards the miracle in particular, one is not only surprised by its suddenness, but is also at a loss to see its moral justification. On the other hand, a misunderstanding would account for it readily enough. A sorcerer, a false prophet—nay, any Jew (Acts 28 27)—is, in the judgment of the Christian, spiritually blind, and this is what Paul and Barnabas proved of Barjesus in their disputation with him. In being handed down by tradition this thought could easily undergo such a change as would lead to the representation that physical blindness had been brought on as a punishment by the words of Paul. On the other hand, one would expect the blindness, if it is to be regarded as merited, to be permanent, or, at least, would expect to be told of some reason for its subsequent removal, as, for example, that the sorcerer had ceased to withstand Paul and Barnabas, or even had become a convert to Christianity. It is very noticeable that the narrator shows but little interest in the subsequent history of the man. The conversion of the proconsul (not his existence; see ACTS, § 13 *ad fin.*) also is doubtful to many.

4. Tendency.

All the more does it now become incumbent to enquire whether the narrative reveals in any measure the tendencies discerned elsewhere in Acts.

(*a*) In the first place, and generally, it is clear that it has a place in the parallelism between Peter and Paul (ACTS, § 4), in respect alike of the miracle of chastisement, the confutation of a sorcerer, and the conversion of a high Roman officer (cp Acts 5 1-10 8 18-24 10 1-48). It is also in harmony with that other tendency of Acts, to represent the Roman authority as friendly, and the Jews as hostile to Christianity (ACTS, § 5 (1); § 4 *ad init.*; compare very specially the Jewish exorcists in close relation to sorcery, Acts 19 13-16).

(*b*) A conjecture of wider scope[1] connects itself with what is said of Simon Magus (see SIMON MAGUS). If Paul was the person originally intended in the story of Simon, then in Acts 8 9-24 we find attributed to him the one deed which used to be flung in his teeth by his Judaistic adversaries—that, by his great collections made in Macedonia and Achaia, he had sought to purchase at the hands of the original apostles that recognition of his equality with them which they had so persistently withheld. The romance of Simon Magus, however, of which we still possess large portions (see SIMON MAGUS), had for its main contents something different, viz., that the sorcerer had spread his false doctrines everywhere and supported them by miracles, but in one city after another was vanquished in dispute and excelled in miracle by Peter. Thus, apart from the repetition of the occurrence in many cities, we are

[1] See for example, Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 186[illegible], pp. [illegible] 7, De Wette-Overbeck on Acts 13 [illegible] 12; Lipsius, *Quellenkritik des ältesten Judenthums*, [illegible] 1872, p. 28, [illegible] also *JPT*, 1[illegible], p. [illegible] Holtzmann, *ZWT*, 18[illegible], p. 4[illegible] 1; and very specially Kr[illegible], *Josephus u. Lukas* 186[illegible] p. 24[illegible] Lipsius afterwards withdrew his former view, see *Apokryph. Apostelgesch.* II. 1 (887), p. 92, cp. [illegible], n. 2.

told of Barjesus in Acts 13 6-12 exactly what is told in the romance about Simon (that is, Paul), and of Paul exactly what is told in the romance about Peter. Hence the belief that in 13 6-12 we can discover the same purpose on the part of the author as we discover in 8 18-24. He was acquainted with the unfriendly allegation about Paul, did not believe it, and wished to set forth another view. In the two passages, however, the method is not the same. In 8 18-24 it is shown that Paul could not possibly have been the infamous sorcerer, inasmuch as Simon the sorcerer was a Samaritan and was quelled by Peter indeed, but before the conversion of Paul. In 13 6-12, on the other hand, it is shown that it was Paul himself who victoriously met a sorcerer of this kind. One of the reasons for this divergence is seen in the desire, already noted, to establish a close parallelism between Paul and Peter. It is believed possible also to explain on the same lines why in Acts 13 6-12 the scene is laid in Cyprus, with a Jew in the *entourage* of a high Roman officer as one of the *dramatis personæ*. To Cyprus, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 7 2, §§ 141-143), belonged the Jewish sorcerer Simon, who, at the instance of Felix of Judæa, procurator (*i.e.*, highest Roman officer), had induced Drusilla to quit her husband, King Azizus of Emesa, and marry Felix. The purpose of the narrator would have been sufficiently served had he been able to say that the sorcerer in question—Simon to wit—under whose name the Judaisers imputed to Paul so much that was shameful, had been met and vanquished by Paul himself. That, however, was impossible; the tale had already been related of Peter. Accordingly (so it is supposed) the narrator found it necessary to give another name to the sorcerer worsted by Paul.

(*c*) His choice of the names Barjesus and Elymas is still unaccounted for. There is, therefore, a motive for our attributing a historical character to a certain other sorcerer, Barjesus (or Elymas), as well as to a Samaritan sorcerer named Simon. Although it is not easy to believe that Peter met the Samaritan Simon, there is no reason for assuming that Paul did not meet Barjesus. Indeed, it can easily be conceded that in Acts 13 6-12, just as in Acts 8 9-24, the author was not consciously giving a false complexion to what he had heard. He believed himself able to offer a material correction. He assumed, that is to say, that what the Judaisers were in the habit of relating of Simon the sorcerer, while really intending Paul and his opposition to the 'true' Gospel, rested in actual fact upon a mistaken identification with this Barjesus (or Elymas), and that the latter was vanquished not by Peter but by Paul. It is less easy to suppose that Cyprus was given by tradition as the scene of the occurrence. Even without any tradition, the name could be suggested by Josephus's mention of the native place of the Jewish sorcerer, and the name of Paphos would naturally present itself from the fact that the Roman proconsul had his residence there.

(*d*) The hypothesis has received developments to a point where we have to depend on less clear indications. If the accusations in Acts against Simon and Barjesus had originally been brought against Paul, what is said of the intimate relations of Barjesus with Sergius Paulus would belong to the same class. Now, in Acts 24 26, it is said that Felix often sent for Paul and communed [illegible]. It is assumed that the Judaisers had gone [illegible] to allege that Paul had purchased the friendship of Felix with money, or even, perhaps, to insinuate that he had been negotiator between Drusilla and Felix. It is to meet those accusations (so it is assumed) that the writer of Acts alludes to bribery by Paul as merely [illegible] on the part of Felix, and intimates [illegible] Paul had stained Felix's conscience by a solemn [illegible] with him about his sinful marriage (24 [illegible]).

(*e*) There are two more explicit indications [illegible] Ἐχθίων [illegible] the appeal by Pa[illegible]

jesus (13 10), is, with or without the substantive ἄνθρωπος, the standing designation for Simon (that is, Paul) in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The name, 'enemy of righteousness,' fits Paul and his doctrine of the abrogation of the Mosaic law through Christ (Rom. 10 4) all the more because his Judaistic opponents in Corinth came forward as 'servants of righteousness,' that is, men of strict observance of the law (2 Cor. 11 15). In that case, the temporary blinding of Barjesus will represent what befel Paul at his conversion; even the expressions μὴ βλέπων (without sight) and χειραγωγοῦντες (leading by the hand) in 9 8 *f.* have their parallels in 13 11. Here, then, unless the whole hypothesis under consideration be rejected, we may say, with reasonable probability, that the blindness of Paul at his conversion (whether historical or not is immaterial) was originally represented by the Judaisers as a divine visitation for his hostility to the 'true' (that is, the legal) gospel, and that it was simply passed on by the author of Acts to Barjesus the Jew.

Whatever else be the result of what has been said in the present section, one thing at least is clear: it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion unless the tendency of the author is taken into account.

5. Later legends. According to the περίοδοι Βαρνάβα—a legendary work composed by a Cyprian about 488—Barjesus opposed the work of Barnabas when, along with Mark (Acts 15 39), Barnabas visited Cyprus for a second time. He withstood him in various ways at his entrance into the cities where he desired to preach, and at last stirred up the Jews to burn him at the stake at Salamis. (Cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2, pp. 283-286 278 297.) P. W. S.

BAR-JONA. RV **Bar-Jonah**, the patronymic of Simon Peter (Mt. 16 17† ΒΑΡ ΙΩΝΑ [Ti. WH]). See PETER.

Ιωνα is a Gr. contraction of ιωάννης (cp Jn. 1 42 Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου [Ti.], Σ. ὁ υἱ. Ἰωνᾶ [WH]; 21 16 Σ. Ἰωάννου [Ti.], Σ. Ἰωνᾶ [WH]; Elzev. etc. present ιωνα; see Var. Bib.), which corresponds to an Aram. בר יונה; cp B. Talm. *Hull.* 133 *a*, Dalm. *Jud.-Pal. Aram.* 142 n. 9, and see JOANNA.

BARKOS (ברקוס, § 8a, ΒΕΡΚΩϹ [L]). The B'ne Barkōs, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 53 (ΒΑΡΚΟΥϹ [B], -ΚΟϹ [A]) = Neh. 7 55 (ΒΑΡΚΟΥΕ [BℵA], L om.) = 1 Esd. 5 32, CHARCUS, RV BARCHUS (ΒΑΧΟΥϹ [B], ΒΑΡΧΟΥΕ [A]). The NETHINIM (*q.v.*) were mainly of foreign origin, and the name Barkos seems to be Aramaic and to signify 'son of the God Ḳos or Ḳaus.' The name of this god occurs in many theophorous proper names among the Northern Semites; we have Ḳaus-malak as king of Edom on an Assyrian inscription (Schr. *KAT*[3] 150), Ḳosnathan (קוסנתי) in Euting's *Nabat. Inscr.* n. 12 l. 1, and a variety of Semitic names on Greek inscriptions from Egypt containing the same element (*Rev.-Archéol.*, Feb. 1870, p. 109 *ff.*). Cp also the Edomite Kostobaros[1] (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7 9). Names designating the worshipper as son of his god are common in Aramaic—*e.g.*, the biblical BENHADAD [probably], the Palmyrene ברנבו, 'son of Nebo' (cp BARNABAS, § 1), בני ברשמש, 'sons of the son of the Sun-god,' the Syrian Bar-ba'śmin, 'son of the lord of heaven,' Barlāhā, 'son of God,' etc. W. R. S.

BARLEY (שְׂעֹרִים, שְׂעֹרָה,[2] ΚΡΙΘΗ, ΚΡΙΘΑΙ [BAL], Ex. 9 31 Lev. 27 16 Dt. 8 8 Judg. 7 13, etc.) was in biblical times one of the most characteristic products of Palestine (Dt. 8 8), regarded as one of the necessaries of life (Joel 1 11). It comes second in the series of grains

1. Common use.

[1] [Κοστοβαρος m.c. [illegible] cp [illegible] a scribal error for κοσγοβαρος [illegible], [illegible] striking parallel in the name Kaus-gabri, an Edomite king mentioned on an inscription of Esarhaddon (cp Schr. [illegible]).

[2] The [illegible] common singular form is used for the growing crop. The name, which Hebrew has in common with Aramaic, but not with Arabic, is derived from a root meaning 'to be rough' or 'bristling.'

mentioned in Ez. (4 9) as ingredients to be used in bread-making—wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt (cp BREAD). It may be inferred from a variety of passages, such as Ru. 2 17 Jn. 6 9 13, that barley was, even during the times when it was cultivated along with wheat, the staple food of the poorer class (cp FOOD). Such a reference as that in 1 K. 4 28 (5 8) shows us how largely it was used to feed horses and cattle.[1] It may also be gathered from the part played by the barley-cake in the dream of the Midianite, overheard by Gideon (Judg. 7 13), where it stands as a type of the Israelite peasant army, that as in other countries, so in Palestine, the cultivation of barley preceded that of wheat, and was the earliest stage in the transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life.[2] (Cp Pl. *HN* xviii. 72, 'antiquissimum in cibis hordeum.') This is, on the whole, more probable than the view of Jos. (*Ant.* v. 6 4), which has been very generally accepted, that barley-cake represented the *feebleness* of Gideon's three hundred, and we are entitled to conclude that there was a time when barley was the staple food of all classes among the Israelites. The fact referred to in Ex. 9 31 *f.*, that in Egypt barley ripens some time earlier than wheat, is supported by the testimony of Pliny (*HN* xviii. 106) as well as of modern writers (see references in Di. *ad loc.*).

In the single case in which the use of barley is prescribed in an offering under the ritual law (see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF, § 2), it is somewhat difficult to determine the reason. Some (*e.g.*, Bahr, *Symbolik*, 2 445) have regarded it as expressive of the sordid nature of the alleged offence and the humiliation of the accused[3] (a wife suspected of adultery). A reason which has recently found more acceptance is that in the case of a simple appeal to God for a judicial decision a less valuable offering was sufficient than was requisite when a suppliant besought God for the bestowal or continuance of his divine grace[4] (Di. on Nu. 5 11, etc.). The prohibition to mingle oil or frankincense with the offering will, of course, receive a similar explanation.

2. Ritual.

Two-rowed barley (*Hordeum distichon*), which may be presumed to be the feral form, is a native of W Asia. It may have been cultivated by Semitic races; but it is not represented on Egyptian monuments. The kind most frequently cultivated in antiquity was six-rowed barley (*Hordeum hexastichon*). This occurs on the most ancient Egyptian monuments and on the coins of Metapontum six centuries B.C. It was no doubt derived by cultivation from the two-rowed kind (cp De Candolle, *Orig.*[3] 294-297, and authorities quoted there).

3. Variety.

The word 'gerah' (Ex. 30 13) 'is defined by Rabbinical writers as equal to sixteen barley-corns'; but see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BARN (קִנְיָנָה), Hag. 2 9; see AGRICULTURE, § 10. Also for Job 39 12 (גֹּרֶן) and (AV BARNFLOOR) 2 K. 6 27, RV correctly 'threshing floor.'

BARNABAS (ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑϹ [Ti. WH]; § 48), otherwise JOSEPH (or JOSES).

According to the author of Acts (4 36), the name Barnabas (=υἱὸς παρακλήσεως) is derived from the Aram. בַּר (son) and the same root as the Heb. נָבִיא, προφήτης [illegible] duty of παράκλησις ('address, exhortation') according to 1 Cor. 14 3, and also according [illegible] 15 31 *f.*, being one of the duties of the προφήτης. When [illegible]

1. Name.

So in the *Physiologus* (Land, *Anecd. Syr.* 4 [illegible] Low, 275) barley is called the food of cattle as opp[illegible] the food of man.

[2] Cp, especially, the parallel cited by Budde (*ZDPV* 18 [illegible]) from Radloff's *Aus Sibirien*, 1 329. Cp also M[illegible] passage.

[3] It is noteworthy that barley formed part of the [illegible] Hosea to redeem his adulterous wife (Hos. 3 2), [illegible] a large coincidence.

[4] See, especially, the full discussion by Nowack ([illegible] 249 *ff.*), who agrees with Dillmann's view, and p[illegible] offering in question is neither a sin-offering [illegible] in the ritualistic sense.

closely examined, however, this etymology is not without its difficulties. It combines words from two different languages, and moreover fails to account for the form -βας. Klostermann (*Probl. im Apostelbrief*, 1883, pp. 8-14) seeks to derive the meaning παράκλησις from the Aram. בַּר נֻיָחָא, *filius quietis*, but finds in it no further reference than to the satisfaction which Barnabas caused to the apostles by becoming a convert to Christianity. Dalman's etymology (*Gram. d. jüd.-palast. Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 142), which makes παράκλησις a rendering of נְחֶמְיָא, this last being an abbreviation (not elsewhere met with) of a proper name נחמיה or נחמן (נחמני), takes us very far from the form to be explained. Deissmann comes nearer the sound when (*Bibelstudien*, 175-178 [95]; *Neue Bibelstudien*, 15-17 [97]) he compares the Barnebo (ברנבו) of a Palmyrene inscription of the year 114 A.D. (see De Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale* no. 73), and the Semitic Βαρνεβοῦς (son of Nebo) on a North Syrian inscription of the third or fourth century A.D.[1] In Is. 46 1, as also in Ναβουχοδονοσορ, Ναβουζαρδαν, Nebo is transliterated into Greek with a instead of *e*, and the termination -ας may possibly have been substituted for -ους with the view of disguising the name of the heathen divinity. (For examples of such a custom, see Winer, *Gram. d. N.T.lichen Sprachidioms*, § 5 27a.) On this theory, the rendering παράκλησις is merely a piece of popular etymology. Nestle (*Philol. st. v.*, 1896, p. 19 *f.*) is inclined to take the Syr. ܒܪܢܒܐ, which signifies παρακαλεῖν, as the starting-point of the etymological interpretation; but he refrains from explaining more minutely the structure of the form.

If Joseph really did first receive the surname of Barnabas from the apostles, this seems to have been on account of his distinction as a speaker. In this respect, however, the author of Acts (13 15 16 14 12) invariably subordinates him at least to Paul. Many Jews, with a view to their dealings with Greeks and Romans, assumed in addition to their Jewish name a Greek (or Latin) or at least Greek-sounding surname (*e.g.*, Acts 1 23 12 25 13 19 Col. 4 11, and Ἰωνάθαν = יוֹנָתָן); and it may at least be asked whether this cannot perhaps have been the case with Barnabas also (see NAMES, §§ 48, 84).

2. References in Galatians. According to the Epistle to the Galatians (our primary source), Barnabas was a companion of Paul in his missionary journeys for at least some time before the council of Jerusalem. In the council he joined Paul in supporting the immunity of Gentile Christians from the Mosaic Law (Gal. 2 9), which makes it all the more surprising that he afterwards retreated from the position he had taken long before, that a Jewish Christian was at liberty to eat at the same table with a brother Gentile freed from the law (Gal. 2 13). As in the case of Peter, so also in that of Barnabas, the reproach of hypocrisy hurled at both by Paul on this account may safely be toned down into one of inconsistency (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3). In point of fact, Barnabas *had* shaken off the Mosaic law; but he had never thought out all the bearings of the step so fully as to be able to vindicate it when the venerable and sacred duty of observing the whole law was so authoritatively pressed upon him. From this date it was, of course, no longer possible for him to work along with Paul on the same lines; and thus the dispute at Antioch more than sufficiently explains why the two separated. The mention of Barnabas in 1 Cor. 9 6 only proves that at that time also he was a prominent missionary, and that he held to the Pauline principle of supporting himself by his own labour; it is no evidence that he was personally known to the Corinthians, or that he had again become one of the companions of P.

3. In Acts. In the Acts of the Apostles the separation of Barnabas from Paul is explained as due not to a difference on a matter of principle, but to a personal quarrel [illegible] wished to take John Mark—a near relation of his, according to Col. 4 10—as companion on a second journey planned by Paul and himself; but Paul objected, because on a previous occasion (Acts 13 [illegible]) [illegible]

[1] In *Die Worte J.*, 22 (79[2]), Dalman comes over to Deissmann's view, which is also ably defended by G. B. Gray, *Expos.* [illegible] 1899, p. 212 *f.* Cp also Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 47 *f.* (97[2])

(Acts 15 36-39). Even if this be accepted as a historical explanation (and we have no means of controlling it), it cannot be said to have been the chief one (see above, § 2); as to which Acts (see ACTS, §§ 4, 6) is scrupulously silent. In virtue of the intermediate position,—as between Pauline and Jewish Christianity—which was held, as we have seen, by Barnabas, he is admirably fitted for a mediating rôle in Acts. Although a native of Cyprus, he is regarded as a member of the church of Jerusalem (4 36 *f.*; on the sale of his estate, see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, §§ 1, 5); it is he who negotiates Paul's admission to that church (9 27); it is on that church's commission that he inspects the church which had been founded by dispersed Christians at Antioch in Syria (11 22-24); it is he who fetches Paul to Antioch from Tarsus and introduces him to his field of work (11 25 *f.*), and he also is the apostle's travelling companion when the collection for the poor Christians there is being brought to Jerusalem (11 30 12 25); as in this case, so also in the so-called first missionary journey, undertaken along with Paul through Cyprus and the south of Asia Minor, his name is placed first, at least till 13 7, and then again in 14 14 and even 15 12 25. All this is not easy to reconcile with Paul's well-known independence as shown in his letters; but the journey in Acts 11 30 12 25 must also on other grounds be pronounced unhistorical (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1), and the rest of what is related in Acts 11 is inconsistent with the order τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας in Gal. 1 21, as is the rest of what we read in Acts 9 with Gal. 1 15-20 (cp ACTS, § 4, and, for the doubtfulness of the contents of Acts 13 *f.*, and the probability of a Barnabas source there, §§ 13 and 10). But, although the object of the narrative in Acts is inconsistent with history in as far as it seeks to suggest that the missionary activity of Paul among the Gentiles was no departure from the views of the primitive church,—that on the contrary it was authorised and even set on foot by it,—we may without hesitation accept as historical (see ACTS, § 4) not only the co-operation of Barnabas with Paul shortly before and at the Council at Jerusalem, which is vouched for by the Epistle to the Galatians, but also the part which he took in the first missionary journey (Acts 13 *f.*), and even perhaps in Paul's introduction to Jerusalem (of course according to Gal. 1 18 *f.*) at his first visit to that city three years after his conversion. We may also accept in all probability the second journey of Barnabas to Cyprus in company with Mark (Acts 15 39). From this point his name disappears from the NT.

4. Later notices. Our later notices of him are of little value. According to Clem. Al. (*Strom.* ii. 20, § 116; cp Eus. *HE* ii. 1 4), he was one of the Seventy of Lk. 10 1; in the frankly anti-Pauline *Clem. Homilies* (i. 9-10), which date from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century—or rather, in the sources from which these Homilies were drawn—he was a personal disciple of Jesus, Palestinian by origin, but Alexandrian by residence, a strict adherent of the law; according to *Hom.* i. 8, ii. 4, Clement meets him in Alexandria, but in *Clem. Recog.* (1 7) the meeting was in Rome. According to this presumably earlier (but none the less unhistorical) representation, he proclaimed the gospel in Rome even during the lifetime of Jesus, and therefore before Peter. In *Hom.* 1 7 this statement is made only of some person who is left [illegible] means were found for the com[illegible] tradition, so full of [illegible] the authority of Peter and his alleged [illegible] From the fifth century onwards its place was taken by the statement that Barnabas was founder and bishop of the Church of Milan—a statement, however, accompanied by the claim "after he had been the first to preach the gospel in Rome." It was upon this assumption that the archbishops of Milan afterwards based their claims to metropolitan authority over the

whole of Northern and part of Central Italy. In the interests of Roman supremacy (which had originally been helped by it), the allegation was violently disputed by Roman theologians of the eighteenth century.

In complete independence of the Roman and Milanese tradition, there arose, after 431 A.D., the legend that Barnabas had been the missionary to his native island of Cyprus, and had suffered martyrdom at Salamis, where he was buried. On this plea the Cyprian church, between 485 and 488 A.D., obtained from the Emperor Zeno its independence of the Patriarchate of Antioch. The implied assumption is that Barnabas was an apostle in the full sense of the word.

Ecclesiastical writers often substitute him for Barsabbas (Acts 1 23; cp BARSABAS, § 2), perhaps on account of the name Joseph, common to both (the Sahidic and Philoxenian versions have, on the other hand, Joses in both cases, and there are isolated authorities for Barnabas alone), but perhaps in order to bring him nearer the apostolic circle. This object is effected in a more pronounced way by *Clem. Recog.* (1 60), which identify him with Matthias (Acts 1 26). There is an isolated notice in the (Gnostic) *Actus Petri Vercellenses* to the effect that Barnabas was sent along with Timothy to Macedonia before Paul's journey to Spain. Cp. Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 2, pp. 270-320 (especially 310), 260, 373.

Tertullian's claim of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews for Barnabas is quite inadmissible. It is

5. Alleged authorship.

difficult to attribute to a born Levite (Acts 4 36) such grave errors about the temple (or tabernacle) as occur in Heb. 9 1 *f.* 7 27; or to any member of the primitive church of Jerusalem any such declaration as that in Heb. 2 3, that he had first received the gospel at second hand through hearers of Jesus. Nor is such an origin consistent with the thoroughly Alexandrian character of the Epistle. Even, however, if we must refrain from basing any argument on the statements about Barnabas in Acts 4 36, we are still confronted by a decisive fact: the man who at a critical moment was so much subject to the Mosaic law (Gal. 2 13), could not have spoken of its abolition and even of its carnal character, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks in 7 12 18 16. Doubtless the Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to Barnabas because it was supposed that the λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως of Heb. 13 22 could only have come from the υἱὸς παρακλήσεως of Acts 4 36.

That Barnabas should have written the anonymous epistle which since the time of Clement of Alexandria has borne his name, and on that account has been included among the writings of the 'apostolic fathers,' is still more inconceivable than his authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It goes far beyond Paul in its assertion of freedom from the law. As to its date, see under ACTS (§ 16).

P. W. S.

BARODIS (Βαρωδεις [BA]), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA, ii. §§ 9 8 *c*. 15 1 *d*), one of the eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 (om. ⊕[L]) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of ‖ Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

BARREL (כַּד γαρια [BAL]; 1 K. 17 12 14 16 18 33). See COOKING UTENSILS, § 2; POTTERY.

BARRICADE (מְעֻזָּל), 1 S. 17 20 RV[mg]. See CAMP, § 1.

BARSABAS or **BARSABBAS** (§§ 48, 72). The etymology is doubtful. Βαρσαβας has been derived

1. Name.

from בַּר ('son') and שַׁבָּא or סְבָא ('Sheba,' —which, however, as far as we know, is always the name of a country, never of a person), from סבר and צבא ('warrior'; cp Nu. 31 51), or from בַּר and סָבָא ('old man's son'). Βαρσαββας ([Tr. WH] the better attested form of the name) suggests, 'child of the Sabbath.' Dalman (*Gram. d. jüd.-palast. Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 143) instances analogies to show that שַׁבָּתִי or שַׁבָּתָא could by contraction become שַׁבָּא, though בַּר שַׁבָּתָא is what we should more naturally expect in such a case.

1. Joseph Barsabbas, or named Justus (Ἰωσῆφος [Tr. WH]), was nominated, though not chosen, for the

2. Joseph.

vacancy in the apostolate caused by the death of Judas. The account of the election in Acts 1 15-26 could not be held to be historical if we regarded the number twelve for the original apostolate as having been fixed, and invested with special dignity, only after the controversy as to Paul's equality in privilege with the apostles of Jerusalem. But even were we to set aside the reference to the δώδεκα in 1 Cor. 15 5, as being unparalleled elsewhere in the Pauline writings, we should still be at a loss to explain why Paul never vigorously protested against an innovation if innovation it was, so arbitrary and so derogatory to his own position. Occasion enough for doing so presented itself in Gal. 2 and 2 Cor. 10-13. We must, accordingly, ascribe to Jesus himself the choice of twelve of his disciples who stood in peculiarly close relations to their Master. But in that case it was very natural that these should seek to keep up their number—that of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Whether the election was in Jerusalem is more open to question. On the arrest of Jesus all the disciples, according to Mk. 14 50 Mt. 26 56, had taken to flight, and that they should have returned to Jerusalem so soon is not likely. The view of Lk. and Jn., according to which they are present in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection of Jesus (and remain there), cannot be reconciled with what we are told by Mk. and Mt.; the explanation is that the third and fourth evangelists found the statement of the first and second incredible. According to this last, Jesus, in Jerusalem, through the women, sends the disciples, who are also in Jerusalem, to Galilee, in order that he may there show himself to them. The kernel of historical fact, however, is not as Lk. and Jn. have it, but the reverse: namely, that the apostles were not in Jerusalem at all, but in Galilee, and thus in Galilee received the manifestations of their risen Lord. It may even be questioned whether they were again in Jerusalem and able to come forward publicly and unopposed so early as at the following Pentecost (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL).

In a still higher degree must the discourse of Peter in Acts 1 16-22 be regarded as entirely the work of the author (see ACTS, § 14).

Instead of Ἰωσήφ in Acts 1 23, there is some (though inferior) authority for Ἰωσῆς, a reading due perhaps to a conjecture that the 'brethren of Jesus' named in Mk. 6 3 were of the number of the Twelve; the same conjecture, if in Acts 1 23 the reading Ἰωσήφ be retained, appears to find support in the fact that in Mt. 13 55 the brother of Jesus in question is called, not as in Mk. 6 3 Ἰωσῆς, but according to the best MSS Ἰωσήφ. The assumption, however, is quite inadmissible (see CLOPAS, §§ 4, 5).

According to Papias (Eus. *HE* iii. 39 9), Justus Barsabas drank deadly poison with impunity. From the fifth century onwards he is named as one of the seventy of Lk. 10 1; in the list of these preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* (Bonn ed. i. 400) he is identified with Thaddæus = Lebbæus; in that of Pseudo-Dorotheus (*ib.* ii. 128), with Jesus Justus (Col. 4 11), to whom the see of Eleutheropolis is assigned. In the *Passio Pauli* (attributed to Linus, but really dating from the 5th or 6th cent.) 'Barnabas et Justus,' in another redaction 'Barnabas Justus,' and in a third ὁ Βαρσαβας Ἰοῦστος, are enumerated among servants of Nero who, converted by Paul, are cast into prison and condemned to death by the emperor, but afterwards released after an appearance of the risen Paul to the latter. The identification of this Justus with the biblical Barsabas seems to have

been made at a comparatively late date. See Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* i. 201-3, 24; ii. 1 94-96, 150, 161, 281 *f.*

3. Judas. 2. Another Barsabbas called Judas appears in Acts 15 22-34, along with Silas, as a prominent member of the early church in Jerusalem, and as a προφήτης that is to say, as a man endowed with the gift of παράκλησις (see BARNABAS, § 1). The mission ascribed to him—that of conveying the decree of the council of Jerusalem—cannot, of course, be more historical than the decree itself (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM § 10).

P. W. S.

BARTACUS (Βαρτακου [BA], Βαζακου [L]. בר זקא [Vg.]), father of Apame, a concubine of Darius (1 Esd. 4 29). His title or epithet τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ is obscure. Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 3 5) gives it as τοῦ θεμασίου, which may possibly be for μαθεστου = old Pers. *mathista* (simply 'colonel'), and, at any rate, is hardly a misunderstanding of the τοῦ θαυμαστου in 1 Esd. (RV 'the illustrious B.'), which is not a very natural epithet. The form given by Josephus, Ραζεζακου (cp Syr. ܒܪܙܩܐ), seems nearest to the original name, which was probably Artabazak. Out of this 'Bartacus' may have arisen in this way: the MS had βαζακου, and over the first four letters was written αρτα, a correction which the scribe misunderstood (so Marq. *Fund.* 65).

BARTHOLOMEW (Βαρθολομαιος [Ti. WH]) is enumerated in Mt. 10 3; Mk. 3 18 Lk. 6 14 Acts 1 13 (see APOSTLE, § 1) as one of the twelve apostles of Jesus. The second portion of the name represents the OT proper name vocalised by MT as תֹּלְמַי (*θολμαι*; for the variants see TALMAI). In Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 1 1 § 5) the name Tholomaios (*θολομαιος*) occurs as borne by a robber chief. It is not necessary to derive from Ptolemy (πτολεμαιος); the θ instead of τ is against this, though the second ο for ε presents no difficulty (Winer,[6] § 5 20 *d*). Bartholomew may have been either a genuine proper name like Barnabas, Barjesus, etc., or a mere addition to the real proper name of the bearer, given for the sake of distinction, like Simon Bar-jona (cp BARABBAS, § 2); on the latter supposition we do not know the true name of Bartholomew. It is the merest conjecture that identifies him with Nathanael (see NATHANAEL). If we neglect this conjecture the NT has nothing further to tell us about Bartholomew.

1. In NT.

Ecclesiastical tradition makes him a missionary to the most widely separated countries, and attributes to him a variety of martyrdoms. The oldest writer from whom we have an account of him is Eusebius (*HE* v. 10 3), who represents him as having preached in India (in those days a very wide geographical expression, including, for example, Arabia Felix), and as having left behind him there the Gospel according to Matthew in Hebrew; but Lipsius (*Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 2 54-108; cp Ergänz.-heft. 130 *f.*, 189-191), from the closely related character of the tradition regarding him and Matthew, assigns an earlier date to a tradition that the shores of the Black Sea were the scene of the labours of both, although this tradition is found only in authors later than Eusebius. According to other accounts, he preached the Gospel among the Copts, or (with Thomas) in Armenia, or (with Philip) in Phrygia, and, after the death of Philip, in Lycaonia. In the lists of the apostles his name is always coupled with that of Philip,—a fact which makes it all the more remarkable that in this group of legends he is expressly designated as one of the 'seventy' disciples of Lk. 10 1. On the other hand, the Parthian legend which gives Mesopotamia and Persia as the field of his labours, identifies him with Nathanael. A heretical *Gospel of Bartholomew* is mentioned by Jerome in his preface to Mt.

2. Post-biblical.

P. W. S.

BARTIMÆUS (Βαρτιμαιος [Ti. WH]; on the accent see below, § 2, end), the name of the blind beggar whom (according to Mk. 10 46-52) Jesus healed as he was leaving Jericho for Jerusalem. The parallel narratives of Mt. and Lk. show various discrepancies in points of detail. According to Lk. 18 35-43 the healing happened as Jesus was entering, not when he was leaving, Jericho, and according to Mt. 20 29-34 two blind men were healed. It might perhaps be suggested that each of the two evangelists—or at least Mt.—was thinking of some occurrence other than that recorded by Mk.; but, as against this, the very close coincidence with the text of Mk. shows clearly that both are dealing with the story which is associated in Mk. with the name of Bartimæus.

1. Story.

As regards this particular class of miracle, our judgment on which must depend on our doctrine of miracles in general, so much at least may be remarked, that in speaking to the disciples of John (Mt. 11 5; Lk. 7 22) of his giving sight to the blind, and other similar wonders, Jesus meant to be understood in a spiritual, not in a physical, sense. Otherwise the closing words, 'and to the poor the gospel is preached,' would have no force; for no proof of supernatural physical power is involved in this crowning instance. It is plain, however, that the evangelists understood his words in a physical sense. For in Mt. there is recorded, before the account of the message to John, not only the healing of a leper (8 1-4) and of a lame man (9 1-8), as in Lk., but also the bringing to life of Jairus's daughter (9 18-26), which Lk. records after that message (Lk. 8 40-56), the healing of a κωφος (9 32 *f.*), which Mk. does not record at all and which Lk. relates, like the raising of Jairus' daughter, after the message to John (11 14), and, above all, the healing of two blind men (9 27-31), which does not appear in the parallel narratives. It thus appears that, in the first gospel, instances of all five classes of miracle are recorded as having occurred before Jesus appeals to them (if we may disregard the consideration that in Mt. 9 32 *f.* κωφος is used in the sense of dumb; while Jesus in the message to John uses it in the sense of deaf). Lk., on the other hand, in whose narrative the message to John is preceded only by the raising of the widow's son at Nain (7 11-17), in addition to the healing of a leper and a lame man (5 12-26) relates in 7 21 that Jesus wrought upon many persons in the presence of the disciples of John the miracles to which he was immediately afterwards to appeal. Of these miracles we have no indication in the other evangelists. The conclusion is that the words 'to the poor the gospel is preached' cannot have been the addition of the evangelists or of any of their predecessors. The words destroy the physical-supernatural interpretation which the evangelists seek to put upon the preceding clauses. They are the authentic words of Jesus himself, and they prove that he did not claim to be a healer of the physically blind.

Some of the critics who argue that the evangelists have misapprehended Jesus's words do not deny the historicity of the story of Bartimæus. They point out that, in Mk.'s narrative at least, Bartimæus 'casting away his garment, sprang up and came to Jesus' (and thus cannot have been completely blind); also that the event helps to render intelligible the popular enthusiasm at the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem immediately afterwards. They account for the divergence of Lk. by pointing out that for the story of Zacchæus a great concourse of people *before* the entry of Jesus into Jericho is required, and that the evangelist (erroneously) believed this to have been due to the healing of the blind man; Mt.'s divergence they account for by supposing that he had fused together the story of Bartimæus and that of the blind man, recorded in Mk. 8 22-26, which he had previously passed over. Finally, they appeal to the express mention of the name of the person healed—a rare thing in the gospels—as guaranteeing a genuine reminiscence.

2. Name.

This last argument would, of course, lose its validity should the name prove to be no real name but merely a description.

According to Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* 588, 1461-2, the Syrian lexicographers Bar 'Ali (*circa* 885 A.D.) and Elias of Anbar (*circa* 922) interpret Timæus as meaning blind (*samyā*); similarly *Onom. Sacr.*, ed. Lag.[2] 176 35; Βαρτιμαιος, υἱὸς τυφλος; and Jerome (*ib.* 68 10) even gives the corrected form 'Barsemia filius cæcus' and adds: 'quod et ipsum conrupte quidam Bartimæum legunt.' The reading Barsemia, however, has no support except in Barhebræus (*ob.* 1286 A.D.), who found in two Greek MSS 'Samya bar Samya';[1] and the interpretation

[1] The reading is suspicious for the very reason that it depends on that of the Syriac translation, which could not render ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαιου Βαρτιμαιος otherwise than by the awkward and meaningless repetition of בַּר. It accordingly left ὁ υἱὸς untranslated, thus making Timæus the blind man's own name, and designating him מיכי בר מיכי (so in Syr. sin. and nearly so in Syr. hr.; cp Land, *Anec.* 4 141: מימאי בר מימאי). This might be held to indicate that the combination ὁ υἱος Τιμαιου Βαρτιμαιος cannot be due to the evangelist, who habitually interpolates the Greek translation of an Aramaic expression by ὁ ἐστιν (3 17 7 11 34) or ὃ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευομενον (5 41 15 22 34). Thus ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαιου is the marginal note of some very ancient reader.

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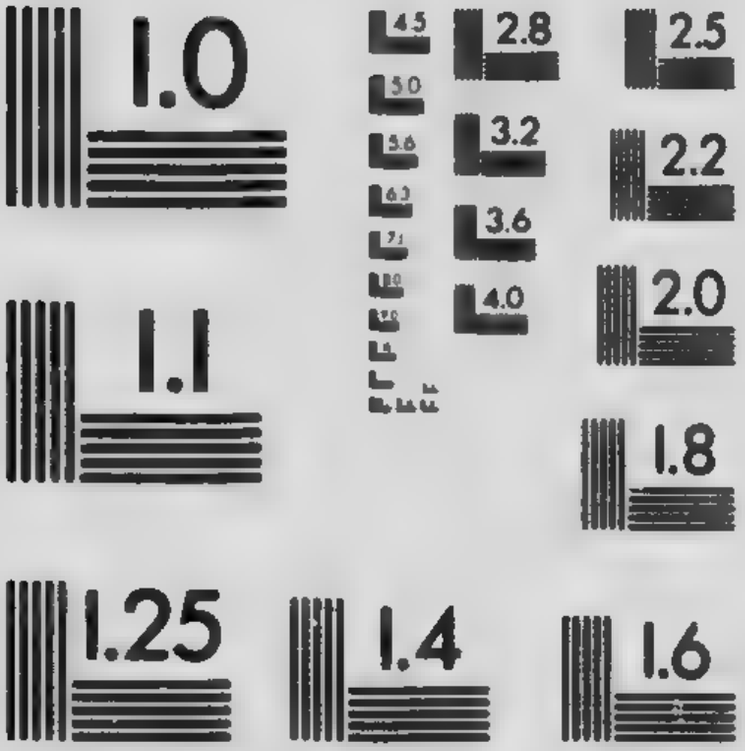

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'blind' cannot be established. Hitzig, who upholds it, has only inferred an Aramaic סבי, 'to be blind,' as being the intermediate step between the Syr. *semi* and the Arabic *'amiya* of this meaning (in Merx's *Archiv*, 1 107 *f.*, and *Kritik paulinischer Briefe*, 1870, p. 9 *f.*); but the inference is not sound. It would appear, then, that the ancient interpretation 'blind' was hit upon simply because τυφλός stood near. Neubauer (*Stud. Bib.* 1 57), without expressing any view as to the etymology, gives בַּר סִיבָא as the original form. This rests, however, only on the writing of the name in some MSS of the Vet. Lat. [illegible] of the [illegible] MSS is surely to be preferred (only D has Βαρτεσιμαιος). Thus the most likely rendering of the name would be בַּר כְּבָא, 'son of the uncle.'

According this interpretation, Volkmar still regarded the name as only a description of the actor in the story. Uncleanness, he argued, is the characteristic of the Gentile world; what Mk means to say is, not that an individual man, but that the whole Gentile world, is freed from spiritual blindness by J[illegible] that is, by the preaching of his gospel (*Mr. u. d. Syn.* p. [illegible] 4[illegible]; [illegible] *Nat.* [illegible]). But in the sight of Christianity, Judaism, as well as heathenism, is blind, and Volkmar's Jaldabaoth represents the blind man whose healing is described in the earlier chapter (Mk. 8 22-9); see *Mythus*, [illegible] 4[illegible]; *Jesus*, [illegible]. The text, however, [illegible] test in [illegible] that in the one place the Jews in the order of the Gospels are intended; in the other, as Bartimæus addresses the words 'Son of David' and 'Rabbuni,' Volkmar could hardly contemplate the possibility of his being not a Gentile but a Jew. [illegible] one of the ways in which a proper name may be [illegible] by the Greek [illegible] has even petitioned, which is that the [illegible] of the [illegible] express the deliverance by the Greek of the [illegible] of humanity from spiritual blindness.

We are left, then, to the conclusion that Bartimæus is a proper name like Barnabas, Barjesus, and the like, and it is a matter of indifference whether the second element be the appellative 'כְּבָא, 'unclean,' or the personal name מיבי Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.* 2 154),[1] or the place-name מיבא (Ps. 108), or the second part of the Syriac place-name בית מיבי (*Thes. Syr.* 406, 1402), and whether any or all of the last three forms admit of being traced to a Jewish-Aramaic root סיב, 'to close up' (cp. סמם).

Bartimæus remains a proper name, also, if the second part of it be supposed to be the Greek name Τιμαιος (found, *e.g.*, in Plato). Origen seems to have had this derivation in his mind when he called Bartimæus ὁ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπώνυμος. Such a blending, however, of Aramaic and Greek is unlikely. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Greek word may have had influence on the form. With a Semitic derivation this would naturally be Βαρτιμαῖος, as in Ματθαιος, Ζακχαιος, and so forth. But just as, on the analogy of the very common Greek termination -ανός, the accepted pronunciation of Urbanus and Silvanus was Οὐρβανός and Σιλουανός (Rom. 16 9 2 Cor. 1 19), although in Latin the accent lay on the penultimate, so conceivably the name under consideration may have been accented Βαρτίμαιος, even without supposing it to be etymologically derived from the Greek.

For the philology see, especially, Nestle, *Marg. u. Mat.*, 1893, pp. 89-92, and for the subject in general, Keim, *Gesch. Jes. von Naz.* 3 51-54 (E.T. 5 61-64).

P. W. S.

BARUCH (בָּרוּךְ, 'blessed [of God]'; Βαρουχ [BNAQ]; Βαρουχος [Jos.]), son of Neriah and brother of SERAIAH (*q.v.*, 4), one of Jeremiah's most faithful friends in the upper class of the citizens of Jerusalem (cp Jos. *Ant.* x. 9 1, ἐξ ἐπισήμου σφόδρα οἰκίας). We hear of Baruch first in 604 B.C. as the scribe who committed to writing the prophecies delivered by his master up to that date, and then in 603 B.C. (?) as the fearless reader of those prophecies before the people, the princes, and the king (Jer. 36). After the roll from which he read had been burned, Baruch wrote down the substance of the former roll afresh—a fact not without significance for the criticism of the Book of JEREMIAH (*q.v.*). In 587 B.C., it was to Baruch that Jeremiah when in prison committed the deeds of the land which he purchased from his cousin Hanamel at Anathoth (32 12), and after the fall of Jerusalem it was this faithful scribe who was charged

[1] This personal name מיבי, however, is not certainly made out, for, according to Dalman (*Th. ol. Lit.-Blatt*, 1893, p. 227 *f.*, and *Aram. u. neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, 1897, p. 162), in the sole proof-text cited, the reading in the first edition is ישבי, which he explains from ישבעין.

with having induced Jeremiah to dissuade his countrymen from seeking a refuge in Egypt (43 3). The disciple appears to have been similar in character to his master. In the language of strong emotion he complained of the troubles which had come upon him, and of the wandering life which he was forced to lead. 'Seekest thou great things for thyself' (*i.e.*, the leadership of a new and better Israel)? 'Seek them not' was the answer; for still worse troubles are in prospect, but Baruch's own life will be spared (45 1-5; cp 12 1-5). We may be thankful for this brief record of Baruch's inner life. Its genuineness has been too hastily doubted; the date given in 45 1 is, of course, too early to suit the contents, and must be interpolated; but the prophecy itself is altogether in character with Jeremiah.

No other trustworthy facts respecting Baruch are recorded. In the *Midrash Sa'ar ha-Sh[illegible]* [illegible] he is said to have been the teacher of Ezra; yet the *Midrash* adds that Ezra did not go up to Jerusalem directly after the edict of Cyrus, but waited in Babylon, not liking to miss the instructions of his teacher. This is one instance of an attempt to prove the antiquity of the transmission of the oral tradition. An equally great and equally groundless honour was conferred on Baruch when he was represented him as the 'great unnamed' prophet who comforted Is. 40-66. That various apocryphal writings claimed Baruch as their author is not surprising; Ezra and Baruch, the two great scribes, were marked out for such distinctions. See APOCRYPHA, § [illegible]; APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 5 *b*, and BARUCH, BOOK OF.

1. Father of Jehiah, one of the inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § [illegible] [illegible]); Neh. 11 5. Not mentioned in 1 Ch. 9 [illegible].

2. Zabbai (or Zaccai), in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, 1 *f.*; EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*); Neh. 3 20.

3. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 6 [7].

T. K. C.

BARUCH, Book of, a short book which in the LXX is placed immediately after Jeremiah, and is reckoned by the Roman Catholic Church as one of the so-called deutero-canonical writings.

Its contents may be summarised as follows:—

1. Contents. (Chap. 1 1-2.) The book is said to have been written by Baruch the son of Neriah at Babylon in the fifth year, at the time when Jerusalem was burned by the Chaldeans.

(Chap. 1 3-14.) Baruch reads his book in the presence of Jeconiah (*i.e.*, Jehoiachin), the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and in the presence of the other Jewish exiles who dwell at Babylon by the river Sud (Σουδ [?]). After mourning and fasting, they send money to Jerusalem to the priest Jehoiakim (Ἰωακείμ), the son of Hilkiah, commanding him to offer sacrifices in behalf of Nubuchodonosor (Nebuchadrezzar) king of Babylon and his son Belshazzar, in order that Israel may find mercy. At the same time, the Jewish exiles send the following book, which is to be read publicly on feast days in the Temple.

(Chaps. 1 15-3 8.) This section is a confession of sin, put into the mouth of Israel and accompanied by prayers that God will at length pardon his people whom he has so justly punished. Special stress is laid upon the sin which the people committed in refusing to serve the king of Babylon, notwithstanding the solemn injunctions of the prophets.

(Chaps. 3 9-5 9.) Now follows a discourse addressed to the Israelites dispersed among the Gentiles. It begins by showing that the calamities of the people are due to their having forsaken God, the only source of wisdom, and then proceeds to console them with promises of restoration—Jerusalem will be gloriously re-established for ever and ever, and the oppressors of Israel are to be humbled to the dust.

It will be seen that the book is very far from presenting the appearance of an organic unity. After the

2. Integrity. heading of chap. 1, 'These are the words of the book which Baruch wrote,' etc., we might expect the book itself to follow immediately; but, instead of this, we have a long account of the effect produced upon the people by the reading of the book. Nor are we clearly informed whether 'the book' sent

[1] Schwally, *ZATW* 8 217.

by the Jewish exiles to Jerusalem (1 14), which they cite at full length in the following section (1 15-38), is or is not identical with 'the book' written by Baruch. Moreover, the historical situation described in the narrative (1 7-13) does not agree very well with the subsequent portion, since the narrative assumes the continued existence of the temple, whereas 2 26 implies its destruction. Finally, the discourse which occupies all the latter half of the book begins quite abruptly and stands in no definite relation to what precedes: it presupposes, indeed, the dispersion of Israel; but to Baruch and to the special circumstances of the *Babylonian* captivity there is no allusion.

To these general considerations may be added several difficulties of detail. The date given in 1 2 is so obscurely worded that several modern commentators (*e.g.*, Ewald and Kneucker) have felt obliged to emend the text. Even if the omission of the [illegible] be explained, we still have to decide whether 'the 5th year' means the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity or the fifth year after the burning of Jerusalem; and to both views there are serious objections. Chap. 1 8 disturbs the sense, and if it be genuine must originally have stood in some other place.

3. Origin. Though the Book of Baruch never formed part of the Hebrew Canon (for which reason Jerome excluded it from his Latin translation of the Bible), it was regarded as authentic by many of the Christian fathers, from the second century onwards. Sometimes, owing to the place which it occupies in the LXX, it is cited as a part of Jeremiah. Even in quite recent times, it has been maintained by Roman Catholic theologians that the book is a translation of a genuine work of the well-known Baruch, the friend and secretary of the prophet Jeremiah. All competent critics, however, have long ago concluded that it dates from a very much later period, and belongs to the large class of Jewish books which were put forth under false names. Its origin and history remain, however, in some respects obscure. That 1 15-38 and 3 9-5 9 are by different authors is generally acknowledged: both in substance and in style there is a marked contrast, the language of the former section being simple and full of Hebraisms, while that of the latter is highly rhetorical. The dates of the various parts, however, and the question whether the whole or any part was originally written in Hebrew are matters about which critics differ.

Ewald ascribed the first half (1 1-38) to a Jew living in Babylonia or Persia under one of the latter Achæmenian kings, and regarded the rest of the book as having been written soon after the capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter (320 B.C.); 4 32 Ewald explained as a reference to the deportation of Jews to Alexandria. Very few critics, however, are now in favour of so early a date. Kneucker thinks that the work, in its original form, was composed in the reign of Domitian, and consisted of only the heading (*i.e.*, 1 1 2 in part, 3), and the discourse contained in 3 9-5 9; the confession of sin (1 15-38) was, according to Kneucker, probably written a little earlier (in any case after the year 73 of our era) as an independent work, and was subsequently inserted into the Book of Baruch by a scribe, who himself composed 1 4-14. Schürer, on the contrary, whilst admitting that the middle of chap. 1 does not harmonise very well with what precedes and follows, thinks it on the whole probable that all the first half of the book (1 1-38) is by the same author, whom he places soon after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), the second half being by a different hand but of about the same period. With regard to the original language, Ewald, Kneucker, and others believe the whole to be a translation from the Hebrew, whilst Bertholdt, Havernick, and Nöldeke regard the Greek as the primitive text. Fritzsche, Hilgenfeld, Reuss, and Schürer maintain the theory of a primitive Hebrew text in the case of the first half only. In favour of this hypothesis, it may be mentioned that on the margin of the Syro-Hexaplar text of Baruch there are three notes by a scribe stating that certain words in 1 17 and 2 4 are 'not found in the Hebrew' (cp APOCRYPHA, § 6 (11)).

As to the question of historical credibility, it is obvious that if, with the majority of critics, we ascribe the book to the Roman period, its value as a record of facts is reduced to nothing. Whether, for example, the statements about Baruch's residence in Babylon, the river Σούδ, and the priest Jehoiakim are based upon any really ancient tradition it is impossible for us to decide. The author of the first half borrows largely from Jeremiah and from Daniel; in the second half we find many reminiscences of Job and of the latter part of Isaiah; and it may be that sources now lost also were employed. It is particularly important to observe that the closing passage (4 6-5 9) bears a striking resemblance to one of the pieces in the so-called 'Psalms of Solomon' (Ps. 11: see the edition of Ryle and James, pp. lxxii.-lxxiv.), which probably date from about the middle of the first century B.C. Since there is every reason to believe that the Psalms of Solomon were originally composed in Hebrew (cp APOCALYPTIC, § 83), the close verbal agreement seems to indicate that the author of this part of Baruch used the Psalms of Solomon in their present Greek form.

4. Historical value.

The most important of the MSS containing the Greek text of Baruch are B, A, and the Marchalianus (Q). In ℵ this book is missing. Fritzsche's edition of the Apocrypha (*Libri apocryphi veteris testamenti graece*, 1871) does not accurately represent the B text of Baruch; but trustworthy information about this MS may be obtained from Swete's *Septuagint* iii., in the preparation of which the photographic reproduction of B was used.

5. Texts and conim.

The ancient versions are (1) the old Latin, contained in the editions of the Vg.; (2) another Latin version, first published at Rome in 1688 by Joseph Maria a Caro Tommasi; (3) the Old Syriac, edited by Paul de Lagarde in his *Libri veteris testamenti apocrypha syriace*, 1861, from a MS in the British Museum, Add. 17,105; (4) the Syro-Hexaplar *i.e.*, the Syriac translation of Origen's Hexaplaric text—contained in the Codex Ambrosianus, which was reproduced in photo-lithography by Ceriani in 1874; (5) the Ethiopic—a much abridged form of the text—ed. by Dillmann (Berlin 1894) in the 5th vol. of his *Vetus Testamentum Æthiopicum*; (6) the Armenian, of which the best edition is contained in the Armenian Bible published at Venice in 1805; (7) the Coptic, edited by Bruns and Zoëga, xxii.

Of modern commentaries the most [illegible] are those of Fritzsche (in *Kurzgef. Hdb.*, 1851), Kneucker (*Erklärung des Buchs Baruch*, 1853), Ewald (*Propheten des alten Bundes*,[2] iii. 1867-68), Kneucker (*Das Buch Baruch*, 1879), and Gifford (in Wace's *Apocrypha*, 1888). The best general account of the book will be found in Schürer (*GJV*, 1886-90, ii. pp. 721-726, ET). The reader may consult also Bertholdt (*Einleitung*, 1812-19, pt. iv.), Havernick (*De libro Baruchi commentatio critica*, 1841), Hitzig (in *ZWT* 3 262-273), Hilgenfeld (*ibid.* 5 199-203, 22 437-454, 23 412-422), Nöldeke (*ATliche Lit.*, 1868, p. 214 n.), Reuss (*Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften ATs.*,[2] 1890), and the article on this book in Smith's *DB*,[2] 1893—an article valuable chiefly on account of the additions made by Prof. Ryle.

6. Appendices.

In many MSS and printed editions the apocryphal *Epistle of Jeremiah* is appended to Baruch, and it is reckoned in the Vg. as the sixth chapter of the book. The Book of Baruch is not to be confounded with the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 5 *ff.*). The work known as 'The Rest of the words of Baruch,' extant in Greek, Ethiopic, and Armenian, seems to be a Christian imitation of the Apocalypse of Baruch. We possess, moreover, a third apocalypse of Baruch extant in Greek and in Slavonic, and a fourth extant only in Ethiopic. The Greek text of the former has been published by James in his *Apocrypha Anecdota*, second series [97] (*Texts and Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1), where some information will be found also about the Ethiopic apocalypse (iii.). A. A. B.

BARZILLAI (בַּרְזִלַּי; Βερζελλ[ε]ι [BℵAL]). The meaning can scarcely be 'iron,' for such a name would be without a parallel. According to Nestle (*ZDPV* 15 257; cp Kampfmeyer, *ib.* 9), the name is Aramaic ('son of ——?'); but the latter part of it is still obscure.

1. A wealthy Gileadite of Rōgĕlim, who befriended David in his flight from Absalom at Mahanaim (2 S. 17 27). He refused David's offer to live at the court at Jerusalem, but entrusted to him his son CHIMHAM

(*q.v.*; 2 S. 19 32 *ff.*). David on his death recommended the sons of Barzillai to Solomon (1 K. 2 7).

2. A Gileadite [see (3)], Ezra 2 61 *b* (Βερζελλαί[ε]ι [B], -λλαι [A]) Neh. 7 63 *b* (-λλα [A]) 1 Esd. 5 38 *b* (BERZELUS, RV ZORZELEUS, RVmg. PHARZELDÆUS; φαηζελλαιου [B], ζορζελλαιου [A]).

3. A man who married one of the daughters of (2) and changed his name to Barzillai.[1] In post-exilic times the b'ne Barzillai were among those deposed from the priesthood because they were unable to prove their pedigree. In 1 Esd. 5 38 the original name of the founder of the family is said to have been JADDUS, AV ADDUS (ιαδδους [B], ιοδδ. [A]) *i.e.*, Jaddua (cp Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8 4; ιαδδους); but in the parallel passages he is simply called Barzillai; Ezra 2 61 *a* (ζαρβελθει [B], ζερβελλαι [A]) Neh. 7 63 *a* (βερζελλαι [A]), and so L in 1 Esd. 5 38 (βερζελλει). The same passage gives ALGIA as the name of his wife.

4. A man of Abel-meholah (not far, therefore, from Gilead), whose son ADRIEL (*q.v.*) also has been thought to bear an Aramaic name (2 S. 21 8).

BASALOTH (Βααλωθ [A]). 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 52, BAZLUTH, *q.v.*

BASCAMA (Βασκαμα [ANV]; Βασκα, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6), an unknown place, in Gilead, where Jonathan the Maccabee was put to death by Trypho (1 Macc. 13 23). Furrer's identification (*ZDPV* 12 151) with *Fiḥl Ezruk* on the W. Goramâye (to the E. of the extreme N of Lake Tiberias) is precarious (see Buhl, *Pal.* 241). Equally unsubstantiated is the identification with BEZEK, i.

BASE. For כִּנּוֹר, כִּנּוֹר, *mᵉkhōnāh*, the word employed to denote the structure upon which each of Solomon's lavers rested (1 K. 7 27 *f.* 31 32 34 *f.* 37 *ff.* 42 *f.*; 2 K. 16 17 25 13 16 2 Ch. 4 14, μεχωνωθ [sing. and pl.]; Jer. 27 [34] 19 om. BNA, μεχωνωθ [Theo l.]; Jer. 52 17 βασεις [BNQT]), see LAVER; also for כַּן, *kēn*, Ex. 31 9 etc., RV [AV 'foot']. For יָרֵךְ, *yᵉrēkh*, Ex. 25 31 37 17 RV [AV 'shaft'], see CANDLESTICK, § 2, n. 3; and for גַּב, *gēb*, Ezek. 43 13 RV, see ALTAR, § 11.

BASEMATH (בָּשְׂמַת), Gen. 36 3 RV; AV BASHEMATH.

BASEMENT (גַּבָּהּ), Ez. 41 8 RV. See GABBATHA, PAVEMENT.

BASHAN (בָּשָׁן, always in prose [except 1 Ch. 5 23], and sometimes also in poetry, with the art. הַבָּשָׁן; the

1. Name. appellative sense of the word, to judge from the Arab. *buthainatun*, was probably 'fertile, rich and stoneless soil'; see Wetzstein, in Del. *H.* 552 [App.], 550 *f.*: ⊖BAL βασαν or ἡ βασανεῖτις), the name of the broad and fertile tract of country on the E. of Jordan, bounded (somewhat roughly) on the S. by the Yarmûk and a line passing through Edre'i and Salchah (mentioned as border cities in Dt. 3 10), on the E. by the imposing range of extinct volcanoes called the Jebel Ḥaurān, on the W. by Geshur and Ma'acah (see Josh. 12 5), and on the N. stretching out towards Hermon (cp Dt. 33 22: see further, on the limits of Bashan, Guthe, *ZDPV*, 1890, pp. 231-4). The name (in its Gk. form Βαταναία,[2] and its Arabic form *Bathanîyeh*[3]) was, however, afterwards restricted to the southern portion of the area thus defined, other parts of the ancient 'Bashan' being distinguished as TRACHONITIS (*q.v.*)—*i.e.*, the remarkable pear-shaped volcanic formation in the NE. now called the Lejā—Auranitis (probably the Jebel Ḥaurān and its environs in the SE.), and Gaulanitis (which, however, may have included parts of Geshur and Ma'acah, beyond the limits of Bashan proper) in the West. The principal part of the Bashan of the OT must have been the broad rolling prairie now called by the Bedawin *en-Nukra*, a word properly denoting the 'hollow hearth' dug by the Bedawi in the middle of his tent, and applied to this great plain because, though it is

[1] The adoption of the family name of the wife suggests that she was an heiress.

[2] See Schürer, *GJV* 1 353.

[3] Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 84-88, and in the app. to Del. *Hiob*,[2] 553-558, where it is shown also that the modern 'ard el-Bathanîyeh,' or 'Land of Bathaniyeh,' is the name of a comparatively small district N. of the Jebel Ḥaurān and E. of the Lejā, which can never (as was supposed by Porter and others) have formed part of either Bashan or the province of Βαταναία.

some 1800-2000 ft. above the level of the sea, it forms a depression between the hilly Jaulān (across the Nahr-er-Rukkād) on the W., the Zumleh range on the S., and the Jebel Ḥaurān and the Lejā on the E.:[1] the S. and SE. part of en-Nukra also bears the special name of HAURAN (*q.v.*).

Bashan, as defined above, is distinguished geologically from the country S. of it. The Yarmûk forms a natural

2. Character. dividing line, on the S. of which the limestone comes to the surface, while on the N. it is covered by volcanic deposits. Jebel Ḥaurān, on the SE., is simply a range of extinct volcanoes; volcanic peaks extend from N. to S. in Jaulān, along the edge of the Jordan valley, on the W.;[2] and there are isolated volcanic hills in other parts of the country. The Lejā, that strange 'petrified ocean' NW. of the Jebel Ḥaurān, which measures some 25 m. from N. to S. by 19 from E. to W. (see TRACHONITIS), owes its origin entirely to streams of basaltic lava emitted from the Gharārat el-Kibliyeh, a now extinct volcano at the NW. corner of the Jebel Ḥaurān. The soil both of the slopes of the Jebel Ḥaurān and of the Nukra is a rich red loam,[3] formed by the lava scoria, which has become disintegrated under atmospheric action. The soil thus constituted is celebrated for its fertility: the best corn grows upon it, and in summer time the plain is covered far and wide with waving crops. The country is, however, in general almost entirely destitute of trees: only on the slopes of Jebel Ḥaurān, especially in its central and southern parts, are there abundant forests of evergreen oak[4] (cp the allusions to the 'oaks of Bashan' in the OT: Is. 2 13 Zech. 11 2 Ez. 27 6, also Is. 33 9 (⊖ ἡ Γαλ[ε]λαια), Nah. 1 4). In ancient times, also, it must have supplied rich pastures: the strong and well-nourished herds of Bashan are mentioned in Ps. 22 13 [12] (⊖ omits) Am. 4 1 Ez. 39 18 (⊖ omits) Dt. 32 14 (⊖ ταύρων); cp also Mic. 7 14 Jer. 50 19 (⊖ omits). The lofty conical summits of the volcanoes forming the Ḥaurān range (cp Porter, 183, 186, 199, 227, 259) are no doubt the 'mountains with peaks,' which the poet of Ps. 68 16 *f.* [15 *f.*] pictures as looking enviously at the comparatively unimposing mountain of Zion.

The principal towns of Bashan mentioned in the OT are the two royal cities of 'Og (Dt. 1 4 Josh. 12 4 βασα

3. Towns. [B]), 'ASHTAROTH, now probably either Tell 'Ashterā or Tell 'Ash'ari, in the middle of en-Nukrā, and EDRE'I, now Der'āt, on its S. border, GOLAN (Dt. 4 43), somewhere in the W., and SALCHAH (Dt. 3 10), now Ṣalchad, a frontier-fortress in a commanding position overlooking the desert in the SE. corner of Bashan, S. of Jebel Ḥaurān. Bosra, between Edre'i and Salchah, though not mentioned (1 Macc. 5 26 *ff.* (βοσορ ANV*]; but see BOSOR), also was, no doubt, an important place: the site is still marked by extensive remains belonging to the Roman age. 'Threescore fenced cities, with high walls, gates and bars,' forming the kingdom of 'Og, are likewise mentioned in Dt. 3 4 (cp 1 K. 4 13) as situate in the 'region of Argob,' in Bashan. The position of Argob, and, consequently, the positions of those cities as well, are uncertain (see ARGOB, 1); but there are remains of many ancient towns and villages in these parts, especially in the Lejā, and on the sloping sides of the Jebel Ḥaurān; according to Wetzstein, for example (*Hauran*, 42), there are 300 such ancient sites on the E. and S slopes of the Jebel Ḥaurān alone.

The dwellings in these deserted localities are of a remarkable character. Some are the habitations of Troglodytes, being caverns hollowed out in the mountain-side, and so arranged as

[1] Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 87 n., *Hiob*, 552; GASm. *HG* 536 *f.* See the excellent map of this district published in the *ZDPV*, 1890, Heft 4, chiefly on the basis of Stübel's survey.

[2] Schumacher, *The Jaulân*, 18-20.

[3] Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 40 *f.* Cp the map at the end of the volume.

[4] Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*,[2] 186, 199, 200, [illegible] GASm. *Geog.* 613 *f.* The mountainous region of Jaulān W. of the Rukkād, also is well wooded.

to form separate chambers; these are found chiefly on the E. of the Jebel Ḥaurān. Others are subterranean abodes entered by shafts invisible from above; these are frequent on the W. of the Zumleh range, and at Edrei the dwellings thus constructed form quite an underground city. Commonly, the dwellings are built in the ordinary manner above ground; but they are constructed of massive well-hewn blocks of black basalt—the regular and indeed the only building material used in the country—with heavy doors moving on pivots, outside staircases, galleries, and roofs, all of the same material,[1] of this kind are, for example, the houses at Burāk, on the N. edge of the Lejā, at Ṣauwarah, El-Ḥazm, Deir Nileh, Hiyāt, Hit, Bathaniyeh, Shakā, Shubba, E. of it, Ḳanawāt and Suweideh, on the W. slopes of Jebel Ḥaurān, Salchad, Kureiyeh, and Ḥosra, on its SE. slope, and Neirān, Ezra', Khuhab, Dāmā, and Mismeiyeh, within the Lejā itself.[2] Many of these cities are in such a good state of preservation that it is difficult for the traveller to realise that they are uninhabited, and in the Lejā especially, where the ground itself is of the same dark and sombre hue, unrelieved by a touch of green, or a single sign of life, a feeling of weirdness comes over him as he traverses their desolate and silent streets.

The architecture of the buildings contained in the cities (comprising temples, theatres, aqueducts, churches, etc.) stamps them as belonging to the Graeco-Roman age, and is such as to show that between the first and the seventh centuries A.D. they were the home of a thriving and wealthy people. May any of these cities date from a remoter antiquity, and be actually the fortified places pointed to with wonder in Dt. 3 4 *f.* and 1 K. 4 13? The question was answered in the affirmative by Porter[3] and by Cyril Graham,[4] who believed that they had really rediscovered the cities 'built and occupied some forty centuries ago' by the giant race of the Rephāim; but this view cannot be sustained. The best authorities are unanimous in the opinion that, though in some cases very ancient building materials may be preserved in them, the extant remains are not, as a rule, of a date earlier than the first century, A.D.[5] Dt. 3 4 *f.* and 1 K. 4 13 are sufficient evidence that in the seventh century B.C. there were in Bashan strongly fortified places which were popularly supposed to have belonged to the ancient kingdom of Og; but none of the existing deserted cities can be as ancient as this. At the same time, it is not improbable that some of the cities built during and after the reign of Herod may have stood upon the sites of cities belonging to a much earlier age, and that in their construction the materials employed in building the more ancient cities may in some cases have been utilised and preserved.

4. History. As regards the history of Bashan, it is stated in Nu. 21 33-35 that the Israelites after their conquest of Sihon, king of Heshbon, turned in the direction of Bashan, defeated Og its king, who came out to meet them as far as his frontier fortress of Edrei, and took possession of his territory. The passage is in the context of JE; but it agrees so closely, in form as well as in substance, with Dt. 3 1-3, that Dillmann and other critics consider this to have been its original place, supposing it to have been inserted afterwards into the text of Numbers for the purpose of supplying what seemed to be an omission.

All other notices of the same occurrence in the historical books are Deuteronomic (or later): Israel's ancient victories over 'Sihon king of the Amorites and Og the king of Bashan' being two national successes, to which, especially, the writers of the Deuteronomic school were never weary of referring (Dt. 1 4 3 1 *ff.* 4 47 29 6[7] 31 4 Josh. 2 10 9 10 12 4 *f.* 13 11 *f.* 1 K. 4 19; see also, later, Nu. 32 33 [R], Neh. 9 22 Ps. 135 11 136 19 *f.*)

The territory of Bashan fell to the possession of the half-tribe of Manasseh (Dt. 3 13 4 43 Josh. 13 29-31 [βασανει B *v.* 30]). Golan and 'Ashtaroth are stated in P to have been Levitical cities (Josh. 21 27, cp 1 Ch. 6 56[71]); the former also is named as a city of refuge (Dt. 4 43 Josh. 20 8 21 27).

Bashan played no prominent part in the history; and it is rarely mentioned in a historical connection. In 1 K. 4 13 it forms one of Solomon's commissariat districts; and in 2 K. 10 33 it is included in the enumeration of trans-Jordanic regions which were 'smitten' by Hazael. Its inhabitants may be presumed to have suffered, like their neighbours in Gilead, on other occasions during the Syrian wars, and finally to have been carried into exile by Tiglath-pileser in 734 (2 K. 15 29); but in neither connection are they expressly mentioned. Apart from the prehistoric 'threescore cities' of the Argob, settled civilisation appears to have begun for the region of Bashan about the time of the Christian era, when its Semitic inhabitants first fell under Greek and Roman influence. The most important event in the history of the country, however, was its incorporation by Trajan, in 106 A.D., in his newly-founded province of Arabia. Then it was that Roman culture impressed itself visibly upon both the surface of the country and the character of its inhabitants; and towns, with great public buildings, of which the remains, as described above, survive to this day, sprang up in every part of it and continued to thrive for many centuries.[1]

The most important works on the topography of Bashan are, Wetzstein's *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (1860), and Guthe and Fischer's art. in the

5. Literature. *ZDPV*, 1899, Heft 4, pp. 225-302 (containing Dr. Stübel's itinerary, and numerous bibliographical references); on Southern Bashan, or the Nukra, Schumacher, *ZDPV*, 1897, pp. 65-226; on Western Bashan, Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 20-40, 103-242; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*; GASm. *HG* 575 *ff.*, 611 *ff.* Inscriptions (chiefly Greek and Latin) have been published by Wetzstein in the *Abh.* of the Berlin Ac. 1863, p. 255-368; Waddington, *op. cit.* Nos. 2071-2548; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.* 1 1-23; GASm. *Crit. Rev.*, 1892, p. 55 *ff.*; W. Ewing, *PEFQ*, 1895 (4 papers); *CIS* 2 1, fasc. 2, Nos. 162-190. S. R. D.

BASHAN-HAVOTH-JAIR (הַבָּשָׁן חַוֹּת יָאִיר) occurs in Dt. 3 14 (βασσεμαθ αγωθ ιαειρ [B*], βασαν αγωθ ιαειρ [B^ab vid.] (ut vid.) AFL], where AV renders, 'and (Jair) called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair.' This version does justice to the present text, but certainly does not represent the mind of the original writer. The awkward (indeed, impossible) expression Bashan-havoth-jair can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that the first element in it (Bashan) is a misplaced gloss from the margin. RV seeks to evade the difficulty by rendering, 'called them, even Bashan, after his own name, HAVVOTH-JAIR.' On the geographical difficulty which still remains, see HAVVOTH-JAIR.

BASHEMATH, or, as RV, correctly, BASEMATH (בָּשְׂמַת = αρωματινη? § 54; βασεμμαθ [AD]).

Other readings are: Gen. 26 34 μασεμμαθ [AE] βασενεμαθ [Vid. μασεθαμ [L]; elsewhere βασεμαθ]; 36 3 μασεμμαθ [D]; βα . . . [D]; 4 μασεμμαθ [D] μασεθμαθ [E]. 10 βασσεμμαθ [E]; 13 μασε. [A] μασσεμαθ [DE]; 17 μασεμμαθ [AE] [βα]σεμαθ [D vid].

1. Daughter of Ishmael, and wife of Esau, called MAHALATH in Gen. 28 9 and Hittite (εγαιοϋ [A]; χετρα. [E]; χετθα. [L]) in Gen. 26 34 [P]. The names and tribal origin of Esau's three wives are given twice (cp ANAH): by P in Gen. 26 34 28 9, and by R (?) in Gen. 36 2 *f.* A wife Basemath, and descent from Ishmael and from Elon the Hittite occur in both accounts (see CAINITES, § 9), but differently assigned; while the other names have no connection whatever, thus

P	Beeri-Hittite	*Elon-Hittite*	*Ishmael*
	1. Judith	2. *Basemath*	3. Mahalath
R (or J)	*Elon-Hittite*	Zibeon-Hivite [Horite?]	*Ishmael*
	1. Adah	Anah	2. *Basemath*
		3. Oholibamah	

[1] See more fully Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 44 *ff.*; on Edrei, also, Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 121 *ff.*

[2] See for particulars Porter, *Damascus*, chaps. 10-14; Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1895, pp. 40, 47, etc. (with photographs).

[3] *Damascus*,(2) 257 *f.*, 263 *f.*; *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 12 *f.*, 10, etc. [82].

[4] *Cambridge Essays* for 1858, p. 160 *f.*

[5] Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 49, 103 *f.*; Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, etc., iii. 1534; and De Vogüé, the principal authority on the architecture of Ḥaurān, *Syrie Centrale, Archit. Civile et Relig.* 4 (cited in Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 63); GASm. *HG* 624.

[1] See, further, GASm. *HG* 616 *ff.*

2. (AV BASMATH, RV BASEMATH), daughter of Solomon, 1 K. 4 15 (Μασεμαθ [A]).

BASILISK, RV rendering of צֶפַע (Is. 14 29), צִפְעוֹנִי (Is. 11 8), for which AV has COCKATRICE [q. v.].

BASKETS of various kinds were used by the Hebrews, and were doubtless not unlike those which are often found depicted upon Egyptian monuments large open baskets for fruit etc. (cp illustration, Wilk. *Anc. Egypt.* I 379), which could be borne upon the head (*ib.* 383, cp Gen. 40 19 *f.*), baskets to collect earth in the manufacture of bricks (on a supposed reference to which in Ps. 81 6, see BRICK), or deep wicker ones slung upon a yoke (*ib.* 380). Especially noteworthy is the large carpenter's tool-basket made of rush (a kind common throughout W. Asia), a specimen of which is now in the British Museum (cp *ib.* 401). The references to baskets present many points of interest; suffice it to refer to the difficult saying in Prov. 25 11, which RV renders, 'A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in baskets (AV 'pictures'; RVmg. 'filigree work') of silver,' where the implied notion is that the golden-hued apples look all the more beautiful in silver baskets. But (1) golden, not golden-hued apples (quinces) must be meant, if the text be correct; 'gold' and 'silver' must both be taken literally. (2) 'Baskets' is an impossible rendering, and 'filigree work,' though more plausible, is still hypothetical. (3) 'Fitly' has no sound linguistic basis. This is a case in which no weak emendation, affecting one or two letters, suffices.

Frankenberg has tried such a one; the sense produced is—

Golden graivings (פתחי) on silver chased work,
(So is) a word spoken to the trustworthy (על־אפניים, cp ☪),

i.e., a word spoken to the receptive is as ineffaceable as the chased work referred to. Not very natural, and not a good parallel to *vv.* 12.

By emending the text more boldly (but avoiding arbitrary guessing, and following parallels found elsewhere) it is possible to reach this excellent sense[1]—

A necklace of pearls in sockets of wreathen gold,
(So is) a word of the wise to him who hears it.

It is really only a slightly different version of the next proverb:

A ring of gold and an ornament of fine gold,
(So is) a word of the wise to a hearing ear.

Of the other Hebrew words rendered 'basket,' *dud* (דוד), *tene'* (תְּנוּא), and *sal* (סַל) were used for general purposes, see COOKING, § 2. Nowack (*Hb. A.* I 146) suggests that these were similar in character to the clay and straw *ḫawābi* of the modern fellahin. The former may perhaps denote loosely any pot or jar, since we find it used for cooking in 1 S. 2 14 (cp BDB *s.v.*). The last-named (*sal*), a reed basket (equivalent to the Gr. *κανοῦν* [by which it is rendered] and Lat. *canistrum*),[2] has been brought into connection with the reduplicated form סַלְסִלּוֹת, Jer. 8 9 (EV 'grape-gatherers' baskets'; ☪ *κάραλλος*).[3] This, however, is doubtful, and indeed the text is uncertain (cp Pesh.). RVmg. renders 'shoots'; but this is זְלוּלִים; cp VINE. For כְּלוּב (Am. 8 1; *ἄγγος*[4] [☪]), used also of a bird-cage, see CAGE.

[1] ☪ helps little: *σαρ* (om. כתם), which should take the place of כסף; but *ἐν ὑρμίσκῳ* = בכלי, which must have come from *vv.* 12. בכשביות is a corruption of בְּרִשְׁבָּבוֹת (Ex. 28 11, see OUCHES). תפיחי זהב evidently conceals the name of some precious stone or the like. If so, there is but one possible explanation; תפוחים comes from תרוים (just as יבי זהב, Gen. 3 39, comes from רברים; see BELA, 2), which means pearls strung together (see NECKLACE). Lastly, חפי probably comes from חוט (string or necklace). Thus *vv.* 11*a* corresponds closely to *vv.* 12*a*, consequently *vv.* 11*b* must correspond to *vv.* 12*b*, where, with Bi. (Prov.[2]), we should read דבר דבק (see ☪); מיכית is based on כתם. על־אפניו might come from מיכנעו, 'for its purpose,' but more probably comes from עשרשבעו, which is equivalent to עליאון מובעת (*v.* 12*b*) Reader is asked to give, and cp GOLD.

[2] On the sacred canistrum of early Christian times, see Smith, *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, s.v.

[3] The *κάραλλος* (also in 2 K. 10 7 for סל, and in Dt. 26 2 4 for דוד) was a basket with a tapering extremity.

[4] *ἄγγος* (cp Dt. 23 25, 1 K. 17 10, MT כלי) used of vessels of various kinds; cp in NT, Mt. 13 48 25 4 (WH prefer *ἀγγεῖον*). In Am. *l.c.*, Sym., more suitably, has *κάλαθος* (cp ☪ in Jer. 24 1 for דוד), a vase-shaped basket; especially the basket upon the head of Demeter in ancient statues.

In the NT mention is made of (*a*) *σαγήνη*, a basket of braid-work (used especially of fish-baskets), in which Paul escaped from Damascus (2 Cor. 11 33). In Acts 9 25, however, the word is (*b*) *σπυρίς* (WH prefer *σφυρίς*), the basket in the miracle of the 4000 (Mt. 15 37 etc.). Both were probably larger than (*c*) the *κόφινος*, in the miracle of the 5000 (Mt. 14 20 etc.). The last mentioned was an essentially Jewish article (*quorum cophinus foenumque supellex*, Juv. 3 13), whose size may perhaps be determined from the use of the word to denote a Parotian measure of about 2 gallons (vide *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, 1025, 4[2]). T. K. C.

BASMATH (בָּשְׂמַת), 1 K. 4 15 AV; see BASHEMATH, 2.

BASON (Amer. RV BASIN). That all the words (one Greek and four Hebrew) denote hollow vessels adapted to receive and contain liquids is certain; but what was the general form, and wherein the peculiarity of each consisted we have no means of determining. This uncertainty is sufficiently proved by the frequent variations in the EV renderings. On the whole subject, see BOWL, CUP, GOBLET, and cp ALTAR, § 10; COOKING UTENSILS, FOOD, MEALS, § 12; POTTERY.

1. אַגָּן, *aggān* (see BDB *Lex.* s.v.; *κρατήρ* [BNA etc.]), a large bason (EV) or bowl used in the temple ritual (Ex. 24 6). In Is. 22 24 EV. 'cups' (om. BNAQ, *αγανωθ* [Theod. Qmg.]). On account of its shape, it is employed in Cant. 7 2 [3] as a simile in the eulogy of the bride (EV 'goblet'); see Che. *ad loc.*, אגן April 1890.

2. כִּיּוֹר, *kīyōr* (cp MH כִּפּוֹר goblet), for which AV 'bason,' RV 'bowl' consistently, occurs only as a vessel used in the temple ☪ to find it unintelligible. 1 Ch. 28 17 (om. 1 *κεφουρε* [A] *κεφφ.* and *κιφφωρ* [L]) Ezra 1 10 (*καφουρης* [B], *χεφουρη* [A], *κεφφουραι* [L]) – 1 Esd. 2 13 (*φιάλαι χρυσαι* [BAL]), and Ezra 8 27† (*καφουδηθ* [B], *καφουρη* [A], L as in 1 10) – 1 Esd. 8 57 (*χρυσωματα* [BAL]).

3. מִזְרָק, *mizrāḳ* (a vessel for throwing or tossing a liquid, *φιάλη*).[1] With the exception of Am. 6 6 (☪ *ἐν ὀνυλάσμασι οἴνου* as though מִזְקָק; see MEALS, § 12 and 2 Ch. 4 11), this utensil is used only in the temple sacrificial ritual. RV renders variyingly 'bason' (*e.g.*, Ex. 27 3 38 3 2 K. 12 13 [14] etc.) or 'bowl' (Am. *l.c.*, Zech. 9 15 14 20 Nu. 7 13 etc.); see AV., v., § 4.

4. סַף, *saph*, a temple utensil (1 K. 7 50 2 K. 12 13 [14] Jer. 52 19 [where Aq. (☪mg.) *ὑδρία*, Sym. *φιάλη*]; AV 'bowls,' but RV 'cups' [so EV in Zech. 12 2]), used also in the ritual of the Passover (Ex. 12 22). The pl. סַפִּים, evidently denoting domestic utensils, occurs in 2 S. 17 28 (☪BAL *λέβητες*);[2] but see Kit. *ad l.*

5. *νιπτήρ* used in *jn.* 13 5 of the 'bason' (EV) in which Jesus washed the feet of the disciples (cp *νίπτειν* רָחַץ Gen. 18 4 etc.). The utensil must have been larger than any of the above. The Pal.-Syr. (Evang. Hierosol.) renders by ܚܕܐ; cp Heb. כַּפּוֹר, and see BOWL, 7.

BASSA, RV **Bassai** (BACCAI [B]), 1 Esd. 5 16 = Ezra 2 17, BEZAI, *q.v.*

BAS'TAI, RV **Basthai** (BACΘAI [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 49, BESAI.

BASTARD (מַמְזֵר). The *mamzēr* is mentioned along with the Ammonite and Moabite as excluded from the congregation[3] (Dt. 23 2 [3]). The Heb. word is of uncertain derivation, and the EV rendering is based upon the Vss. (*ἐκ πόρνης* [Bab mg. et sup ras A[1]L], B*F om.). More probably the word means one of mixed or alien birth (so Zech. 9 6, *ἀλλογενής* [BNAQ]), and among the Rabbins it was the term applied to relations between whom marriage was forbidden (cp Mish. *Yebam.* 4 13). It is presupposed by ☪ in Nah. 3 17 (*ὁ σύμμικτός σου* [BNAQ]), where MT has כְּמַנְעֻרֶיךָ (EV 'thy crowned ones'), and is rather infelicitously accepted by Wellhausen who thinks that the reference is to the mixed population of Nineveh. Ruben is certainly right in conjecturing כְּמַדְּדֶיךָ, 'thy measuring

[1] In some cases where several vessels are named ☪ appears to have transposed מזרק: see *e.g.* Nu. 4 14.

[2] Apart from the two exceptions mentioned, ☪ regularly thinks of סַף 'threshold,' and renders *θύρα πρόθυρον* (in Jer. *l.c.*, *σαφφώθ*).

[3] The only kind of *foreign* marriage which D contemplates seems to be found in Dt. 21 10-14. In Dt. 7 1-4 only Canaanitish peoples are excluded; but 1 K. 11 1 2 assumes the exclusion of other nations, and so, in Ezra 9, D's law is extended to cover all foreign neighbours (from MS note of WRS).

clerks' (see SCRIBE). For bastardy, in its religious connection, cp COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 10.

BAT (עֲטַלֵּף, *lit.* 'night-flier'?[1] ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΣ; *vespertilio*:[2] Lev. 11 19 Dt. 14 18 Is. 2 20; also Bar. 6 21). The bats form a well-defined and very numerous order of mammalia termed by naturalists the *Cheiroptera*. The position of the name at the end of the list of unclean birds, and immediately before the list of insects, accords with the universal opinion of antiquity that the bat, in Aristotle's words, 'belonged both to birds and to beasts, and shared the nature of both and of neither';[3] nor is it in any way surprising to find them included, apparently, amongst birds, for bats alone amongst mammals have developed the faculty of true flight and have become so modified by their aerial habits that their power of progressing on the ground is markedly inferior to that of most birds and insects. They show, in fact, a strong [illegible] being on the ground, and as a rule [illegible] to leave it, by crawling up some wall or tree from which they can take their flight.

The nature of their food (either insects or fruit) makes it necessary for those bats which inhabit temperate climates either to migrate at the approach of winter or to spend the cold months in a long winter sleep, for which purpose they [illegible] colonies in caves, ruins, or disused buildings. As a rule the bats of the Old World choose the latter alternative, and this seems to be the case with many of those found in Palestine. When food again becomes abundant, they as a rule sleep during the day suspended head downwards by their feet, and leave their homes only to search for food at the approach of twilight. The majority of the bats of Palestine (and they are very numerous) inhabit caves, caverns, tombs, ruins, and disused buildings of all kinds where they can avoid the light, a fact referred to in Is. 2 20 *f.*

As many as seventeen distinct species of bats, belonging to four different families and eleven different genera, have been described by Canon Tristram. Two or three of these may be mentioned by name. The only representative of the fruit-eating bats (Megacheiroptera) is *Xantharpyia* (*Cynonycteris aegyptiaca*), a species which is elsewhere arboreal in its habits, but in Palestine is found living in large colonies in caves and tombs. A further peculiarity of this species is that individual specimens from different localities vary markedly in size, those from Kurn in the plain of Acre being much smaller than those from the hills near Tyre, which resemble in size the variety found in Cyprus and Egypt. This species is very commonly found inside the Pyramids of Egypt and is believed to be the one so often figured in Egyptian frescoes.

The horse-shoe bat *Rhinolophus ferrum-equinum* is the commonest bat in Palestine, swarming in immense numbers in the caverns along the Jordan and the Red Sea. It has a wide distribution, extending from England to Japan and all over Africa. It collects in large colonies (180 have been found together) in caves and ruins for its winter sleep, and these colonies are peculiar as they are exclusively of one sex.

Another British bat very common in the hill country about Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and the Sea of Galilee, is the long-eared bat, *Plecotus auritus*, usually found in caverns. It is always very late in leaving its resting-place, not appearing till twilight has changed to night; but it continues to hunt for the insects on which it feeds the whole night through. N. M. —A. E. S.

[1] According to Schultens, *Diss. Dial.* 322, from the root which appears in Ar. as *gatila* 'to be dark' (of night), and עוף 'to fly.' It must, however, be said that compounds are very rare in Hebrew; and the modification of form involved in this case is improbable. It might be thought, from the absence of the word in the cognate languages (in the language of the Targums it is simply borrowed from Hebrew), that it is a loan-word which came in from a non-Semitic source; but there is much to be said for the view that it is connected with Aram. *'ateel*, 'naked' (from the character of a bat's wings), as suggested by Low (see Ges. *HWB*[11]), or with the root עטה, which in Hebrew has the sense of being covered or darkened.

[2] The Peshitta has in Leviticus and Deuteronomy the curious rendering 'peacock,' but in Is. 2 20 Bar. 6 21 employs the proper Syriac word for 'bat'; the Arabic version has 'bat' in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but (like the Targum) goes astray in a mistaken paraphrase of Is. 2 20.

[3] *De Part. Animal.* 4 13. For other references see Bochart, *Hierozoicon.*

BATH (בַּת, deriv. uncertain; cp BDB. [illegible]). Is. 5 10. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BATH-RABBIM (בַּת־רַבִּים, 'daughter of multitudes,' [BDB]; ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ [BNA]; *filia multitudinis*; Cant. 7 4 [5]). The eyes of the bride are likened to the 'pools in Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim.' With true insight, Graetz in 1871 recognised the impossibility of the reading Bath-rabbim; he suggested Kabbath-Ammon. Certainly this is possible; and NW. of Heshbon, in a lateral valley of the Wady Hesban, old reservoirs have been found. We cannot, however, suppose that these reservoirs were so famous as to be celebrated in a popular song beside Carmel and the Tower of Lebanon. 'Heshbon' as well as 'Bath-rabbim' must be wrong. Winckler's suggestion 'Helbon' (*KAT*[3] 1[illegible]) fits in with the mention of Lebanon, but has no other recommendation. Considering that there is desperate corrupt on in the next verse (see HAIR, GALLERY, 2), we are justified in making an emendation which might otherwise seem too bold. The most famous pools in Palestine, outside of Jerusalem, were no doubt those known as the Pools of Solomon (see CONDUITS, § 3). In the long green vale of 'Artas, unusually green among the rocky knolls of Judæa,' Solomon, according to post-exilic belief, 'planted him vineyards, and made him gardens and paradises . . . and made him pools of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared' (Eccles. 2 4-6). Probably it is this scenery that has suggested several descriptive passages in Canticles (Stanley; Del.); it was worthy to be mentioned beside Carmel and Lebanon. Read שלמה for בחשבון, and (with Wi.) יער for שער, and render

> Thine eyes are like Solomon's pools
> By the wood of Beth-cerem.

Beth-cerem, 'place of a vineyard,' was probably the name of some part of the garden-land referred to in Eccles. 2 4-6. See *PEFQS*, April 1899. Cp BETH-HACCERAM. T. K. C.

BATHSHEBA (בַּת־שֶׁבַע, 'daughter of the oath' [?], § 48; in 1 Ch. 3 5 בַּת־שׁוּעַ, where the pointing should be corrected to בַּת־שֶׁבַע; in ⊕[BAL], by a strange confusion, ΒΗΡΣΑΒΕΕ = Beersheba), wife of Uriah the Hittite, afterwards wife of David and mother of Solomon 2 S. 11 2-12 24 (ΒΗΘΣΑΒΕΕ [A]) 1 K. 1 *f.* (ΒΗΘΣΑΒΕΕ in 1 11 15). Some think that she was a granddaughter of AHITHOPHEL (q.v.).

When David first saw Bathsheba, Joab was engaged in the siege of Rabbath Ammon. The king himself was reposing, after his [illegible] of hardship, at Jerusalem. The story (which is omitted in Chronicles) is that, walking one evening on the flat roof of his palace, David saw a beautiful woman bathing in the court of a neighbouring house. He asked who she was, and, learning that her husband Uriah was away with the army, 'sent messengers and took her' (2 S. 11 4). To avert the shock which an open act of adultery would have caused to the ancient Israelitish sense of right, he devised the woful expedient related in 2 S. 11 6-25. First he had Uriah sent to him, ostensibly with a message from the camp. He dismissed him to his house with a portion from the royal table; but Uriah remained with the guard of the palace; he scrupled, if Robertson Smith may be followed (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 455 484), to violate the taboo on sexual intercourse applied to warriors in ancient Israel. The next night the king plied him with wine; but still Uriah was obstinate. Driven desperate, his master sent the brave soldier back to Joab, bearing a letter ordering his own destruction. Uriah was to be set in the place of danger and then abandoned to the foe. The cruel and treacherous plan was carried out, and, when Bathsheba's mourning for her husband was over, David made her his wife.

The story of the rebuke of Nathan, of the revival of the king's better self, and of the sickness and death of

the child of Bathsheba, is well known. It is a question, however (see Schwally, *ZATW* 12 153 *ff.*; Bu. *SBOT* [illegible]), whether, in the original form of the narrative, 2 S. 12 15*b* did not follow on 11 27, which means treating the most edifying part of the story as a later amplification (see DAVID, § 11). Considering what we know of the gradual idealisation of the life of David (which culminates in Chronicles and the titles of the Psalms), this appears far from impossible. The story gains in clearness by the omission. At any rate, Wellhausen is right in regarding 12 10-12 as an interpolation in the narrative of the colloquy between David and Nathan. It was suggested by an intelligent reading of the subsequent history. David's evil example was imitated in exaggerated form by Amnon, and Amnon's sin was fruitful in troubles, which culminated in Absalom's rebellion, and darkened all David's remaining years.

We meet Bathsheba for the last time, just as David's end was at hand, in the full glory of a queen-mother. Solomon rises to meet her, bows down before her, and sets her on a seat at his right hand. She gained her object, and it is interesting (if Nathan really took the part assigned to him in 2 S. 12 1-15) to notice that Nathan was one of her chief supporters. W. E. A.

BATHSHUA (בַּת־שׁוּעַ, § 48). 1. See BATHSHEBA.

2. The words בת־שוע rendered 'daughter of Shua' in Gen. 38 2 12 (σαυα, omitting בת [ADEL]) are treated in RV of 1 Ch. 2 3 (τ. θυγ. σαυας [B^ab A]; τ. θ. αυας [B*]; σουε [L]) as a proper name, Bath-shua. See SHUA.

BATHZACHARIAS (βεθζαχαρια [A]), 1 Macc. 6 31 *f.* See BETHZACHARIAS.

BATTERING RAM (כָּרִים [plur.]), Ez. 4 2 21 22 [27] †. See WAR.

BATTLE AXE. The rendering is not very happy, as will at once be seen.

1. כִּפִּין, *mappîṣ* Jer. 51 20 (διασκορπιζεις συ [BNAQT]); or כִּפִּץ, *mappîṣ* (Prov. 25 18 ῥόπαλον [BN* 4 A] -παυοι [N*]). EV's rendering 'maul' introduces an arbitrary distinction. Better, 'battle hammer,' or 'club' (cp נִפְצָה). In Ezek. 9 2 כְּלִי מַפָּצוֹ (πέλυξ) should possibly be corrected into כְּלִי מַשְׁחִתּוֹ, 'his destroying weapon' (Che.); 'battle axe' (RVmg.), 'slaughter weapon' (EV), 'a weapon of his breaking in pieces' (AVmg.) are all difficult to justify.

2. כִּידוֹר Ps. 35 3 RVmg. The usual rendering (Del., Bä., etc., accepting MT's vocalisation [כידור] and Vers.) is 'stop the way' (Ⓢ συγκλεισον). This involves a double ellipsis – 'shut up [the way against] against my pursuers.' It is improbable, however, that כידור means 'battle axe'; σαγαρις may mean the battle axe used in upper Asia; but this does not justify the inference of critics (Cross, Grot., Kenn., Ew., Dri., We., etc). The text needs emendation (see JAVELIN, 7).

BATTLEMENT. For מַעֲקֶה, *ma'aḳeh*, Dt. 22 8 EV, see HOUSE, § 4. For פִּנּוֹת, *pinnōth*, 2 Ch. 26 15 Zeph. 1 16 3 6 RV, and שְׁמֹשֹׁת, *šemōšōth* (plur.), Is. 54 12 *SBOT*, RV pinnacles' (cp שְׁרֹשִׁי Ps. 81 12 [Bä.]), see FORTRESS, § 5. כָּנָף, *kānāph*, in Dan. 9 27 RVmg. is rendered 'battlement.' It is better to read כְּנוּ, *kinnō* (see Bevan, *ad loc.*).

BATUS (βατος). Lk. 16 6 AVmg.; RVmg. BATH. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BAVAI (בָּוַי). Neh. 3 18, RV **Bavvai**. See BINNUI (3).

BAY (אַמִּץ), Zech. 6 3 7. See COLOURS, § 17.

BAYITH (הַבַּיִת). Is. 15 2 RV; AV BAITH.

BAY TREE (אֹרֶן[2] Ps. 37 35), or, more plausibly, as

RV, 'a tree in its native soil.' The word אֶזְרָח, 'native-born,' however (from the root זרח, 'to arise,' 'spring forth' [Barth, 152 *c*]), cannot be applied to a tree, whence Celsus (*Hierob.* i. 104 *ff.*) supposed the phrase to mean ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος.

As Hi., Gr., Che., Bä., We., Dr. agree, the right reading is ארז 'cedar.' On the (probably) corr. words כמעדר (Dr. 'putting forth his strength') and [illegible] (Dr. 'spreading'), see Che. *Psalmists*.

BAZLUTH (בַּצְלוּת, 'stripping'?; βασαλωθ [ℵA]). The b'ne BAZLUTH, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) Ezra 2 52 (βασαδωε [B], βαδουωθ [L]) = Neh. 7 54 **Bazlith** (βασαωθ [B], βαλουαθ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 BASALOTH (βασαλεμ [B], βααλωθ [A], βαλουωθ [L]).

BDELLIUM (בְּדֹלַח; Gen. 2 12 ανθραξ [AEL]; Nu. 11 7 κρυσταλλος[1] [BAFL]), appears in Gen. 2 12 along with gold and onyx or beryl (see ONYX) as a characteristic product of the land of Havilah; whilst in Nu. 11 7 its 'appearance' (so RV, lit. 'eye,' not COLOUR [*l.c.*, § 3], as AV) is likened to that of manna – a comparison the appropriateness of which is obvious if, as is in all probability the case, the OT *bĕdōlaḥ* is the resinous substance known to the Greeks as βδέλλιον, μάδελκον, βολχόν[2] (Dioscor. 1 80) or βδέλλα (*Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, §§ 37 39 48 *f.*).

1. Bĕdōlaḥ = βδέλλιον.

Peiser identifies בדלח with Bab. *budlu*, a spice obtained in Babylonia, and often mentioned in contract-tablets (*ZATW* 17 347 *f.*); this is important in connection with the Eden-story (see PARADISE). As Glaser has shown (*Skizze*, 2 364 *ff.*), bdellium was distinct from storax (against Hommel, *GB.I* 611 n. 1). Bochart, identifying Havilah with the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain, in the Persian Gulf, naturally explained בדלח as meaning pearl (*Hieroz.* ii. 755). This view, however, lacks the support of any ancient version, and, though upheld by several Jewish authorities (cp Lag. *Or.* 2 44), has no solid foundation. The renderings of Ⓖ (ἄνθραξ and κρυσταλλος) point to some kind of precious stone; but, as Di. remarks, אֶבֶן, 'stone,' is prefixed to בֹּרֶם, the word following, and not to בדלח. The Pesh. *bĕrulḥā* (in both places) seems to be due to a mere scribe's error; *r* for *d*. It cannot be supposed to be a genuine Aramaic word.

Bdellium is described by Dioscorides (*l.c.*) as δάκρυον δένδρου ἀραβικοῦ[3]; the best sort being 'bitter in taste, transparent, gelatinous (ταυροκολλῶδες, lit. 'like bull's hide glue'), oily throughout and easily softened, unmixed with chips or dirt, fragrant when burnt as incense, resembling onyx';[4] he speaks also of a black sort found in large lumps, which is exported from India, and of a third kind, brought from Petra. Pliny (*NH* 12 9) gives some further details: the best sort grows in Bactriana (N. Afghanistan), on a 'black' tree 'of the size of an olive, with a leaf like the oak and fruit like the wild fig'; it also grows in Arabia, India, Media, and Babylon, that of India being softer and more gummy, while that brought through Media is more brittle, crusted, and bitter. The author of the *Peripl. mar. Erythr.* speaks of it as growing largely in Gedrosia (Beluchistan) and Barygaza (Gujerat), and as exported westwards from the mouth of the Indus. In the older classical literature bdellium appears to be mentioned only in Plautus (*Curc.* 101),[5] in a list of perfumes.

2. Descriptions of βδέλλιον.

Two of the kinds of bdellium described by Dioscorides are generally identified by the authorities with the two substances described as follows, which are still met with in commerce:

3. Various kinds.

[1] כִּשְׁחִית, 'destruction,' we know; but כִּפָּץ, 'breaking in pieces,' is unattested elsewhere. Co. recognises that the closing words of Ezek. 9 1 are no part of the true text, but represent a variant to the equivalent words in *vv.* 2.

[2] Ⓖ gives no rendering of אֹרֶן in this passage, since for כאורן רענן it reads כως τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου (ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου [BNART]). Aq. Symm., and Editio Sexta all render in the sense of 'indigenous tree'; and neither Pesh. nor Targ. supports the rendering of AV or that of RV.

[1] In both places οἱ λοιποί, *i.e.*, Aq., Sym., and Th., have βδέλλιον, so Vg. *bdellium*. Cp Jos. *Ant.* iii. 1 6.

[2] The exact form of these two words is uncertain. Pliny (12 9) has *malidacon*, *brochon*. On the connection of this group of names with *bĕdōlaḥ*, see Del. *Par.* 16 *f.*, 101. Pott in *WZKM* 7 93 *ff.*

[3] The reading of this word is uncertain.

[4] Perhaps a 'nail' or 'hoof.

[5] 'Tu mihi stacte, tu cinnamon, tu rosa,
Tu [illegible], tu bdellium.'

1. *Ordinary Bdellium* (African). 'The drug is exported from the whole Somali coast to Mokha, Jidda, Aden, Muscat, the Persian Gulf, India, and even China' (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacogr.*(2) 145). Hence [illegible] be [illegible] sale in London from China; but in modern [illegible] *immediate* port of origin is often substituted for the ultimate source.

Dymock (*Pharmacogr. Ind.* I 310) says: 'From Berbera also comes *Bdellium*.' Farther on he explains that 'to a certain extent it resembles myrrh [illegible] strongly [illegible] According to Mohammedan writers (Ibn [illegible]), 'Good bdellium should be clean, bright, sticky, soft, sweet-smelling, yellowish, and bitter.' Its botanical source is *Balsamodendron africanum* (see *Kew Bull.* 18[illegible] p. 91 *f.*).

2. *In Pliny.* Dymock (*l.c.* [illegible]) denies this [illegible] resembling the African drug; 'but the [illegible] is highly [illegible] enish.' Dioscorides, therefore, must have had a [illegible] simple[1] a not infrequent experience still. Its source is *Bal. amadendron Mukul*, a plant the hot-[illegible] distribution of which—NW. India, Beluchistan, and possibly Arabia—exactly agrees with the statements of the old authors. The difficulty is the description of Pliny, which it does not fit very well, as it is a small tree; but Pliny's statements cannot be pressed from the botanical point of view: Lemaire (*Pline, de Virgile*, 175) calls Dioscorides 'bien preferable à Pline.'

As to the third kind of bdellium spoken of by Dioscorides, Dymock (310) conjectures that it was probably a kind of myrrh.' S. M. W. T. T.-D.

BEACON (תֹּרֶן, perhaps for תֹּארֶן from אָרַן, see ASH; ΙΣΤΟΣ [BNAOQT]), or rather, as in EV[mg.], MAST (cp Is. 33[23]; Ez. 27[5]), employed in Is. 30[17] as a simile of nakedness and desolation. The reference is to the poles, etc., erected in prominent places for signalling purposes; cp ENSIGNS (§ 2).

BEALIAH (בַּעַלְיָה, § 35, 'Yahwè is Lord'), a Benjamite, one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12[5] (ΒΑΔΔΙΑ [BN], ΒΑΔΔΙΑ [A], ΒΑΛΑΙΑΣ [L]). See DAVID, § 11 *a* iii.

BEALOTH (בַּעֲלוֹת), Josh. 15[24]. See BAALATH BEER.

BEAN, or rather **Baan** (RV), **The children of** (ΥΙΟΙ ΒΑΙΑΝ [ANV]; *BI.AN* [Vg.]; بعلى, ΒΑΑΝΟΥ, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8[1]), an otherwise unknown tribe or community, who in the pre-Maccabæan period were a 'snare and offence' to the Jews 'in that they lay in wait for them in the ways.' Their robber castles or 'towers' lay, apparently, somewhere between Idumæan and Ammonite territory. This would suit the Beon of Nu. 32[3] (see BAAL-MEON). In one of his warlike expeditions against the unfriendly surrounding peoples after the reconsecration of the temple, Judas the Maccabee utterly destroyed the children of Bean and burnt their towers (1 Macc. 5[4] *f.*; cp 2 Macc. 10[18] *ff.*).

BEANS (פּוֹל, ΚΥΑΜΟΣ [BAL] 2 S. 17[28] Ez. 4[9]) are twice mentioned as material for food, along with wheat, barley, and lentils; in the second passage Ezekiel is instructed to make bread of a mixture of wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt. The Hebrew name is found also in post-biblical Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Beans are the seeds of *Vicia Faba* (Linn.), the cultivated plant—not certainly known in the wild state, but in all probability a domesticated form of *Vicia narbonensis*[2]—which is a native of the whole Mediterranean region and extends eastward to N. India. It was the κύαμος of the Greeks, which is mentioned as far back as the Iliad (κύαμοι μελανόχροες, 13[589]). Virchow found the seeds in the excavations at Troy, and the plant was cultivated in Switzerland and Italy in the age of bronze. Beans are, without doubt, one of the earliest articles of vegetable food among the European races of mankind. Cp FOOD, § 4, COOKING, § 7. S. M.—W. T. T.-D.

[1] Flückiger and Hanbury say (*l.c.* 146) that it is regarded both in London and in India 'as a very inferior dark sort of myrrh.'

[2] On this point see Sir Joseph Hooker in the *Botanical Magazine*, 7[2]56.

BEAR. 1. (דֹּב) The name, common to Heb., Aram., Ar., and Eth., is from a root [illegible] ing to move slowly and softly; and the bear, which has a stealthy tread.

The Heb. word is generally masc., even when the she-bear is intended; thus 'a bear robbed of her whelps' is always דֹּב שְׁכוּלָה. On the other hand the pl. דֻּבִּים takes a fem. verb in 2 K. 2[24], and the sing. is apparently fem. in Is. 11[7]. G renders ἄρκος [BAL], but in Prov. 17[12] wrongly μέριμνα [BNA] (connecting probably with דָּאַג, 'to be anxious'); Theod. θηρίον. In Prov. 28[15] G has ἄρκος [BNA] twice, [illegible] when we remember that the Aram. form of דֹּב, wolf, is [illegible].

1. Name.

The animal is frequently mentioned in OT (in the sing. or pl.), in Wisd. 11[17] Ecclus. 25[17] [NA; but σαλκοῦ [B] and 47[4]) and once (Rev. 13[2]) in NT. No difficulty arises in connection with any of the OT passages; the attacks of the lion and the bear on David's flock (1 S. 17[34-36]), and of the she-bears[3] on the children who mocked Elisha (2 K. 2[23-24]), accord with the ravenous habits of the animal; 'a bear robbed of her whelps' (2 S. 17[8], Prov. 17[12] Hos. 13[8]) or 'a ranging bear' (Is. [illegible]) is naturally regarded as the most dangerous object to encounter; one of the signs of profound peace in the Messiah's kingdom is that the cow feeds side-by-side with the bear, its natural enemy (Is. 11[7]). The *roaring*, or rather *moaning*, of the bear is well expressed by the verb הָגָה (Is. 59[11] G[BNS] στεναζω), which is applied also to the howling of a dog, the cooing of a turtle-dove, the sighing of a man, and the moaning of the sea. The stealthiness of a bear's attack is mentioned in Lam. 3[10]. By the likening of the second (probably the Median) kingdom in Dan. 7[5] to a bear which 'was raised up on one side, and three ribs were in his mouth between his teeth; and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh,' the extreme *destructiveness* of the Median conquests is probably indicated (see further BEVAN'S *Comm.*, in loc.). In Am. 5[19] 'as if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him,' we have, as Bochart remarks, a Hebrew equivalent to the classical

'In Libyam si Sol illum capiens vitare Charybdim,'

In the combination of the 'feet of a bear' with the body of a leopard and the mouth of a lion in Rev. 13[2], we have an instance of the characteristic re-combination of elements borrowed from OT apocalyptic. The hyperbolical treatment of old history in later Jewish literature is illustrated by the mention in Wisd. 11[17] of wild beasts, such as lions and bears, among the plagues sent upon the Egyptians, and by the statement about David in Ecclus. 47[3] that 'he played (Heb. . . . כגדים שחק ודובים, 'he mocked at . . .') among lions as among kids, and among bears as among lambs of the flock.'

Finally, we notice the interesting reading of G[NA] in Ecclus. 25[17]

A woman's wickedness alteredh her visage
And darkeneth her face as doth a bear (ὡς ἄρκος).

If this reading be correct, the verse will allude to the *tristitia* or moroseness often attributed to the bear, which several ancient writers speak of as expressed in its countenance. On the whole, however, it is more probable that G[B] (supported by the Syr. and Ar. versions) is right in reading

And maketh her face dark like sackcloth (ὡς σάκκον).

The Syrian bear, sometimes called *Ursus syriacus*, is not specifically distinct from the brown bear, *Ursus arctos*, although somewhat lighter in colour and smaller than the typical varieties. It has a wide distribution

2. Allusions.

3. Natural history.

[1] The other meaning of the Ar. verb, 'to have a bristly skin' [illegible] as Ges. thinks, secondary, and derived from the [illegible].

[2] It was a common opinion in antiquity that she-bears were fiercer than the males; thus Pliny (11[40]), 'Mares in [illegible] fiercer fœtores præterquam pantheris et ursis.'

[3] Cp also 1 S. 24[15] Jer. 48[44].

being found in several parts of Europe, —formerly all over that continent, —and throughout Asia N. of the Himalayas. It is unsociable in its habits, though sometimes male and female are seen together, and the cubs accompany their mother. Bears are omnivorous, killing and eating other animals; but they have a vegetable diet also. They are particularly fond of fruit and honey. In cold climates they hibernate during the winter months, and during the period of hibernation they subsist on the stored-up fats. The young are generally born towards the end of this period. They are now practically extinct in S. Palestine, but are still to be met with in the Lebanon and Hermon districts.

2. RV rendering of עָשׁ (Job 9 9) and עִיר (Job 38 32), AV ARCTURUS (*q.v.*).

N. M. — A. F. S.

BEARD. The importance attached by the Hebrews to the beard is fully borne out by the many references to it found in the OT.

The words are thus rendered: (*a*) זָקָן, *zāqān*, G: ΠΑΩΓΕ πώγων, used of the beard proper, cp 2 S. 10 4 *f.* 1 Ch. 19 4 *f.* Is. 7 20 15 2 (Jer. 48 37) etc., and also of the chin[1] (in Lev. 13 29 *f.*, 14 9 of both man and woman). (*b*) שָׂפָם, *śāpām* (from שָׂפָה, 'lip'), rendered 'beard' in 2 S. 19 24 [25], is more properly the moustache or 'upper lip' (so G: μύστακ; EV Lev. 13 45, and AV mg. Ez. 24 17 22 Mic. 3 7 also EV 'lip').

The beard was, and still is, in the East, the mark of manly dignity. A well-bearded man is looked upon as honourable, and as one who in his life 'has never hungered' (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 250). By touching the beard, or by swearing by it, a man's good faith was assured (*op. cit.* 1 268) a fact which may possibly throw light upon Joab's treachery towards Amasa (2 S. 20 9). To cut it off wilfully was an insult (2 S. 10 4 *f.*, cp Is. 7 20), and to cut it ceremonially was strictly forbidden; see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3. To shave it was an outward sign of mourning (Is. 15 2 Jer. 41 5 48 37; cp Ep. Jer. [Bar. 6] 31); see MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1.[2]

Although barbers are mentioned only in a late passage (Ez. 5 1, גֵּלְחָם; גִּלַּח, 'to shave,' on the other hand, is frequent, Gen. 41 14 [E], 2 S. 10 4 Judg. 16 17 22, etc.), they were doubtless in great request.[3] In Egypt the barber is described as industriously journeying from place to place seeking employment, carrying in an open-mouthed bag the tools of his craft —a small short hatchet or recurved knife (cp *KP*[1] 3 143). The razor is frequently mentioned in the OT, where it is called תַּעַר, *ta'ar* (Nu. 6 5 8 7 Is. 7 20 Ps. 52 2 [4]; but 'sheath' or 'scabbard' in 1 S. 17 51 2 S. 20 8 Ez. 21 4 [9] etc.), or מוֹרָה,[4] *mōrah* (Judg. 13 5 16 17 1 S. 1 11); see KNIFE.[5]

In Egypt, apart from priests (and high officials, Gen. 41 14), the practice of shaving the hair does not seem to have been very general (cp Erman, § 39). On the other hand, the beard was regularly shorn, and only the shepherds and foreigners let it grow, apparently to the disgust of the cleanly Egyptians. Hence the neighbourliness VII. is caricatured in his tomb at Thebes wearing unshorn beard of two or three days' growth. Nevertheless, the beard was looked upon as a symbol of dignity, and on solemn occasions the want was supplied by an artificial one. Such beards were made of a piece of hair tightly plaited and fastened by two straps behind the ear. The king wore a longer beard, square at the bottom; one even longer and curled at the end was the distinguishing mark

[1] Unless 'chin' is the primary meaning of זָקָן. The word זָקֵן, 'old man,' is perhaps a derivative, lit. 'gray-beard.'

[2] In 2 S. 19 24 [25] Meribba'al to show his grief leaves his beard untrimmed.

[3] Herod, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xvi. 11 6), was nearly assassinated by his barber, Trypho. In MH the barber is גַּלָּח, cp *Shabb.* 1 2.

[4] For מוֹרָה (We. *TBS* 146 *f.*): hence both names are from the same root, יָרָה, 'to lay bare.'

[5] A Phoenician inscription, fifth fourth century B.C., from Larnaka in Cyprus, bears in its line 5 נגבם in a list of charges in connexion with a temple of Ashtarte. Unless they were to be to attend to ceremonial toilettes, it is possible that Renan is right in taking them to be physicians whose business it was to heal the self-inflicted wounds of the worshippers (cp 1 K. 18 28, and see *CIS* 1 86 *a*; cp).

of a god.[1] The people of Punt followed the Egyptians in such customs. Canaanites, Assyrians, and Babylonians,[2] on the other hand, wore long hair and plaited beards, and in strong contrast to these are the monumental representations of the desert nomad with pointed moustache (cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 14 , 236).[3]

BEAST. For (1) בְּהֵמָה (בְּהֵמָה) and (2) חַיָּה (חַיָּה), 'living creature' [see under 2 בְּרִיָּה and בְּרִיאָה, Gen. 8 17 (P), more particularly wild beasts, Gen. 7 14 (P) 37 20 etc. CATTLE, § 2 (*a*). For Ps. 68 30 [31], 'wild beasts of the reeds' [RV], see CROCODILE, DRAGON. For (1) *b* (בְּהֵמָה), 'beast of burden,' see CATTLE, § 2 (*b*). For (4) Is. 13 22 (אִיִּים; 'wild beasts of the islands' [AV]) see JACKAL (*d*), WOLF. For (5) Is. 13 21 34 14 Jer. 50 39 (צִיִּים; 'wild beasts of the desert' [RV]), see CAT (end).

(6) עִיִּים, 'wild beasts' [AV] Ps. 50 11 [12] 80 13 [14] is more scrupulously rendered 'that which moves (or roams)' by Dr., Baethg., We. [SBOT]. BDB recognises √עוה 'to move.' 'Small creatures' would also be possible: cp Talm. עוי 'a worm.' Ass. *ziziānu*, an animal like a locust. The probability of such a word in bibl. Heb., however, is not great. The two passages have to be considered separately. G gives different readings: Ps. 50 ὠραιότης (cp עדי Is. 16 11), Ps. 80 ὄνος ἄγριος [L. μεσονύκτιος ἀ. [B] | μονιὸς ἀ. [אב 2 A 1], μονὸς ἀ. [R*]. The Targ. (in both passages) finds a reference to the HOOPOE. See further, BDB *l.c.*, and (on the text, which is corrupt) Che. *Psalms*, *A.T.* For Rev. 11 7 etc., 13 11 etc. (the two mystical θηρία) see APOCALYPSE, §§ 40 43-47, ANTICHRIST, § 4 *ff* and cp BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 2; DRAGON, § 2. For Rev. 4 6 (ζῷα, the four 'living creatures') see CHERUB, § 3. For Rev. 18 13 etc. (κτήνη) cp CATTLE, § 2, (*a*), (3).

BEATING (with rods), Dt. 25 1-3 etc. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

BEAUTIFUL GATE (Η ΩΡΑΙΑ ΠΥΛΗ [Tischendorf]), Acts 3 10; see TEMPLE.

BEBAI (בֵּבַי, § 57; Hilprecht has found the Jewish name Bibai on a tablet from Nippur; ΒΗΒΑΙ [BA] ΒΟΚΧΕΙ [L]).

1. The b'nē Bebai, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 c), Ezra 2 11 (reckoned at 623) (βαβαι [B], -βαι [A]) Neh. 7 16 (reckoned at 628) (βηβ[ε]ι [BKA]) 1 Esd. 5 13 of whom twenty-eight are included in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 [1] *d*) Ezra 8 11 (βαβαι [BA] βαβει [L once]) 1 Esd. 8 37, BABI (once) (βαιρ, βημαι [B], βαβι [A once] βαβηι [L once]) and four in list of those who married foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 8 end) Ezra 10 28 (βαβ[ι]ι [BKA]) 1 Esd. 9 29. It was represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, § 7) Neh. 10 15 [16] (βηβαι [BK] βηβαι [L]).

2. An unidentified place mentioned with CHOBAI and COLA (*q.v.*), Judith 15 4 (βηβαι [A], αβελβαιμ [אא]) perhaps a repetition of the following name CHOBAI (B and Vg. omit; if the reading of אא be considered trustworthy, BEBAI [*q.v.*], a locality not otherwise improbable, may be intended.

BECHER (בֶּכֶר, 'first-born'; § 61, or cp, perhaps, Ass. *bakru*, Ar. *bakr*, 'camel' [so BDB *Lex.*]). A Benjamite clan, Gen. 46 21 (χοβαρ [A], -βορ [L], -βωλ [D]) and 1 Ch. 7 6 8 (βοχορ [A], χοβωρ [L]; αβειρα [B *v.* 6, omitting all mention of Bela] and αμαχειρ [*ib. v.* 8]). The name is wanting in Nu. 26 35-41, but it is possible that the name BECHERITE (gentilic בְּכָרִי, BACHRITE, RV **Becherite**) in the Ephraimite list, *ib. v.* 35 (G[A] omits) was originally a tribal addition to the Beri[1] tribe clans, which after Bela misplaced has crept into the text (cp BERED, ii.). The clan Becher (gentilic BECHRI [*q.v.*]) belonged to the rebellious SHEBA (*q.v.* ii. (1)), and, if we adopt two very probable emendations (see BECHORATH, MATRI), also to Saul. A descendant of the latter bears, according to the MT, the cognate name Bocheru (but see BOCHERU). It is possible that the name recurs under the form MECHRI [*q.v.*]. See also BENJAMIN, § 9.

BECHORATH, RV **Becorath** (בְּכוֹרַת), apparently

[1] See Erman, *LS*. 259 n. 4; Wilkinson, 2 .

[2] The sculptures represent, however, no only curls, but a what seem to be people of the lowest rank peasants, labourers, and slaves with it bald. In the other Babylonian sculptures, on the other hand, the head is completely bare. The ancient custom was perhaps given up through the beard becoming a sign of the military caste (see Perrot and Chipiez *Art in Chald.* 2 12).

[3] Illustration, Benz. *Arch.* 100, 109

the son of Ahiah [q.v.], an ancestor of Saul, 1 S. 9 1 (Βαχει [B], Βεχωραθ [A], μαχειρ[1] [L]). The name is really to be read as Bechor [q.v.]; it is the name of Saul's clan. Cp Klo. on 1 S. 9 1 and Marq. *Fund.* 14.

BECTILETH (Βαικτειλαιθ [B], Βεκτελεθ and πακτελαι [A], Βαιτουλια [N*], Βεκτιλεθ [N*a]; Beth-ik'tilath, 'house of slaughter' [Syr.]). The PLAIN of, three days' journey from Nineveh, 'near the mountain which is at the left hand of upper Cilicia' (Judith 2 21). Ptolemy's Βαιτελαιλη in Syria (*Geog.* v. 15 16; cp the Bactali of the *Tab. Peut.* 21 K. m from Ant.), but this does not agree with the situation as deduced in the text. The name of the mountain is given as Ange, Agge by It. Vg and [illegible] by the Syr. (so Lag.). For the latter Walton gives [illegible] 'mountain of pots,' which suggests that the name may have arisen from reading חרשא, 'potsherd,' for an original חרשא, or תל חרשא, which actually occurs as a place-name. See HARSHA.

BED. Oriental beds in the olden time cannot always have been so simple as we are led to suppose that they generally are to-day. Both the framework and the trappings of the bed were sometimes richly ornamented. Of course, manners changed and luxury grew. Egypt was perhaps in advance of other nations; but even in Egypt the priests were wont to use beds of a very simple kind. If they had any frames at all, they were wicker-work of palm-branches, resembling the *kafas* of the modern Egyptian (cp Wilkinson, *Ant. Eg.* 1 185 *f.*, 419 *f.*).[2] The early Israelites were naturally slow in their material progress. Shepherds, for example, sleeping in the open air (cp Gen. 31 40), would wrap themselves in their *simlah* or rug[3] (Ex. 22 26 [25]), and, if need were, used stones for their head-rests (Gen. 28 11). Tent dwellers too would be content with that useful article—the *simlah*, and this was probably what Sisera was wrapped in when he lay down to sleep[4] (Judg. 4 18). Those who dwelt in the house were protected from the weather, but knew no luxury. Great persons had special sleeping-chambers. Ishbaal for example, was murdered in such a room (חדר משכב), 2 S. 4 7; cp Ex. 8 3 [7 28], 2 K. 6 12; also חדר 2 S. 13 10; 1 K. 1 15, Ps. 105 30 (corr. text), and in the highly civilized period represented by Ecclesiastes it was perhaps the usual arrangement (Eccles. 10 20). Considering, however, how rare special bedrooms are in Eastern houses now, and also the poor construction of the houses in ancient Palestine, we can hardly venture to suppose that a 'chamber of beds,' (חדר מטות, 2 K. 11 2, 2 Ch. 22 11) was common among the Israelites. Guests, however, enjoyed privacy in the so-called upper-story (ὑπερῷον in 𝔊 and NT), which was on a part of the flat roof, where coolness could be enjoyed (עלית קיר, 2 K. 4 10, Klo. עליה, 1 K. 17 19 23). And in such rude houses as may still be seen in parts of Palestine, and were doubtless common in antiquity, the upper chamber would necessarily be the sleeping-room of the family, as long as the weather permitted (see HOUSE, § 2). During the summer, in the absence of a latticed upper chamber, huts of boughs on the flat roof could be used (for a description of such see Schumacher, *across the Jordan*, 89).

1. General conditions.

The bed itself is called generally (*a*) מטה *mittah* (from נטה, 'to stretch,' cp אנה from אנו, Gen. 18 [illegible]), (*b*) משכב, *mishkab* (properly 'place for lying,' Gen. 49 4 etc.), and (*c*) ערש *'eres* (properly 'bedstead,' Prov. 7 16).

2. Terms.

מטה (once LITTER [q.v.], Gen. 50, Cant. 3 7 RV) is used in 2 S. 3 31 of a bier. משכב is used collectively of the bedding, etc. in 2 S. 17 28 (where read pl.). There seems to be no distinction between these three words. *b* and *c* occur together in parallelism in Job 7 13, *a* and *c* similarly in Ps. 6 6 (7). The various terms for 'couch' is employed arbitrarily, for the sake of differentiation, by EV in Job 7 13 (משכב), by AV in Am. 3 12 (ערש), cp RV *ib.* (מטה), and by EV in Am. 6 4 (ערש).

Other words rendered 'bed' are (*d*) יצוע, *yaṣu'a* (q.v.), 'spread out,' Ps. 63 6 (7). Job 17 13, used also of the bed of wedlock in Gen. 49 4 (cp 1 Ch. 5 1), an euphemism of metonymy similar to that borne by κοίτη in Heb. 13 4 (but cp 1 K. 1 17 etc.; cp Ar. *'ūn*, *conjux*). From the same root is derived also (*e*) מצע *maṣṣa'* (Is. 28 20 (see below on 2 K. 8 15).

In NT κοίτη (cp above), κλίνη (Mk. 7 30 etc.), κλινάριον (Lk. 5 19 24, EV 'couch'), and κραβαττος (Lat. *grabatus*, Mk. 2 4 etc.). The Book of Judith adds στρωμνη (13 9), which may perhaps [illegible]

For מרבד, Cant. 3 7, AVmg., see PALANQUIN, and for עריסה, Jer. 5 16, cp CRADLE.

To-day the divan, or platform, which goes along the side or end of an Oriental room serves as a rest for the bedding. This arrangement may have been known in N. Israel as early as the time of Amos (see below, § 5); but, if so, it was confined to the rich. What we know for certain is that the beds were movable (1 S. 19 15). Saul wishes to have David brought to him in the bed), and this characterises all periods (see Lk. 5 19, and cp στρωννυω in Mk. 14 15, Acts 9 34). Thus (cp below, § 5) they could be used by day as seats or couches (Ezek. 23 41). In some cases the bed was fitted with a head (cp Gen. 47 31),[5] such perhaps as we find represented on Egyptian monuments (cp Wilk. *op. cit.* 1 416 fig. 191). That Og, king of Bashan, had an iron *bedstead*, according to Dt. 3 11, is a statement of EV which most scholars would question. The wide application of Semitic words for 'bed' justifies the rendering 'couch of death' (*i.e.*, sarcophagus.[6]

3. Construction.

Basaltic sarcophagi abound in the E. of Jordan, and a giant could well be enclosed in 'Hiram's tomb,' as the Bedouins still designate one of them,[7] which is said to measure twelve feet by six.

The cloths or rugs spread over a bedstead were called מרבדים (Prov. 7 16), and very possibly the singular of this word is to be substituted for the obscure כביר and מכבר found in 1 S. 19 13 16 and 2 K. 8 15 respectively (see above, § 2, on Judith 13 9). Neither of the latter words was understood in antiquity,[8] and the revisers

[1] μαχειρ might point to מכיר; but ב is not unfrequently read as מ; cp תבץ, θαμασ[ε]κ [BAL], θαμασσει [L], 2 S. 11 21, and ירבעם, ιαρεβ, Hos. 10 5 [BAQ].

[2] Porphyry calls them by the name *kaïs*, from the Copt. *kai*, 'palm-branch.' Cp βαϊς, 1 Macc. 13 51 (where the form of the Greek is doubtful) In. 12 13 and Symm. Cant. 7 9.

[3] So the modern Arab sleeps, *e.g.*, on the roof of the mosque (Doughty); a *Simlatun* (שמלה) is still the chief article of his wardrobe—an oblong piece of thick woollen stuff, used for an outer garment by day and for a coverlet by night. See Dozy, *Dict. des Vêtements des Arabes*, 39.

[4] For the unintelligible שכיבה (Judg. 4 18) read with Che. שמלה; a more technical term than מרבד (Grätz) is required. Moore (*ad loc.*) frankly states that the main exegetical tradition [illegible] or wrap.

[5] Rolinson. The huge size of the sarcophagus indicates the importance of the man whose body is placed in it. There is a vast sarcophagus of a saint near Samarcand.

[6] It should be mentioned, however, that in 2 K. 8 15 whilst 𝔊B represents the Hebrew word by χαββα, Aq. and Symm. (and through them perhaps L) give το στρωμα (המרבד).

[1] Cp Ass. *eṣṣu*, 'bed, couch,' Aram. ערסא, [illegible] 'couch, cradle, bier,' new Heb. עריס, 'a bower in the vineyard'; Ges.-Bu. illustrates by Ar. *'arīs*, 'wooden frame.'

[2] In 7 4 the word does not appear in the best texts (so RV).

[3] For מטה, however, 𝔊 Pesh. Gei. read מטה, 'staff'; cp Heb. 11 21.

[4] We can hardly say with Driver (*Deut.* 53) that 'the supposed meaning of ערש is little more than conjectural.' The evidence from a comparison of usages is overwhelming. If Eshmunazar can use משכב for his death-couch, the Deuteronomic writer may of course use ערש for that of Og. ערשא, indeed, occurs in a Palmyrene bilingual from el-Tayyibeh in this sense. Cp also מטה in 2 S. 3 31, and the Syr. use of [illegible] (n. 1 above). It must be remembered too that the Deuteronomist assumes an oratorical style. He ought not to be required to use the technical Hebrew term for sarcophagus, ארון (Gen. 50 26). Cp S. Israelly, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 127, n. 1 (who would render either 'bed' or (cp Aram. עריסא) 'bier').

[5] So Rolinson. The huge size of the sarcophagus indicates the importance of the man whose body is placed in it. There is a vast sarcophagus of a saint near Samarcand.

[6] It should be mentioned, however, that in 2 K. 8 15 whilst 𝔊B represents the Hebrew word by χαββα, Aq. and Symm. (and through them perhaps L) give το στρωμα (המרבד).

[illegible] shown the [illegible] AV in the former passage by leaving three [illegible] out of the [illegible] ology.

Of pillows we hear nothing in OT. In Mk 4 [illegible] have προσκεφάλαιον [illegible] AV 'pillow', but [illegible] pillow', RV better 'cushion'.

4. Pillows.

AV even sometimes, RV does indeed assume the use of pillows. Thus (*a*) מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו (with suffix) is rendered 'bolster' by AV in 1 S. 19 13 16 26 7 11 16, and by AV[mg] in 1 K. [illegible] and 'pillow' by AV in Gen. 28 11 18. The word, however, [illegible] properly 'the parts about one's head,' and is thus rendered by RV everywhere (*e.g.*, 1 S. 19 13), 'at the head thereof,' and once even by AV in 1 K. 19 6. The Heb. word finds its exact parallel in the מְרַגְלֹתָיו (with suffix), 'the parts about (one's) feet' (Ruth 3 14). (*b*) For כְּסִיל in 1 S. 19 13 16, EV has 'pillow,' while RV[mg] offers 'quilt' or 'network' (so Ew., cp כְּסָלָה, a quiver); but see § 3. (*c*) The 'pillows' of the prophetesses (so Ⓖ προσκεφάλαιον; cp Vg., Pesh., Targ.) in Ez. 13 18 20 are purely imaginary. כְּסָתוֹת appears to mean some kind of magical amulet carried by the prophetesses; cp Ass. *kisâ*, 'a [illegible] *kisu* (Del. in Baer, *Ez.* 96, xii. *f.*).

It is impossible to separate the subject of beds from that of couches or divans. Amos, as a dweller in the country, directs his scorn against the luxury of the rich grandees 'that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch, and on the silken cushions of a bed' (Am. 3 12 *b*, RV). The rendering of RV is indefensible: Damascus and damask have no connection (see DAMASCUS, § 6 n.). The passage has been cleared up with an approach to certainty by critical conjecture: it should run thus, 'that sit in Samaria on the carpet (בְּצִצִּית) of a couch, and on the cushion (בְּמִשְׁכַּב) of a divan.'[1] From another passage, which also can be restored very nearly to its original clearness (see DAVID, § 12 n.), we learn that the couches of the great were richly adorned. The selfish grandees are described as those 'that lie upon couches (or beds, בְּמִטַּת) of ivory,' Am. 6 4). Such couches were sent as tribute by Hezekiah to Nineveh (*KB* 2 97, l. 36), and the Amarna Tablets (5 20; cp 27 20-8) speak of 'beds' (ṣiru) of ivory, gold, and wood sent to the king of Egypt. So too in Esther (1 6; cp 1 Esd. 3 6) we read of couches adorned with gold and silver, and covered with rich tapestry and the kings from Egypt (cp Prov. 7 16). Some of the couches would of course be used as beds. Such, at any rate, was the gorgeous bed (κλίνη) in the tent of Holophernes. The description of it contains the first mention of a 'canopy' (κωνωπεῖον, Judith 10 21 13 9 16 19, originally a fly-net)—one of the results of Greek influence. HELLENISM, § 15.

5. Divans.

BEDAD (בֶּדֶד; Βαραδ [BADEL]), the father of Hadad I., king of Edom, Gen. 36 35 1 Ch. 1 46 (Βαδαρ [L]). The name is seemingly a corruption of Bir-dadda—*i.e.*, probably, Bir is Dadda (two names of the storm-god best known as Rammân): cp with this Bir-zur (בִּרְצוּר, Panammu inscr. from Zenjirli, l. 3). Wattu, the 'king of Arabia' conquered by Asur-bâni-pal, had for his father Bir-dadda (*KB* 2 122 *f.*), a name which answers to the Assyrian name Bir-rammân (the eponym for 848 B.C.). Hommel (*Beitr. z. Ass.*, 1897, p. 270) derives from Bir-(Hadad—*i.e.*, by Hadad;—cp BAANA, BE-ESHTERAH.

T. K. C.

BEDAN (בֶּדָן; *BADAN*, or [Cod. Am.] *BENDAN*).

1. In an address ascribed to Samuel we find Bedan mentioned between Jerubbaal and Jephthah as one of the chief deliverers of Israel (1 S. 12 11 MT). No such name occurs in the Book of Judges, however, and the form of the name is suspicious.

Ew. supposed that the initial letter had been dropped, and that we should read Abdon (עַבְדֹּן, Judg. 12 13). Abdon, however, is one of the six 'minor Judges' introduced into the historical scheme of Judges at a later time. The [illegible] fully understands the name [illegible] Bedan.

The mention of Sisera in v. 9 entitles us to expect Barak, which name is actually read by Ⓖ (Βαρακ [BAL]), Pesh. So We., Bu., Klo., Bu., Moore, H. P. Smith.

2. A Manasite, 1 Ch. 7 17 (Βαδαν [B], -δαρ [AL]); perhaps a corruption of Abdon (עַבְדֹּן). See MANASSEH.

BEDEIAH (בְּדֵיָה), more probably a textual corruption for בְּרָאיָה, 1 Ch. 8 21† (so Gray, *HPN* [illegible] 11, where [illegible] Ⓖ[B] and Pesh.), than an abbreviation for בְּנַבְדְּיָה (so Olsh. 277 *b*, 4, followed by BDB), a Levitical name on the list of those with foreign wives (Ezra 10 1 *f.*, § 5 end; 1 Esd. 9 34 PEDIAS, RV PEDIAS (ΠΕΔΙΑΣ [B], ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ [A], ΒΑΔΔΙΑ [L]). By reading BERAIAH (as above), we gain a second name in which [illegible] reation (בָּרָא) is referred to by the diminutive [illegible] nd post-exilic term. See CREATION, § 3.

BEE (דְּבוֹרָה; ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ: Dt. 1 44 Judg. 14 8 Ps. 118 12 Pr. 6 8 [Ⓖ] Is. 7 18 Ecclus. 5 7 [ℵ* 4] 11 3 4 Macc. 14 10†) has for its Hebrew name a word derived from a root meaning to lead (or to be led) in order. Thus it means properly a member of a swarm (cp *examen* from *ex-ago*). Besides the familiar incident of Samson finding a swarm of bees in the lion's carcass (recalling Vergil's story of Aristæus and other classical allusions, see below), we have in the OT two references to the angry assaults of bees on those who meddle with their hives (Dt. 1 44 Ps. 118 12 [MT];[2] cp 4 Macc. 14 10), and a likening of the Assyrian power to a bee summoned by the sound of a hiss to settle on the land of Israel (Is. 7 18). In Prov. 6, at the close of the exhortation to the sluggard to learn from the ant and her ways, Ⓖ has the following addition to the Hebrew text:—

> Or go thou to the bee
> And learn how diligent she is,
> And how noble (σεμνήν) is the work that she doeth;
> Whose labours kings and private men use for health,
> And she is desired and honourable in the eyes of all:
> Though she be weak in strength,
> By honouring wisdom she is advanced.

We may compare the words of the son of Sirach (11 3):

> The bee is little among such as fly,
> But her fruit is the chief of sweet things.

The common bee of Palestine is *Apis fasciata*, Latr.; some authorities regard it as a distinct species, others as a sub-species of the cosmopolitan honey-bee, *Apis m[illegible]*. In favour of the latter view it is stated that when crossed with races of the same species it breeds freely; but, on the other hand, it differs in size and colour from the English bee, being smaller and lighter, and beautifully striped. The colonies are large and very many, Palestine being a country well adapted for the needs of insects which flourish in the sun and feed on flowers.

Bees are found wild, making their hives in crevices of the rocks and hollow trees, etc.; and, even at the present day, many of the Arabs make a living by collecting wild honey and bringing it into the towns for sale. Bee-keeping is much practised in the East (where honey is largely used in cooking), the hives, according to Canon Tristram, being tubular structures 3 or 4 ft. long, and some 8 in. in diameter, roughly made of sun-dried mud. The ends of the tube are closed with a tile perforated with a hole for the access of the bees. Many of the hives are piled up together and covered with boughs for the sake of shade. When the combs

[1] Cp Amos, § 5 n.; Che. *Expositor*, vi. *b*. 166, *JQR* 10 572, and on צִצִּית, 'mat,' 'rug,' see [illegible] *Is.* 120n. For בְּמִשְׁכַּב Grätz and Nowack give בְּמִשְׁכִּיּוֹת, 'on the covering of.' But [illegible] is non-existent; in Judg. 4 18 it is corrupt (see above).

[1] This form. word is a *nomen unitatis*; the collective appears in Arab. as *dibr* or *dabr*, a swarm of bees, also probably in emended text of 1 S. 14 26, דְּבָרוֹ, its bees (for דְּבַשׁ); so Ⓖ, We., Dr., Bu., H. P. Smith.

[2] Ⓖ has 'as bees about wax,' which Bä., Che. (*b*) adopt; but [illegible] comes from דּוֹנֵג, a rival reading to בְּעֵרוּ (Che. *Ps.*, [illegible]). In Cod. ℵ Ecclus. 5 7 a corrector has added ὡς μέλισσαι ἐκτρίβηση.

[3] The ancients believed that it was possible to summon bees by sounds, such as the beating of metal; see Verg. *Georg.* 4 [illegible] and the other passages cited by [illegible] (*Hist. nat.* 11 [illegible]).

[illegible] stored with honey the end is removed [illegible] the comb [illegible] with a hook. It is possible that the [illegible] is of considerable antiquity [illegible] known in classical times, and the bee [illegible] Pliny points out, 'a man descended from an extremely remote period,'—but there is no reference to [illegible] in the OT or the NT.

The temper of this race of bees is very irritable [illegible] they are very revengeful; indeed, it seems that the farther East one travels, the more the bee is to be avoided. This eagerness to attack may explain such passages as Dt. 1 44 Ps. 118 12, which, if they referred to the English bee, would seem exaggerated. A few years ago some hives of this Eastern race were introduced into the South of England, but proved so aggressive that they had to be destroyed. They are very active on the wing and fly great distances.

The passage in Judg. (14 8), which describes Samson finding 'a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion,' reads strangely. It is, however, by no means improbable that in the hot dry climate of Palestine the body of a lion might dry up quickly, and it is possible that the flesh of the animal might have been removed by ants. The skeleton might then form [illegible] for a hive. On the other hand, Baron Osten Sacken[1] has recently drawn attention to a widely spread myth concerning Bucephalus which is said to have been generated in the bodies of dead animals, more especially the carcases of oxen. This myth frequently occurs in ancient and mediæval literature,[2] and was believed and quoted by distinguished naturalists as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. Its explanation, according to our author, lies in the fact that a true fly (*Eristalis tenax*, one of the Diptera), which mimics a bee so closely as to deceive those who are not entomologists, lays its eggs in decaying meat. This provides food for the maggots. After the pupa stages emerges the mature insect. As it flies away, it would be almost certainly taken for a bee. The theory is ingenious; but it does not account for the honey in the lion's carcase, and at present, although the *Eristalis* undoubtedly lays its eggs in filth, the evidence that it does so in dead bodies is somewhat scanty.

A story parallel to Samson's is to the effect that recently, when the tomb of Petrarch at Arqua was opened, it was found that a swarm of bees had made their honeycomb on the remains of the poet.

The Palestine bee, which is found S. of Mount Carmel, differs from the Syrian bee found in Asiatic Turkey N. of that district. The latter is of a deeper gray. Both races are larger than the Cyprian bee, which is slender and wasp-like. The Egyptian bee resembles the Syrian in size, but is yellow and of an unusually fierce temperament. See also HONEY.

N. M.—A. L. S.

BEELIADA (בְּעַלְיָדָע, § 42, *i.e.*, 'Baal knows,' or 'whom B. deposits' [for safe custody; cp Ar. *wadi'a* 'deposit'; see Kerber, *Ling. an.* 39]; the Massoretic vocalisation intentionally disguises the word בַּעַל), one of the sons of DAVID [1 7., § 11 *d*] (1 Ch. 14 7, βαλιγδαε [BN], Αλιαδα [A], βαιαλιαδα [L], [illegible]). This, the original form of the name, was later altered by the scrupulous copyists to ELIADA in 2 S. 5 16 (but βαιαλιαθ [L] and -ειμαθ in B's secondary [see DAVID, § 11 (*d*) β]) 1 Ch 3 8, when Baal had become objectionable as a name of God (WRS, *OTJC*[2] 68). Cp BAAL, 1, § 5.

BEELSARUS (Βεελσαρος [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 8 = Ezra 2 2, BIGVAI.

BEELTETHMUS (Βεελτεθμος [B]), 1 Esd. 2 16. See RELUM, 5.

1 *Bullettino della Società Entomologica Italiana*, tom. 25 [illegible].

2 See the references in Bochart, *Hieroz.* 4 10.

BEELZEBUL as in RV[mg], RV **Beelzebub** [illegible] ΒΕΕΛΖΕΒΟΥΛ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ (Mt 10 25, 12 24, Mk 3 22, Lk 11 15 [illegible]). RV follows Text Rec., which has Βεελζεβουλ (as Pesh.), but final ζ is better attested (Βεελζεβουλ [illegible] Syr. Hel. [illegible] Tog.). WH, following B and partly [illegible] read everywhere Βεελζεβουλ, which, Weiss points out, must be original; but this scepticism as to the ζ in Βεελζεβουλ is paralleled [illegible] in Mt 10 25, where the οἰκοδεσπότης is said to be [illegible] בעל [illegible].

1. Form of name. The name differs in two respects from the traditional name of the god of Ekron: (1) its first part is Ba'al, and (2) its last letter is *ל* not *ן*, but *ל*. Still, we cannot doubt that Beelzebul is identical with Baal-zebub. This heathen god seemed at one moment to be the rival of Yahwe (2 K 1 2), and his name naturally rose to Jewish lips when demoniacal possession was spoken of, because of the demoniacal origin assumed for heathen oracles. The title occurs nowhere in Jewish literature, and must, therefore, have lost its popularity after the time of Christ. There were, in fact, so many names of demons that we cannot be surprised that some once popular names passed out of use. If we ask how the name Beel-zebub, or rather Baal-zebul, came to be popular, the answer is: first, that the title Baal-zebul was probably not confined to the god of Ekron, but was once known in Palestine pretty widely, so that a traditional knowledge of it, as well as of the synonymous title BAAL-ZEPHON [7 7], can be presumed among the Jews and their neighbours even apart from 2 K 1; and next, that Lk 15 24 shows that special interest was felt by the Jews of the time of Christ in the strange narrative in which the name Baal-zebub occurs. That the form Baal-zebul was generally preferred may be presumed from the best accredited Greek text of the Gospels: the knowledge of this form must have come to the Jews by tradition and by intercourse with their neighbours; but it is probable enough that Beel-zebub also was current, and from Mt. 10 25 we are obliged to assume that some teachers pronounced the name Beel-zebul, with the view of interpreting it Beel debabha οἰκοδεσπότης, 'lord of the house'—ב and מ being easily interchanged.[1] (An analogy for this can be found in the Elohist's play upon Zebulun, as if Zebudun, in Gen. 30 20.) The interpretation was correct (see BAAL-ZEBUB, § 3), though the 'house' of which Jesus and his contemporaries thought was, not on the mountain of God (cp BAAL-ZEPHON, 'lord of the [mansion of the] north), but in the 'recesses of the pit'[2] (Is. 14 15). Though the demons might be allowed to pervade the upper world (cp Eph 2 2), the place from which they proceeded was the 'abyss' (the Abaddon of Rev. 9 11).

As things now stand, therefore, it is best to suppose BAAL-ZEBUB (*q.v.*, § 3) to be a modification in the direction of cacophony for religious reasons (cp Gog, Magog) which did not hold its ground. Baal-zebul is probably the original form, and it meant 'lord of the mansion' (*i.e.*, to the Jews of NT times, 'lord of the nether world'). The reading of the received Greek text is assimilated to the reading of the traditional Hebrew text.

Over against this view stands that of the old scholar Lightfoot, still defended by Arn. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 40), which connects -zebul with **2. Other explanations.** זבל, 'dung,' זבל, זבל, 'dung-making,' in new Hebrew; cp זבל, 'to offer to idols.' The idea is that 'lord of flies' was changed into 'lord of dung,' to show abhorrence of heathenism. Such transformations are, no doubt, in the later Jewish spirit.

1 Cp [illegible] (Βαιθαβαρ for Ζαβαβαρ, 1).

2 Sheol, on this theory, is ironically described as the זבל, the 'palace' or 'mansion' of the demons, as in Ps. 49 14 (according to one possible view, see PSALMS, *SBOT* where We. reads קִינְבָּר) of the wicked rich.

but this particular one is improbable.[1] 'Lord of flies' (could we assume that this was the original meaning) was itself, as a title, bad enough; nor would the people, who feared the demons so much, have ventured to speak too disrespectfully of the archdemon (cp Ashmedai or Asmodeus, which to a Hebrew ear meant the 'destroyer' not a disrespectful title); lastly, on Lightfoot's theory the name ought to be Beel-zebel: it is shown elsewhere that a late editor detected the new Hebrew word *zebel*, 'dung,' in the name I-zebel (JEZEBEL). Lightfoot's theory, then, must be abandoned, as Baudissin holds. But Baudissin's own theory (adopted from Hitzig) is not really more satisfactory. He thinks that Baal-zebul is simply a euphonic modification of Baal-zebub, the consonant which closed the first syllable being repeated at the close of the second part of the word.[2]

This, however, leaves Baal-zebub unexplained, for Baudissin's theory of the name is scarcely admissible.

See Selden, *De Dis Syris*, 2 6; Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on Mt. 12 24 Lk. 11 15; Movers, *Die Phönizier* (1 41), 1 260 *f.*; Riehm's article in *HWB*[2]. The latter revives an old theory of Storr and Doderlein that *be'el dbhbâ* in Aramaic might mean either 'lord of flies' or 'an enemy,' ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρωπος (Mt. 13 28) = διάβολος. This is doubtless plausible. We must at least admit that the common people cannot without instruction have attached a meaning to *-zebul*. But how has Beelzebul (half Hebrew, half Aramaic) fixed itself in the Gospel tradition? Pesh. too retains Beelzebub. Baudissin's article in Herzog, *PRE*[3] (learned and thorough) adopts the ordinary view, as far as Baal-zebub is concerned.

T. K. C.

BEER (בְּאֵר, 'well,' § 101). 1. (τὸ φρέαρ [BAFL]). A station of the Israelites, apparently between Heshbon and the Arnon (Nu. 21 16 [JE]). See NAHALIEL; WANDERING, § 8; and cp, below, BEER-ELIM. The interest of Beer is not geographical but literary. The discovery of the well was commemorated (the narrator gives us to understand) by a song. The song with its context runs thus, according to MT,

And from there to Beer: that is the well whereof Yahwè said unto Moses: Assemble the people, and I will give them water. Then sang Israel this song:

Spring up, O well; greet ye it with a song.
Well, that the princes have dug,
The nobles of the people have digged,
With the sceptre, with their staves.

And from Midbar [E.V the wilderness] to Mattanah; and from Mattanah to Nahaliel; and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.

The historical character of this statement has generally been assumed. Ewald, however, is on the road to a very different theory when he remarks that such a well-song would become a source of joy to the labourers who thenceforward used it (*Hist.* 2 204). He sees, in fact, that it is essentially a popular song. Robertson Smith, too, finely speaks of 'the exquisite song in which the Hebrew women as they stand round the fountain, waiting their turn to draw, call forth the water which wells up all too slowly for their impatience.'[3] We should not expect the origin of such a song to be remembered; nor is there anything in the words to suggest the occasion ascribed to it in H. More probably it arose in the dry country to the south of Judah, where springs were the most valued possession (cp Judg. 1 15; Josh. 15 19; Gen. 26 19 *f.*). The 'princes,' 'nobles,' and 'captains' (הר. בְּרֹרֶת, מְחֹקְקִים; cp Judg. 5 14) referred to are the sheikhs of the clan. When a fresh well has been found, the sheikhs go through the symbolic form of digging for it with staves, and the poets of the clan greet the well with a song.

Does MT give us the whole of the song? Can Midbar be used as a proper name? Surely not. And, when we examine the MSS of G, we find some justification for the hypothesis of Budde, that the text of the itinerary originally ran, 'And from there to Beer; and from Beer to Nahaliel and from Nahaliel to Bamoth,' and that an editor who knew the song of the well, and desired to do it honour, inserted it between the first and the second items in the list, with the additional line, 'Out of the wilderness a gift' (see MATTANAH). See Budde, *New World*, March 1895; *Preuss. Jahrbb.*, 1895, p. 471 *ff.*; Franz Del. *ZKW*, 1882, p. 449 *ff.*

2. A place to which JOTHAM [1] fled from his brother Abimelech, Judg. 9 21 (βαιηρ [B], ραρα [A], βηρα [L]). In *OS* (238 73; 106 20) it is identified with a village called Bera, 8 m. N. of Eleutheropolis. The context, however, gives us no data for determining the site of the 'well' in question.

BEITOUR (בֵּיתוֹר) and even Beersheba have been suggested. Kh. el-Bîreh, W. of 'Ain Shems, is considerably more than 8 m. N. of Beit Jibrîn.

T. K. C.

BEERA (בְּאֵרָא, 'well'; βαιαιλα [F], βεηρα [A], om. L.), b. Zophah, in genealogy of ASHER (1 Ch 7 37).

BEERAH (בְּאֵרָה, 'well'), a Reubenite prince, son of Baal, carried off by Tiglath-pileser, 1 Ch. 5 6 (βεηλ [B], -ηρα [A], βαρα [L]). He is identified by the rabbins with Beeri, the father of the prophet Hosea.

BEER-ELIM (בְּאֵר אֵילִים [Ba. Gi.], 'well of terebinths' (?) or 'of sacred trees'; φρεαρ του αιλ[ε]ιμ [BNaQ[F]]), a place apparently on the northern border of Moab, answering to EGLAIM on the south (Is. 15 8). It is generally identified with the BEER of Nu 21 16. Some identify it also with the Alema of 1 Macc. 5 26, but see ALEMA.

BEERI (בְּאֵרִי, 'belonging to the well' or 'BEER,' § 76; cp above).

1. A Hittite, the father of JUDITH (6 1), Esau's wife, Gen 26 34 (βεηρ [AD], βαιηλ [E], βαιωρ [L]). It is impossible to reconcile this description with that of Adah in the genealogy in Gen. 36 2, for which see BASHEMATH, 1.

2. The father of HOSEA, Hos. 1 1 (ὁ βεηρ[ε]ι, [BAQ]).

BEER-LAHAI-ROI (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי), a well in the Negeb, famous in Hebrew tradition as the scene of Hagar's theophany (Gen. 16 14), and no doubt connected with a sanctuary (St. *ZATW* 1 349 [81]). Beside this sacred well was the abode of Isaac (Gen. 24 62 25 11).

1. Name. The name is mentioned only by J; E, who gives nearly the same account of the theophany (21 9-21), speaks simply of 'a well.' According to RV, Beer-lahai-roi means 'well of the living one who sees me.'

So the Versions (16 14: φρεαρ οὗ ἐνώπιον [ε]ἶδον [ADL], 21 19 25 11: φ. τοῦ ὁράσεως [MDEL]; Pesh. in all three ܒܐܪ ܚܝܐ ܕܚܙܝ). This rendering, however, is inconsistent with that given of El R 3 in 16 14, 'A God that seeth'; we should expect, as in El R 3 in 16 13, רֹאִי בְּאֵר לַחַי, which, as the st. cr. בְּאֵר is unattested, has been by the correction of דרם into אלדים,[1] and the insertion of מאל between לחי and ראיתי (the resemblance of these three words is the reason for the omission of the original line). I see God and remain (cp Ex 33 20 Gen 32 30 Judg 6 22 13 22). Could a vision (which then means 'the God who is seen') (Gen 12 14).

These explanations of El R and Beer-lahai-roi are too plainly not original. According to analogy, לחי (which we should expect) ought to be a noun in the construct state. Instead of *lahai* we should doubtless

[1] לִילִים, the present writer thinks, has no connection with לֵיל, 'dung.' It is pointed in imitation of שְׁעִירִים, 'demon-satyrs,' and should really be read גִּלִּים, 'heaps of stones,' *i.e.*, altars (stone). (Cp Jer. 31 39, § 7.)

[2] Hitzig (*ZATW* 2 [82]), by Steiner, *ZDMG* compares G's Αὐβακουμ (Habakkuk), Baudissin adds Βὴλ-ἐν-μοὶ for Bâbel-mandeb.

[3] 'The Poetry of the OT,' *Brit. Quart. Rev.* Jan. 1877; cp *RS*[2] 1 [illegible]. The expression 'cross forth' was suggested by Herder. The fountain is invoked by primitive races with personality.

[1] Cp לרם in MT of 1 S. 3 13: read אלהים with GBAI

vocalise *Lhī*, 'jaw-bone'; *roi* (?) is some animal's name, not known in the later Hebrew, and perhaps of Arabic origin. The name misread Lahai-roi should, therefore, be rendered 'Antelope's (?) jaw-bone.'

Another explanation is proposed by Hommel (*AHT* 208). Adhering to the points as regards the syllable *hai*, he compares the S. Ar. name *Luḥai'arāt*. He does not account for *roi*. Should רקי be רקיע (see RIEHM)? Samson's Lehi, however, supplies a more obvious clue.

Lhī, 'jaw-bone,' was a name given to any prominent crag, from a fancied resemblance to a jaw-bone. See LEHI; and cp Onugnathos (*ὄνου γνάθος*), a promontory on the coast of Laconia, and 'Camel's jaw-bone' (an Arabic name, Yāḳūt, iv. 353 9 *ff.*; cp We. *Lakati*, 208, n. 2).[1]

According to E, the well was in the wilderness of Beersheba (Gen. 21 14); J, more precisely, states that it

2. Site. was 'on the way to Shur' (16 7), 'between Kadesh and Bered' (*v.* 14). Jerome knew of a 'well of Hagar' (*OS* 101 3); does he mean the traditional well in the *Wādy el-Muweilḥ*? This strangely formed wady is at the foot of mountains of the same name, and Palmer thinks that there was once a large city here ('perhaps one of the "cities of the south"'). One of the wells has special sanctity, and is connected by the Bedouin with Hagar. Two caves appear to be ancient. The smaller, at the upper end of the wādy, on the right hand, was apparently a Christian chapel; the other, on the opposite side, seems to have served as the hermitage (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 2 354). As to the 'jaw-bone' rock no positive statement can be ventured. On the geographical statement in *v.* 14, see BERED, i. To the suggestions there made it may be added that the 'way to SHUR' (*q.v.*) would be one of the regions called by the Assyrians Musri. According to the original tradition Hagar seems to have fled, not to Egypt, but to a N. Arabian district called by a name which was confounded with Mizraim (Egypt). This, and not Egypt, was really her native country; this too was the country from which, according to E, she took a wife for her son Ishmael (21 21). So Wi. *AOF* 30 *f.* See HAGAR, § 1; ISAAC, § 2; MIZRAIM, § 2; MORIAH. T. K. C.

BEEROTH (בְּאֵרוֹת; ΒΗΡΩΘ [BNAL]), a city of Benjamin.

In Josh. 18 25, *βεηρωθα* [B], *βηθωρωθ* [L], 2 S. 4 2 [A omits]; gentilic **Beerothite** (הַבְּאֵרֹתִי; *βηρωθαιος* [BAL], 2 Sam. 4 2 *f.* 59; *βηθωρ.* [BA], *βιθαρει* [L], 2 Sam. 23 37; הַבְּרֹתִי, EV BEROTHITE, 1 Ch. 11 39; *ὁ βερθει* [B], *ὁ βηρωθ* [A], *ὁ βηρωθι* [L]).

According to Josh. 9 17 (*βειρων* [B*], *βηθωρ* [B^{1b mg.}]), it belonged originally to the Gibeonite confederation; and, according to 2 S. 4 3, there was at one time a migration of its inhabitants to Gittaim (see ISHBAAL, 1). Men of Beeroth are mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*); Ezra 2 25 (Neh. 7 29 *βηρωθ* [B], *αβηρωθ* [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 19 (*βηρογ* [B] *βηρωε?* [A]). It is named by Eus. (cp Reland, 618-19), and is now represented by the modern *El Birch* (which still owes its name to its abundant supply of water), a village of about 800 inhabitants, in a poor district, about 9 m. N. from Jerusalem, on the Shechem road. Tradition assigns it as the place where Joseph and Mary missed Jesus from the company of returning pilgrims (Lk. 2 41-45).

BEEROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN, RV **Beeroth Bene-Jaakan** בְּאֵרוֹת בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן, wells of the b'ne Ja'ākān'), a halting-place in the desert, Dt. 10 6 (ΒΗΡΩΘ ΥΙΩΝ ΙΑΚΕΙΜ [BAL]), where it is mentioned before MOSEROTH.[2] This notice is *pre-Deuteronomic*, and belongs to a fragment of E's list of stations

[1] So first We. *Prol.* 1 *c*; cp Moore, *Judges*, 347. It seems a natural inference that Elijah originally referred to an antelope-god (so Ball, *Genesis*, 5 26 *f.*).

[2] The Samar. text has for this verse: 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Moseroth and encamped among the b'ne Ja'ākān.'

which has been inserted by the editor (Bacon, *Trip. Trad.* 207 *f.*; cp Meyer, *Z.ATW* 1 118; Dr. *Deut.* 120). In Nu. 33 31 *f.* the same name occurs (shortened into BENE-JAAKAN, בְּנֵי יַעַקָן; *βανεια* [B]; *-νικαν* [A]; *-ιακαν* [L]; *μανια*, [L]) *after* Moseroth; but the list of stations in Nu 33 is of late editorial origin (cp Kue. *Hex.* 98, 102). The spot probably lay somewhere on the edge of the Arabah. Cp JAKAN, and WANDERINGS, § 8.

BEERSHEBA בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, § 107—*i.e.*, 'well of seven,' rather than 'seven wells'—see below, § 3; ΒΗΡϹΑΒΕΕ

1. References. [BAL]; in Josh. 15 28 ΒΗΡϹΑΒΕΘ [A]; in Gen. 21 31 ΦΡΕΑΡ ΟΡΚΙϹΜΟΥ [ADL], 26 33 Φ. ΟΡΚΟΥ [ADEL], it is taken as meaning 'well of the oath').[1] One of the Simeonite towns in the southern territory of Judah (Josh. 19 2), on the border of the cultivated land, came to be regarded, for the greater part of history, as the remotest point of Canaan in that direction; whence the phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' (2 S. 17 11), which, after the fall of the N. kingdom, became from 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23 8), or 'from Beersheba to Mt Ephraim' (2 Ch. 19 4 *βεηρσαβεε* [B]), and in the post-exilic period 'from Beersheba to the valley of Hinnom' (Neh. 11 27 *βεηρσαβεε* [B], *βερσ.* [A], 30 *βεηρσαβεε* [B], *βερσ.* [A]). Yet Beersheba, though the practical, was not the ideal, border of the Holy Land. This ran along the 'river of Egypt,' the present Wādy el-'Arish, nearly 60 m. SE. of Beersheba.

An account of the origin of the name and the planting of the sacred tamarisk of Beersheba is given in the story of Abraham (Gen. 21 22 *ff.*, E); but another story belonging to another document (J) assigns the origin of the well and its name to Isaac (Gen. 26 26-33). It was the scene of more than one theophany in patriarchal times. It was an important sanctuary frequented even by N. Israel in the time of Amos (5 5 *φρέαρ τοῦ ὅρκου* [BAQ]), who refers with disapproval to those who swear by the life of the divine patron[2] of Beersheba (8 14). It was in Beersheba that the two sons of Samuel are said to have exercised their judgeship (1 S. 8 2), and a day's journey thence into the wilderness is placed the incident of the 'juniper' tree in the life of Elijah (1 K. 19 4 *ff.* *βερσαβεε* [A]). Beersheba was the birthplace of the mother of King Joash (2 K. 12 1 [2] 2 Ch. 24 1). In post-exilic times it was inhabited by men of Judah.

The ruins at Beersheba belong apparently to early Christian days. The *Onomastica* describe it as a large place with a Roman garrison (103 32 234 100). In the time of Jerome the place was of some importance; later, it became an episcopal see; but by the fourteenth century it had become deserted and ruined.

It is represented by the modern *Bir es-Seba'*, on the W. es-Seba', 28 m. SW. from Hebron (Rob. *BR* 1 300

2. Identification. *ff.*). Whilst the arable land of Palestine virtually comes to an end with Beersheba, and the country to the south of it is usually barren, there are, for nearly 30 m. S. of Beersheba, ruins of old villages gathered round wells; they evidently date from Roman times.

On Josh. 19 2, 'Beersheba and Sheba,' see SHEMA (i.).

[WRS (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 181) remarks 'The sanctuary of Beersheba properly consisted of the "Seven Wells"

3. Derivation. which gave the place its name.' Among the Arabs a place called 'Seven Wells' is mentioned by Strabo (16 4 24). Robertson Smith has [illegible] of the sanctity attaching to the groups of seven wells among the Semites. Even to lay seven wells or cisterns seem to have the power of [illegible] witchcraft (*ZDPV* 7 106). This view is due to Stade (*Gesch.* 1 127), who thinks that the postposition of the numeral was Canaanitish; but, as in the case of Kirjath-arba (see HEBRON, i.), the theory is doubtful. 'Well of Seven' is not inexplicable. 'Well of the Seven

[1] The Hebrew verb 'to swear' means literally 'to come under the influence of seven things.' See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 431 *ff.*

[2] MT gives 'way' (cultus); see AMOS, § 2 *a*.

gods' is intrinsically a probable meaning. Few persons, it is to be hoped, go to Beersheba looking for seven wells. Gautier affirms that there are now only three, though there may once have been more (*Souvenirs de Terre Sainte*,[2] 147; but cp his letter in *Exp. Times*, 10 328 (Apr. '99). Trumbull (*Exp. Times*, 8 89 [Nov. '96]) also states that he saw three wells, but adds that at some distance he saw the remains of a fourth and a fifth. He admits that there may once have been more than five. Cp also Dr. *Exp. Times*, 7 567 *f.* (Sep. '96). For descriptions of Beersheba as it is to-day, see Rob. *BR* 1 204; Guérin, *Judée*, 2 278 283; Séjourné, *Rev. biblique*, 1895, p. 205.] G. A. S.

BE-ESHTERAH (בְּעַשְׁתֵּרָה) in Josh. 21 27 (ΒΟϹΟΡΑΝ [B], -ρρ. [L], ΒϹΕΘΑΡΑ [A]), perhaps an abbreviation for בֵּית עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, 'house of Astarte' (cp Ges., Nestle, *Eig.* 114, etc.). Hommel, however (*Beitr. f. Ass.*, 1897, p. 268), explains 'by Ashtar'; cp the S. Ar. בעתר, 'by Athtar' (*i.e.*, Ashtar). Gray (*HPN* 127) also is against the supposed abbreviation of *bēth* into *bē-*. See ASHTAROTH.

BEETLE, RV CRICKET (חַרְגֹּל; ΟΦΙΟΜΑΧΗϹ[1] [BAFL]: Lev. 11 22). By the word so rendered is almost certainly intended a species of locust or grasshopper; the name is one of four used in the verse to denote 'winged creeping things that go upon all fours, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth.' The Hebrew name has passed into Aramaic, post-biblical Hebrew, and Armenian; in Arabic *harjala* means 'a troop of horses' or 'a troop of locusts' (cp Joel 2 4), and the connected verb means 'to proceed in a long train,' as do locusts. 'Beetle' is at all events a wrong rendering; for the *Coleoptera* have, as a rule, legs ill adapted for 'leaping upon the earth,' and are seldom or never eaten; whereas certain kinds of crickets, as of locusts, are fried and eaten by Eastern nations. It is impossible, however, to identify the species (if any) referred to. Cp also LOCUST, § 2.

BEGGAR, BEGGING. See ALMS, § 4.

BEHEADING. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

BEHEMOTH and **LEVIATHAN**, two real or supposed animals grouped together in Job 40 15-41, but nowhere else in the canonical books (see however below).[2]

1. Mention of Behemoth.

Bĕhēmōth (בְּהֵמוֹת) is no doubt an intensive plural form, and means 'a colossal beast.' It occurs (*a*) in Job 40 15-24, probably (*b*) in Is. 30 6, but hardly (*c*) in Ps. 73 22.[3]

In (*a*) the animal so called is described at length. This description is followed by a sketch of Leviāthān, and most critics have thought, specially on the ground of the 'hyperbolical' expressions, that the two pictures are later insertions in the speeches of Yahwè (see Job). Whether the expressions are fitly called 'hyperbolical,' we shall see presently. Almost all modern critics, whether they separate Job 40 15-41 from the main body of the speeches of Yahwè or not, have thought that Bĕhēmōth is a Hebraised form of an Egyptian word for the hippopotamus (*p-ehe-mōu*, 'water-ox'), but there is no philological basis for this opinion.[4] In (*b*) Is. 30 6 מַשָּׂא בְּהֵמוֹת נֶגֶב is probably to be rendered 'Oracle of the monster (bĕhēmōth) of the south land.'[1] This is the heading of a short fragmentary passage of prophecy, and refers to the description of Egypt at the end of *v.* 7 as 'Rahab the quelled one' (see RAHAB, ii. § 1). 'The south-land' (Negeb) is here, as in Dan. 8 9 11 5 *ff.*, a designation of the second of the two empires which endangered Palestine,—*i.e.*, Egypt,—the other being *Ṣāphōn*, 'the northland' (Jer. 16 15 Zech. 2 6 [10])—*i.e.*, in a large sense, Babylonia. So Del. The heading in *v.* 6 may be very late.

Delitzsch finds Bĕhēmōth also in (*c*) Ps. 73 22, 'As for me, I was senseless and ignorant, I was a Bĕhēmōth toward thee' (Del., Nowack). This rendering is correct, if the text is sound and if the speaker is an individual. If, however, the speaker is to be understood collectively, we may perhaps render, 'I was (like) the beasts toward thee.' So Ba.; but the absence of the particle of comparison is a difficulty. If we compare 49 11 (12) 92 6 [7] it becomes plausible to read, with Grätz, בִּינִיתִי חָסַרְתִּי, 'I was devoid of understanding toward thee.'

Leviāthān (לִוְיָתָן, *livyāthān*, 'wreathed'—*i.e.*, 'gathering itself in folds'; or perhaps of Bab. origin) is a designation of a mythic serpent in all the passages in which it occurs, unless Job 41 1 be an exception.[2] See also LEVIATHAN.

2. Of Leviathan.

It is found (*d*) in Job 41 1 (40 25), 'Canst thou draw up Leviathan with a hook, (and) press down his tongue with a cord?'; (*e*) Job 3 8, 'Let those who lay a ban upon the sea[4] curse it, (those) who are appointed to rouse up Leviathan'; (*f*) Is. 27 1, 'In that day shall Yahwè punish Leviathan the fugitive serpent, and Leviathan the coiled serpent, and he shall slay the dragon in the sea'; (*g*) Ps. 74 14, 'Thou didst shatter the heads of Leviathan, and gavest his [carcase] to be food for the jackals';[5] (*h*) Ps. 104 26,[6] 'There do the dragons move along, (there is) Leviathan whom thou didst form to be its ruler.' To these references, two supplied by apocryphal writers may be added: (*i*) En. 60 7-9, cp 24 *f.*; (*j*) 4 Esd. 6 49-52; cp Apoc. Bar. 29 4.

In the present article we shall desert the zoological explanation of Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān, leaving the field open to another writer to represent the more generally received opinion (see HIPPOPOTAMUS, CROCODILE). Strong reason will have to be shown for not interpreting these strange forms with some regard to mythology. No one would assert that the author of Job had an altogether distinct mythological conception; but modern commentators who disregard the mythic basis of the descriptions make a serious mistake.

3. Both mythical monsters.

It was natural in 1887 to look for illustrations of the Job passages, (*d*) and (*e*), to Egypt,[7] though reference should have been made, not to the fantastic griffins on certain wall-paintings, but to the idealisation of the ordinary monsters of the Nile in the mythic narratives of Rē' and Osiris. 'There are supernatural as well as natural hippopotamuses and crocodiles, and it is a specimen of these which the poet has given us. The descriptions are hyperbolical and unpleasing, if referred to the real monsters of the Nile; they are not so if explained of the "children of defeat," with the dragon Apopi at their head,[8] which the poet, by a fusion

[1] Ἄκρις according to the order in (B)AFL; ἀττακίς is mentioned in hexaplaric MSS as a rendering by 'ἄλλος.'

[2] It will be seen that one is strongly supported theory there are parallels to this combination.

[3] The versions render Bĕhēmōth as follows:—in (*a*) θηρία [LXX], κτηνη [Aq. Theod.], in (*b*) τῶν τετραπόδων [LXX], κτηνη [Aq. Sym. Th.], in (*c*) κτηνωδης [LXX, Sym.].

[4] So independently WMM (EGYPT, § 9). The objections are as follows. (1) The final *th* in Bĕhēmōth is unaccounted for (Lepsius). (2) The Egyptians had several names for the hippopotamus (*ṭbṭ*, *ḥpt*, 'a chest that rolls itself in the mud'); but the texts nowhere mention *p-e-*. (3) The form, if it existed, would be *mu-ehe* (J. C. Cook). It is strange that Jablonski, who died in 1757, and could know only Coptic, and that imperfectly, should be consulted in preference to Birch, who, after supposing himself to have found the old Egyptian original of Bĕhēmōth in *lekhama*, discovered afterwards that the name was really *kheb* (Renouf, *Exp. Times*, July 1897). Cp RIMMON. On an analogous attempt to justify the interpretation of Leviathan as a crocodile, see col. 520, n. 3.

[5] Reading חִתֵּן נִלְּיָתוֹ לְאֹכֶל לְעָרִים. Cp Fox.

[6] Reading תַּנִּים for the scarcely possible אֳנִיּוֹת, 'ships'; and correcting לְשַׂחֶק בּוֹ into לְנִשְׁבּוֹ. See Che. *Ps.* 2.

[7] Che. *Job and Sol.* 56, where the first recent critical protest was made against the dominant theory. Cp the fantastic forms described in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 84.

[8] See Maspero, *op. cit.* 159.

historically most justifiable,[1] identifies with the monsters of Babylonian origin called elsewhere Rahab and his helpers (Job 9 13). And even in the uncorrected but still more in the corrected text there are expressions and statements which are hardly explicable except on the mythological theory.' How, for example, can the hippopotamus and the crocodile be said to be, not merely dangerous to approach, but beyond the range of hunters? There is evidence that even in early times the Egyptians were skilled in attacking and killing them. How, too, can the ordinary hippopotamus be called 'the firstling of the ways of God' (Job 40 19), and the ordinary crocodile be said to be feared by all that is lofty, and to be king over all the sons of pride[2] (Job 41 34 [26])?

The Babylonian elements in Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān, however, are more important than the Egyptian. They have been pointed out, though with some exaggeration, by Gunkel, who also noticed how much the text of the accounts of Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān has suffered in transmission. It may be hoped that by the light of the mythological interpretation the corruptions may be partly removed. For example, Job 41 9-11 [1-3] may be plausibly emended thus (see *JQR*, April, 1897):—

> Surely thy self-confidence proves itself vain;
> Even divine beings the fear of him lays low.
> An angel shudders when he would arouse him;
> Who then (among mortals) would dare to meet him as a foe?
> Who ever confronted him and came off safe?
> Under the whole heaven, not one!

The un-emended form of this passage, it is true, does not favour a mythological interpretation; but it is very difficult to give it any plausible meaning, whereas the emended text is in perfect harmony with all that we hear of Leviāthān elsewhere. One more proof of the helpfulness of the new theory may be given. No passage has puzzled interpreters more than 40 19 *b*. The RV renders thus, 'He (only) that made him can make his sword to approach (unto him).' הרבו, however, should be חֹבְרוֹ (Giesebrecht). The real meaning is, 'that was made to be ruler of his fellows' (עשוי לנגש ח׳—*i.e.*, Bĕhēmōth is the king of all land animals.' Take this in connection with Job 41 25 [33][3] and Ps. 104 26, and it would seem that Leviāthān was regarded as lord of the ocean, and Bĕhēmōth of the dry land. The former notion was borrowed from the Babylonians; the latter perhaps from the Egyptians.[4]

Thus the Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān passages in Job represent a fusion, from every point of view most natural, of Babylonian and Egyptian elements. The dragon is primarily Babylonian: it is Tiāmat (=תהום; see CREATION, § 2 *f.*). Bĕhēmōth may be ultimately identified with Tiāmat's consort Kingu. Being ignorant of the mythic monsters in question, the poet naturally filled up the gaps in his knowledge from two monsters of the Nile which the Egyptians regarded as representatives of the evil god Sit.[5]

Coming now to (*f*), Is. 27, we note that the writing belongs to a prophetic passage which has a strong apocalyptic tinge, and stands at the head of the period which produced the apocalypse of Daniel.[6] Nowhere perhaps in the OT is the phraseology more distinctly

[1] Hommel (*Der bab. Urspr. der ägypt. Kultur*, 1892, p. 40) connects Apopi or Apep with Bab. *abūbu*, 'storm-flood.' Apopi is the Tiāmat of heaven. His head is split by the conquering Rē' into two parts; Tiāmat's body is so treated by Marduk.

[2] Reading אתו כל־גבה יָרָא, with Budde (improving slightly on Gunkel). The 'sons of pride' (if שחץ is correct) may be a phrase equivalent to 'Rahab's helpers.' If so, mythic monsters are referred to

[3] לבלתיך is probably a corruption of יבל חיה (Che.). Leviāthān was made to be lord of living creatures (*i.e.*, those of the ocean-depth, tĕhōm, just mentioned).

[4] Che. *Expositor*, July 1897.

[5] Cp Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*. Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* 56) well knew the connection of the two Nile-monsters with Typhon or Sit.

[6] Che. *Intr. Is.* 150 *f.*, 155 *ff.*; Lyon, *JBL*, 1895, p. 131, quoting Smith's *Chaldæan Genesis*, ed. Sayce, p. 9.

mythical. 'Leviāthān the fleeing serpent' finds its explanation in the carving on a seal representing Marduk with a dagger pursuing the dragon which flees before him in the shape of a serpent, and 'Leviāthān the coiled serpent' is the mythic phrase for the ocean which surrounds the earth.[1]

In (*g*), Ps. 74 14, a psalmist gives a somewhat different view of Leviāthān. To him the destruction of Leviāthān is past. This is, of course, the original view represented in the Babylonian Creation-story (see CREATION, § 2). The passage should most probably be read thus:—

> Thou didst shatter the head of Leviāthān,
> And gavest up his [carcase] as food for the jackals.

There is no reference to the unburied corpses of the Egyptians (Ex. 14 30); 'the people inhabiting the wilderness' is an impossible rendering of a corrupt text (see FOX). We have here simply an amplification of a mythic detail in the story of Tiāmat (see the Babylonian Creation-tablet iv. *l.* 104)—the same detail which explains a fine passage in the latter part of Isaiah (Is. 51 10).

Taken by itself (*h*), Ps. 104 26, it must be admitted, gives no confirmation to our mythological interpretations. Leviāthān appears as one of the monsters of the sea, and we are told that Yahwe himself 'formed' him as its ruler. The writer may know nothing of mythology. He has heard this said, and repeats it.

We now turn to (*i*) and (*j*), the apocryphal passages.

The former (Enoch 60 7-9) runs in Charles's translation from the Ethiopic version (155): 'And in that day will two monsters be parted, a female monster named Leviāthān, to dwell in the depths of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is called Bĕhēmōth, who occupies with his breast (?) a waste wilderness named Dēndāin, on the east of the garden. . . . And I besought that other angel that he should show me the might of these monsters, how they were parted on one day, and the one was placed in the depths of the sea and the other in the mainland of the wilderness.'

The latter (4 Esd. 6 49-52) is as follows:—'Et tunc conseruasti duo animalia, nomen uni uocasti Behemoth et nomen secundi uocasti Leuiathan. Et separasti ea ab alteutro, non enim poterat septima pars ubi erat aqua congregata capere ea. Et dedisti Behemoth unam partem quæ siccata est tertio die, ut inhabitet in ea, ubi sunt montes mille; Leuiathan autem dedisti septimam partem humidam: et seruasti ea ut fiant in deuorationem quibus uis et quando uis.' (Behemoth becomes uehemoth in cod. M and Enoch in codd. SA [so AV].)

It is needless to pause long on the purely Jewish elements in these descriptions.[2] That Bĕhēmōth was created on the fifth day was an inference from Gen. 1 21; the reference to the 'thousand mountains' comes from a faulty reading in Ps. 50 10 (where אֶלֶף should be אֵל) combined with an absurd interpretation of בהמות in the same passage. The chief points to notice are these: Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān are not two great water-monsters, but have their habitation, the one on the dry land, the other in the deep;[3] the Dēndāin of Enoch may possibly be the Babylonian *danninu*, which is a synonym of *irṣitim*, 'the earth,' and is literally 'the firm.'[4] According to Gunkel, the female monster Leviāthān is Tiāmat, and the male monster Bĕhēmōth is Kingu, Tiāmat's husband (on whom see Creation-tablet iv. *ll.* 119-122). In the Babylonian story these monsters met their fate at creation; in *Enoch* the assignment of their respective dwellings is an incident of the judgment at Noah's flood; in 4 Ezra again it is a detail of creation. It is not safe, however, to dogmatise too freely on the sources of the apocryphal writers. Their notions were probably a strange compound, in which there were exegetical inferences side by side with corrupted statements of Oriental tradition. One of these statements appears to have related to the habitation of Bĕhēmōth—at least, if we may accept Zimmern's explanation of Dendain, which Dillmann and Charles

[1] Cp the mythological serpent in one form of the Babylonian Deluge-story (see DELUGE, §§ 6-9).

[2] For details on the late Jewish fancies, see Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, 352-355; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 165, 202, 402, 404.

[3] C. H. H. W. *Judaism and Christianity*, 163.

[4] S. Zimmern, in *Schöpf.* 63; cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 101, Del. [illegible]

unconvincingly connect with דין דין (comparing Dudael, Enoch 10 4, which is certainly not a mere 'fiction of the author'). The view here taken is, of course, quite consistent with Charles's theory (*Rev.* 53) that the writers of 4 Esd. 6 10-7 25 and Bar. 27-30 both used the text of an earlier work which contained the story of the six days of Creation. This lost hexahemeron, just as much as 4 Esd. 6 38-64, represents not a homogeneous tradition, but a medley of notions derived from different sources, Jewish and Oriental.

On the subject of this article consult Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 41-69; Di.'s, Bu.'s, and Du.'s commentaries on Job; Che, 'The Book of Job,' etc., *Expositor*, July, 1897, and 'The Text of Job,' *JQR*, April 1897. See also DRAGON, § 4 *f.*, RAHAB, i. and cp HIPPOPOTAMUS, CROCODILE. On the oscillation of mythic and semi-mythic statements between the dragon and the crocodile as the enemy of the Sun-god, cp Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges* (extrait de la rev. archéol.), 1877, pp. 6, 25.

T. K. C.

BEKAH, RV **Beka** (בֶּקַע), Ex. 38 26. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BEL (בֵּל; Ⓖ ΒΗΛ[ΟΣ], ܒܝܠ), Ass. *Bêlu*, like בַּעַל (Baal), is a simple appellative meaning 'lord' quite as often as it is a proper name (see PHŒNICIA). In the Assyrio-Babylonian pantheon it is borne by two deities (see BABYLONIA, § 26), the younger of whom, identified with Marduk (see MERODACH), finds mention in writings of the Babylonian and Persian periods (Is. 46 1 Jer. 50 2 [מרד]. 51 44 (Ⓖ omits)).[1]

The extent of the cultus of this god in later times appears from the many proper names compounded with Bēl in Phœnician, and more especially in Palmyrene inscriptions.[2] Jacob of Serûg states that he was the god of Edessa (*ZDMG* 29 111).

BEL AND THE DRAGON. See DANIEL, ii. § 21, and cp §§ 10, 10.

BELA (בֶּלַע, 'that which is swallowed up'?: cp Jer. 51 44; ΒΑΛΑΚ [*ADL*], -ΑΛΑ [E in Gen. 14 2]), one of the five royal cities in the vale of Siddim at the time of the invasion of CHEDORLAOMER (*q.v.*, § 2), Gen. 14 2 8, where the name receives the geographical explanation, 'that is Zoar.' In fact, in Gen. 19 20-23 we hear of a small city near Sodom, the name of which was called ZOAR (*q.v.*), to commemorate the escape of Lot from the catastrophe of Sodom and the other 'cities of the plain.' The writer of the explanation in Gen. 14 2 8 evidently means us to suppose that the original name of Zoar was Bela. The author of Gen. 19 (J), however, does not appear to have known this. In 13 10 the same writer speaks of Zoar as bearing that name before the catastrophe of Sodom, and a comparison of the phraseology of 25 30 makes it probable that the etymological myth in 19 20-22 does not really presuppose a change of name. It is probable that, had the name of Bela been known in the comparatively early period when Gen. 19 was written, an etymological myth would have grown up to account for it—'Therefore that region is called Bela, because the ground opened her mouth and swallowed it up' (cp Nu. 16 30).

Such a myth did, as a fact, spring up, but long afterwards, and not as a fruit of the popular imagination. In the Targum of Jonathan the phrase 'the king of Bela' (Gen. 14 2) is paraphrased as 'the king of the city which consumed its inhabitants.' The same interpretation was given by R. Meir and his contemporary Joshua b. Karcha (Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, 38), and is repeatedly given on the authority of 'the Hebrews' by Jer. (*Quæst. in Gen.* 14 2 19 30; *Comm. in Iev.* 15 8); it has also naturally enough found a place in the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. 42). Hommel (*AHT* 195-198) boldly identifies Bela with the ancient city of Malkā, which he surmises to have been in the trans-Jordanic region; but his authority for giving

[1] The evidence of some proper names, however, may seem to show that Bel was not unknown in Canaan at an earlier date (see ASHBEL, BILDAD, EBAL, and cp, doubtfully, Balaam and Reuben).

[2] Whether the Palm. בול is a bye-form of בל ביל בל, as Hoffmann supposes (*Auszüge aus d. Syr. Act. Pers. Märt.*, 1880, p. 21, n. 159), is uncertain.

this situation to Malkā is a tablet which refers not to Malkā b to Melkart (Johns, *ExpTim.*, Aug. 1898, p. 160).

It is remarkable that no name is given to the king Bela. When we consider the (probable) corruptio of other names in the passage, it is reasonable suppose that the name, being uncouth, early droppe out of the text. To supply 'Bela,' with Bisho Hervey (Smith's *DB*[2]), is unnatural.

T. K. C.

BELA (בֶּלַע). 1. (ΒΑΛΑΚ [ADEL]. -ΛΕΚ [E in Gen 36 33]). The first Edomite king, son of Beor (or perhap Achbor; see BAAL-HANAN [1]), of the city of Dinhabai (Gen. 36 32 *f.* = 1 Ch. 1 43 *f.*). It is singular that a divine famous in legend was called 'Bil'ām (Balaam) son o Beor.' With Nöldeke (*Untersuch.* 87) and Homme (*AHT* 153) we may venture to identify Bela' and Bil'am and all the more confidently if Bil'am belonged to region adjoining Edom (see PETHOR). Obviously the temptation which the name presented to an imaginative narrator must have been irresistible. Targ. Jon. and Targ. 1 Ch. 1 44 had already suggested the identification. The list which contains the name Bela ben-Beor is regarded by Sayce as a piece of an Edomite chronicle. It comes before us, however, as a thoroughly Hebrew document, and is correlated with the history of the b'ne Israel (Gen. 36 31-39; probably JE). Certainly it is no sport of the idealistic imagination; a true interest in the fortunes of a kindred people prompted its preservation. It may be incomplete, or it may have had some lacunæ filled up ignorantly, not to speak of the undeniable corruptions of the text. Let us take the list as it stands, and see what we can gather from it.

The list contains eight names (or rather seven, for Baal-hanan has come in through a scribe's error). Four kings have their fathers' names given;[1] six are distinguished by the name of their city, and one is described as of a certain region (HUSHAM). The names both of the cities and of the persons (or apparent persons) are not all correct. DINHABAH, MATRED, and MEZAHAB are corrupt, and the corruptions efface the important fact that Bela (whose city was not Dinhabah but *Rehoboth*; cp *v.* 37) and Mehetabel came from the N. Arabian land of Musri or Muṣur (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). It will be noted that one of the names occurs twice (in *v.* 39, 'Hadar' is certainly a wrong reading): it is properly the name of a god—of the Aramæan god Hadad. From this name, and from two other items—'Bela the son of Beor' and 'Saul of Rehoboth by the river'—Bishop A. C. Hervey inferred (Smith's *DB*,[2] *s.v.* 'Bela') that there had been an Aramæan conquest of Edom. The references to Bela and Saul, however, are not really in point (cp BALAAM, § 3), and all that the doubly attested HADAD, 3 [i. 2]—together with BEDAD—can be held to suggest is that Aramæan influence was early felt as far south as Edom.

More important is the historical notice connected with the name of Hadad, son of Bedad (see also HUSHAM). It tells us of the early occupation of what afterwards became the land of Moab by the Midianites, whom the Edomites under Hadad defeated. We can understand this notice in the light of Gideon's defeat of the same plundering hordes, described in Judg. 7. To make the two events contemporary, with Kautzsch in Riehm's *HWB*[2] (art. 'Midian'), seems needless and hazardous.

Our most interesting as well as most certain result, however, is the antiquity of regal government among the Edomites; and, from the fact that there is no trace of dynasties, and from the continual references to the cities of the respective kings, we may probably infer, with Winckler, that the kings were of the type of Abimelech, or at the most of Saul, and that their rule, except in time of war, was little felt save by their own tribe. It is true that this will not apply to Saul of Rehoboth of the River, for this place seems to have

[1] BAAL-HANAN (*q.v.*) was perhaps really the father of Hadad II.; ben Achbor is a variant to ben Beor which has attached itself to the wrong name.

been in Muṣri, not in Edom; but we should observe the variation in the phraseology of the account of Saul. It is not said that his city was Rehoboth, but that he was 'of Rehoboth.' We may suppose that he entered by marriage into an Edomite family and then obtained a tribal sovereignty. He was a Musrite (a native of the N. Arabian Muṣri). The name of the last king (Hadad, or rather Hadad) is unaccompanied by the historical [illegible] which we should have expected; it is, however, followed exceptionally by the name of his wife, of whom we are told that she was a daughter of MATRED, and a daughter of ME-ZAHAB. The former name is a corruption of Mizran (Misran), the latter of Mizrim (Misrim). Misrim was really a correction of Misran. Mehetabel, as well as Bela and Saul, was a Misrite. This is a fact with important historical bearings (see HADAD, i. [illegible]).

T. K. C.

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN [§ 9 (i.)] (Βαλε [BAL]): Gen. 46 21 (RV BELAH, βαλα [VAL]) Nu. 26 38 40; cp 1 Ch. 7 6 βαλαι [L]; BA omit] 7 (βαλαε [L], βαλε [A], βαλεε [B]: in 7 6 αβελα in B takes the place of Bela and Beriah [7 8 [7 7]]) and 8 1 (βελελεηλ [B]), and the gentilic **Belaite** or rather Balite (בָּלְעִי), Nu. 26 38 (βαλαιοι [BAL]).

3. b. Azaz, in genealogy of REUBEN (βαλεκ [B], -λε [A], -λαα [L]), 1 Ch. 5 8.

BELAH (בֶּלַע). Gen. 46 21 AV, RV BELA, ii. 2.

BELEMUS (ΒΗΛΕΜΟΣ [BA]). 1 Esd. 2 16 = Ezra 4 7 BISHLAM (*q.v.*).

BELIAL. This is an imperfect reproduction of the Heb. בְּלִיַּעַל (18 times in historical books, once in Job, thrice in Proverbs, thrice in Psalms, twice in the psalm-like passage prefixed to Nahum (1 11-15 [2 1]), see RV; cp 2 Cor. 6 15, see below (§ 1).

1. Usage and tradition. It is generally taken to mean 'worthlessness,' whether moral or material, so that the familiar phrase, 'sons (or men) of Belial,' would mean 'good-for-nothing fellows'; RV^mg. gives 'base fellows.'

So BDB, from בְּלִי, 'not,' and יָעַל, 'profit' (?), so, too, RV^mg. in 2 S. 23 6 and elsewhere. This rendering, however, is not supported by the earliest tradition; for ⅏ renders 'Belial' ἀνόμημα, ἄνομία, ἀποστασία (Aq. also gives ἀποστασία), the qualification 'of Belial' by ἀσεβής, ἄφρων, λοιμός, τιμωρός, with or without ἀνήρ as the case may be. We find also υἱοὶ παρανομῶν (often), and (Symm.) ἀνυποτακτοι, ἀνυπόστατοι. These renderings may imply the etymology בְּלִי עֹל, *absque jugo* (Jer.), and this etymology, though impossible, is yet more in harmony with biblical usage. Tg. gives בְּרִיבָיָא, 'oppressors.

Another tradition, however, favours the use of Belial as a proper name. So in ⅏^A Jud. 20 13 (βελιαμ), Theod., Judg. 19 22, and occasionally in Vg.; so, too, in the English versions including even RV (on RV^mg., see above). This came about in the following way. However we account for it, it is a historical fact that in the interval between the OT and the NT Belial (sometimes in the forms Beliar or Berial) was used as a synonym for the arch-demon Satan; it is so used in 2 Cor. 6 15, where Paul asks, What harmony is there between Christ (parallel to 'light') and Belial (parallel to 'darkness')? [βελιαρ (BℵC); cp Jer.'s explanation, *cœcum lumen*, as if בְּלִי אוֹר, in *OS*,[2] 764]. Beliar stands for Satan also in *Test. xii. Patr.* (often; *e.g. Test. Rub.* 2, 4, 6), the *Asc. Isa.* (Berial), and *Jubilees* (ch. 15, ed. Charles). In the *Sib. Oracles* (iii. 63 *ff.* iv. 137 *ff.*) Nero, under the name of Beliar, is to lead the armies of Antichrist[1] (see ANTICHRIST, § 15); and, according to Bousset, the phrase ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας (*ib.* § 4) in 2 Thess. 2 3 (BℵC, Tisch., Treg., WH; ἁμαρτίας for ἀνομίας has also good authority) may be a translation of Belial.

W. H. B.

Both for the sake of exegesis and on account of the importance of Jewish semi-mythological modes of thought, it is needful to be clear as to the course of development of the meanings of Belial, and to form a probable con-

2. Meanings of word.

[1] Cp Deane, *Pseudepigr.* 22, 168, 249, and Bousset, *Der Antichrist*.

jecture as to the origin, or at least the nature, of the word. G. F. Moore (on Judg. 19 22) gives a better rendering of בְּנֵי בְלִיַּעַל than most commentators, viz., 'the scoundrels,' this rendering [illegible] the fact that בְּ suggests not merely worthlessness or ordinary viciousness, but gross wickedness. H. [illegible] discusses the different etymologies of Belial is extremely dubious, and cannot find in the Hebrew language any analogy for the word. Indeed the only compound word בְּלִימַת (Job 26 7) is in many, if not most, respects of בְּרִיקִים, 'utter vanity.' But Moore passes over Lagrange's acute suggestion (in *Revue biblique*, 1895, p. 47, cp *Religion Sémitique*, 1903, p. 130) that דְּבַר בְּלִיַּעַל in 1 S. 18 5 [6] (cp [illegible]) is an evident gloss (a popular one) on דְּבַר יָעַל, 'a thing up.' In *Expos.* (1905[a] [illegible]) the present writer sought to show that Belial (בְּלִיַּעַל) is found in the OT in three senses: (1) the subterranean watery abyss, (2) hopeless ruin, (3) great or extreme wickedness. The third meaning is common, the first and second are rare, found only in a few passages (see Ps. 18 4 [5] 2 S. 22 5 Ps. 116 [6] 101 3 [5 3], בְּלִיַּעַל, so read, deeds of defilement [6] Nah. 1 11 15 [2 1]), but should, if in the course of development is to count for anything, be more common, or equal than the third. It is only in Ps. 18 4 [5] that Belial is used to denote the boundary and [illegible] to the view that it is the primary meaning, [illegible] *Jud.* 19 22, Eze. [illegible] Sanhedrin' 56 7 [illegible] Hosea's [illegible] Asset has [illegible] Antiochus [illegible] § 13 [illegible] Belial is derived ultimately from the Babylonian myth, and we know that the myth [illegible] sphere the sea, though in some mythic developments he appears as a temporary inhabitant of heaven, from which [illegible] angels are [illegible] Rev. 12 [illegible]. It is, therefore, in perfect harmony with the old myth to suppose that Belial may have been originally an angel of the abyss, not of the firmament.

We now come to the origin of the word. It [illegible] seems to be a Hebrew modification [illegible] word.

3. Origin. Proposals as to suggested [illegible] logy, בְּלִי יָעַל, 'that [illegible] not up again' (cp *Nestlé Exp. Times*, the Assyr. equivalent of a Sumerian title of the [illegible] meaning 'the land without return,' Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 215, 222). This earlier word was most probably borrowed from the Babylonian mythology of the underworld. The original word, which was Hebraised just as *Nôaḥ*, 'deluge,' was Hebraised (see DILUVIUM, § 7) may very possibly have been Belili,[3] which is the name of a goddess of vegetation, and hence of the underworld, the [illegible] Du'uzu or TAMMUZ, from whom she differs in [illegible] ble to ascend at [illegible] to earth (see Descent of Is[illegible] 51 in Jeremias, *Babylonische Hölle*, 23, and cp Jens., *Kosmol.*, 225, 272, 275). There may have been a middle form between Belili (which appears to be Sumerian—*i.e.*, non-Semitic) and Bel[illegible] which has been lost; cp Nergal, § 2. The Canaanites and Israelites probably took the name (which three times [1 S. 25 25 2 S. 16 7 1 K. 21 1] has the article) as a synonym for the abyss of Sheol. Afterwards it seems to have become a symbol of insatiable and malignant destructiveness (cp קִיצוֹת), and hence the phrase 'sons (son, daughter) of Belial,' but the older meaning was not forgotten, as we see from Ps. 18 4 [5]. The objection of Baudissin (Herzog, [illegible] 'Belial'), that 'streams of the under-world' (Ps. 18 [illegible]) would be a unique phrase, is of no moment, for the whole context is in some important respects unique. It is not a flood from the sky that overwhelms the speaker; it is a flood from below—*i.e.*, the 'waters of death,' which [illegible]

[1] In [illegible] 4 [5] [illegible], בליעל, יצאל, and בית are parallel. בית is there 'House of the dead' (or its ruler), as 49 15 [16]; בליעל and יצאל should have the same meaning.

[2] *Op. cit.* [illegible] 100-101.

[3] Cheyne, *Expos. Times*, 1903, p. 473 [illegible]

a primitive element in Babylonian mythology (see CAINITES, § 6).

Hommel, while accepting this identification, proposes a modification of the theory. He thinks that the Assyrio-Babylonian phrase quoted above was simply translated בליעל by the Canaanites, from whom the name was borrowed again by the Babylonians as Belili (*Exp. Times*, 8 472). This is plausible; but we should like to know how far this theory would lead us.

In *Exp. Times*, 9 40 *ff.*, Baudissin returns to the subject. He still maintains the derivation of *Beliya'al* from בלי and יעל, and thinks that some of the occurrences of the word may possibly be due to editorial manipulation, and that the word (explained as 'worthlessness' or 'wickedness') does not look very ancient. He also quotes a communication of Jensen, which Cheyne in his answer regards as favourable rather than otherwise to the new theory, though Jensen himself expresses his agreement with Baudissin. See *Exp. Times*, ix., x., and also Che., *Psalms*,[2] on Ps. 18 4[5] (popular etymology from בלע, 'to swallow up.' ע, however, is intrusive, cp König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 1 402). § 1, W. H. B.; § 2 *f.*, T. K. C.

BELLOWS (כִּיר, properly 'instrument for blowing'; ΦΥCΗΤΗΡ), mentioned only in EV of Jer. 6 29 in connection with lead-smelting; see METALS, § 2.

In Egypt bellows were used as early as the time of Thotmes III. A leather bag was fitted into a frame from which extended a long pipe to the fire. Two bags were used, upon each of which the operator placed a foot, pressing them alternately, while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string that he held in his hand (Wilk. *Ant. Ex.* 2 312 *f.*). In one illustration Wilkinson notes that when the man left the bellows they were raised as if full of air, thus implying a knowledge of the valve. The earliest forerunner of the bellows seems to have been a mere reed or pipe, which was used by smiths in the age of Usertesen (2 234, illustration 421, fig. 3).

Whether hand-bellows were used by the Hebrews for domestic purposes is quite unknown; for a description of a primitive kind still used in Egypt see Wilkinson (ii. 313).

BELLS, in the modern sense of the word, though used as ornaments at the present day in Syria, do not seem to have been known to the ancient Hebrews. The words so rendered require examination.

1. פַּעֲמֹן *pa'mōn* (פ'=to strike), used of the golden ornaments which were alternately with POMEGRANATES [*q.v.*], were worn upon the lower part of the Ephod (Ex. 28 33 *f.* 39 25 *f.*, κώδωνες; cp also in the Heb. of Ecclus. 45 7*a* and 9*a*, and see Cowley and Neubauer *ad loc.*). Their purpose is related in Ex. 28 35.

2. מְצִלּוֹת, *mĕṣillōth* (cp מְצִלְתַּיִם, 'cymbals'), upon which were inscribed the words, 'Holy unto Yahwe,' were worn by the horses in Zechariah's prophecy (Zech. 14 20, AVmg. 'bridles'; so Ⓖ χαλινοί and Vg. *frenum*).

In both cases small discs or plates are meant, the מצלות being possibly similar to the צַהֲרֹנִים or crescents (see NECKLACE) of Judg. 8 26.

BELMEN (RV **Belmaim**) is mentioned, in connection with the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes, in Judith 4 4†. The readings are ΒΕΛΜΑΙΝ [A], ΒΑΙΛ. [B], ΑΒΕΛ. [ℵ]; Syr. ܐܒܠ ܡܫܐ (Abel-meholah); Vet. Lat. *Abelmaim*. Belmen would thus appear to be the same as the **Belmain** [EV] (ΒΕΛΒΑΙΜ [BA], ΑΒΕΛ. [ℵ], Syr. ܐܒܠ ܡܫܐ, Vg. *Belma*, Vet. Lat. *Abelme*) of Judith 7 3, which, obviously, is regarded as lying near Dothan, and therefore cannot be the Abel-maim of 2 Ch. 16 4, nor perhaps the BAAL-HAMON of Ct. 8 11. The place meant is probably Ibleam (modern *Bîr Bel'ameh*), a town of strategical importance. In Judith 8 3 this place is probably intended by BALAMO, RV BALAMON (βαλαμων [BℵA], Syr. ܒܠܥܡܘܢ), and if we might assume that the translator had a correct text and understood it rightly, we should be justified in restoring βαλαωμ for βελμαιν in 4 4. Certainly none of the readings in 4 4 can be accepted as reproducing the original name. T. K. C.

BELSHAZZAR, or as, following the Greek form, he

[1] Ⓖ, however, not inaptly, finds a reference to the 'bellows of the smith' in Job. 32 19, where אבות חדשים, 'new bottles,' is rendered φ. χαλκέως (reading חרשים).

is called in Baruch 1 11 *f.*, **Balthasar**, RV **Baltas** (בלטשאצר, or, less correctly, בלאשאצר; ΒΑΛΤΑCΑ [Ⓖ87 Theod.], which is also used as the equivalent בלטשאצר, Belteshazzar,[1] see DANIEL ii. §§ 2 13), was, according to the Book of Daniel, a son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The length of the reign of Belshazzar is not given; but we read in Dan. 8 1 of 'the third year' of his reign. In Dan. 5 30 *f.* [31 *f.*] it is stated that he was slain, and that on his death the empire passed into the hands of Darius the Mede. All references to Belshazzar in other authors, including that in the apocryphal Book of Baruch (1 11 *f.*), appear to have been suggested by the passages in Daniel; and, since it is now recognised that the Book of Daniel was composed in the second century B.C., the narrative is open to question.

Till quite lately it was the fashion to follow Jos. (*Ant.* x. 11 2) in identifying the Belshazzar of Daniel with the last Babylonian king, Ναβόανδηλος, whom Jos. elsewhere calls Ναβόννηδος (in a citation from Bērōssus; see *c. Ap.* 1 20); in Herod. 1 77 188 this king appears as Λαβύνητος, and in Abȳdēnus (quoted by Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 9 41) as Ναβαννίδοχος. Against the identification of Belshazzar with Nabonnēdus it was urged that the latter, according to Bērōssus, was not even a relation of Nebuchadrezzar, but 'a certain Babylonian' who usurped the throne in consequence of a revolution; nor was Nabonnēdus slain, like the Belshazzar of Daniel, on the overthrow of the Babylonian empire, but is stated to have been sent to the province of Carmania (the modern Kirmān). These objections were so serious that a few writers, in their anxiety to defend the narrative of Daniel, identified Belshazzar with Evil-merodach (2 K. 25 27).

The discovery of the Babylonian inscriptions has refuted both of the above-mentioned theories, and has at the same time confirmed the opinion that the narrative in Daniel is unhistorical. An unhistorical narrative, however, is not necessarily a pure fiction, and in this case it appears probable that the author of Daniel made use of a traditional story. It is now known that Nabonnēdus, the Nabū-nā'id of the inscriptions, who reigned from 555 to 538 B.C., had a son called Bēl-šar-uṣur (*i.e.*, 'Bēl, preserve thou the king'), a name of which Belshazzar is evidently a corruption. In a celebrated inscription Nabū-nā'id offers up a prayer in behalf of 'Bēl-šar-uṣur, the exalted (or, my first-born) son, the sprout of my body (*lit.* heart)'; see Schr. *COT* 2 131, and also *KB* 3*b* 96 *f.* Moreover, in certain contract-tablets, dating from the first, third, fifth, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth years of Nabū-nā'id, Bēl-šar-uṣur, the son of the king, is expressly named. Several other tablets of the same reign speak of a 'son of the king'; but whether in all these cases Bēl-šar-uṣur is meant cannot be determined, since Nabū-nā'id appears to have had at least one other son.[2] It is, however, generally believed that Bēl-šar-uṣur must be identical with the prince mentioned in an inscription of Cyrus, which informs us that in the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of the reign of Nabū-nā'id, 'the son of the king' was at the head of the army in Akkad—*i.e.*, Northern Babylonia. Unfortunately, this very important inscription is mutilated, so that we learn nothing of the years twelve to fifteen of Nabū-nā'id, and in the account of the sixteenth year only a few words are legible. Of the seventeenth and last year of Nabū-nā'id there is a long account; but it would seem very doubtful whether 'the son of the king' is mentioned

[1] [βαρτασαρ Ⓖ Th. (Aa? mg.) in Dan. 1 7 and in ⓖA Dan. 2 26 4 5 6 16 thrice 5 1 8 1.]

[2] Darius Hystaspis tells us in one of his inscriptions (Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilins.*[2] 10 *f.* [81]) that early in his reign a rebellion was raised at Babylon by an impostor who pretended to be 'Nabukudraçara, son of Nabunita' (*i.e.*, Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabū-nā'id). This proves, at least, that at the time in question Nabū-nā'id was believed to have had a son named Nebuchadrezzar. See Che., *Jew. Rel. Life*, Lect. i.

again.[1] In any case, it is implied that Nabū-nā'id, not Bēl-šar-uṣur, was at this time commander of the army in Akkad (see *TSB.I* 7 139-176, *KB* 3 *b* 128-137, and O. E. Hagen, 'Keilschrifturkunden zur Gesch. des Königs Cyrus' in the *Beiträge* [illegible] and Haupt] 2 214-225 [94]). We possess, moreover, another inscription of Cyrus, describing the conquest of Babylonia at considerable length and expressly mentioning King Nabūna'id, but without any [illegible] to a 'son of the king' (see *JRAS*, new series, 12 7 [illegible], *KB* 3 *b* 120-127, and *Beiträge* [illegible]). Hence there is nothing to prove that Bēl-šar-uṣur played any important part at the close of his father's reign, and it is even possible that he may have died some years earlier.

Thus it will be seen that, apart from the similarity of name, the historical prince Bēl-šar-uṣur bears but a very slight resemblance to the Belshazzar of Daniel. The one is the son of the usurper Nabūna'id; the other is the son of Nebuchadrezzar. The one is, at the most, heir to the throne; the other is actually king, for documents are dated from the year of his accession (Dan. 7 1 8 1). Moreover, if the ordinary rendering of Dan. 5 7 16 29 be correct, Belshazzar is represented as sole king, for a man who can of his own authority make any one he pleases 'third ruler in the kingdom' must clearly be supreme in the state. Since, however, the word translated 'third ruler' occurs nowhere else, and is of very doubtful meaning, it would be unsafe to press this argument.

[1] In order to prove that Bēl-šar-uṣur reigned conjointly with his father, it has sometimes been asserted that king Marduk-šar-uṣur, who is mentioned on certain Babylonian tablets, must be identical with Bēl-šar-uṣur; but Assyriologists now admit that king Marduk-šar-uṣur reigned *before* Nabūna'id, and identify him with Nergal-šar-uṣur (559-555 B.C.; see *TSB.I* 6 108, and Tiele's *BAG* 476 n. [1886-88]). It has likewise been urged that, though Bēl-šar-uṣur was not a son of Nebuchadrezzar, he may have been a grandson of Nebuchadrezzar through his mother; but the theory that Nabūna'id married a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar rests upon no evidence whatever.

It remains, therefore, altogether uncertain how the story in Daniel really originated; but, besides the similarity of the names Belshazzar and Bēl-šar-uṣur, there is at least one reason for thinking that King Belshazzar was not invented by the author. Herodotus, as has been mentioned, calls the last Babylonian king Labynētus, representing him as the son of an earlier Labynētus, the famous Nebuchadrezzar. Further, in a Chaldæan legend related by Abydēnus, the last king of Babylon seems to have figured as a son of Nebuchadrezzar (see Schr. 'Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebuchadnezar's,' in the *JPT*, 1881, pp. 618-629). The date of the historian Abydēnus is indeed doubtful; but he can hardly have borrowed either directly or indirectly from the Book of Daniel, so that the agreement of these three accounts in wrongly describing the last Babylonian king as a son of Nebuchadrezzar must be due to their having followed some popular tradition. See also ASHPENAZ, SHAREZER.

A. A. B.

BELT (מָזִיחַ) Job 12 21† RV, AV 'strength.' See GIRDLE, 3.

BELTESHAZZAR (בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר). See DANIEL, ii. § 13.

BELTIS (Is. 10 4 corr. text). See GEBAL.

BEN (בֵּן, § 64), a Levite, enumerated between Zechariah and Jaaziel (1 Ch. 15 18†). Ⓖ[L] renders 'Ζαχ. υἱὸς Ιεηλ'; but Ⓖ[BNA], no doubt rightly, omits. The name is wanting in the parallel list in 1 Ch. 15 20. Cp JAAZIEL.

[1] The passage which Schrader in [illegible] translated 'the wife of the king had died' is supposed by [illegible] to mean 'the [illegible] the king died' (see Smith's *DHG*[2], 180; article 'Belshazzar'), while Hagen renders 'he [*i.e.*, Gubaru] slew the son of the king' (he is careful, however, to indicate that the word [illegible] is [illegible]). It is therefore obvious that no argument can be built upon the clause in question.

BEN-ABINADAB (בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב), 'son of A' nadab,' so AV, the name of one of Solomon's prefects, 1 K. 4 11 RV, AV[mg] (ΥΙΟΥ ΑΒΙΝΑΔΑΒ [A], ΧΙΝΑΝΑΔ. [B]). Ⓖ[L] is corrupt, but perhaps ΧΕΙΝ ΑΝΑΔΑΝ represents the name [Swete ad loc.: ΧΕΙΝ ΑΝΑ ΔΑΝ]; see SOLOMON. Klostermann, however, suggests אבינר. Abner; [illegible] the easily conjectured [illegible] in אבינדב in [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] to [illegible] 'Naphath-dor,' or 'all the height of Dor' (LXX), words which define the extent of the prefecture.

BENAIAH (בְּנָיָהוּ in Nos. 1-3, 6-11; בְּנָיָה in Nos. 4, 5; בְּנָיָה and בְּנָיָהוּ in Nos. 12-3, 6-11; 'Yah hath built up,' § 31 [cc BANI]; BANAIA[c] [BAL], BANEAC, BENIAC [N] 20 1 Ch. 16 5).

1. (בְּנָיָהוּ; but in 2 S. 20 23 1 Ch. 11 [illegible] בְּנָיָה), a 'valiant man' (see ISH-HAI, THE SON OF [illegible]), on David's roll of honour, to 'the three.' He was a Jehoiadite of KABZEEL, and commanded the second CHERETHITES and PELETHITES (2 S. 8 18 βαναι [B], βαναγαιας [A], 20 23; 1 Ch. 18 17), and David set him over his bodyguard (משמעת 2 S. 23 23). He gave valuable support to Solomon against ADONIJAH, and after executing the sentence of death on Joab, was appointed to the vacant post of general (1 K. 1 [illegible] 2 4 om. Ⓖ 35 βαναιου [BA] 44 [om. Ⓖ]). Three (or at any rate two) special exploits were assigned to him in popular tradition (2 S. 23 20 *f.* = 1 Ch. 11 [illegible] βαναια B[c]). On the first two see ARIEL, 1; a correction of the text is indispensable. The other feat consists in his slaying a 'Misrite' (2 S. 23 21) *i.e.*, a man of Mûsr or Mûṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2). This hero is twice mentioned in a list of no value in 1 Ch. 27 (5 *f.* 34). Each time there is an inaccuracy. In *v.* 5 (RV) Benaiah's father is described (by an obvious confusion of names) as 'the priest'; in *v.* 34 'Jehoiada son of Benaiah takes the place of 'Benaiah son of Jehoiada.' Cp JEHOIADA, 2, and see DAVID, § 11 (*c*) i.

2. One of David's thirty, a Pirathonite; 2 S. 23 30 (בניהו; Ⓖ corruptly τον Εφραθαιον [B], om. AL); 1 Ch. 11 31 27 14 (בניה). See PIRATHON.

3. A Simeonite chief (1 Ch. 4 36 [om. Ⓖ[B]]).

4. A Levite singer of the second grade, one of those who played with psalteries set to ALAMOTH (*q.v.*), 1 Ch. 15 18 20 24 (βαναι [BNALb] 16 5.

5. An overseer in the temple in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 13).

6. An ancestor of JAHAZIEL [4]; 2 Ch. 20 14 (om. Ⓖ[B]).

7-10. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), viz.—7. One of the b'ne PAROSH (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 25 (μαναια [κ]) 1 Esd. 9 26, BAANIAS, RV BANNEAS (βαιναιας [BA]). 8. One of the b'ne PAHATH-MOAB (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 30; in 1 Esd. 9 31 perhaps NAIDUS (ναιδος [B], ναει. [A], βαναιας, and μαδειας [L]). 9. One of the b'ne BANI, Ezra 10 35, in 1 Esd. 9 34 MAMDAI, RV MAMDAI (μαμδαι [B], μανδαι [A], βαναια [L]). 10. One of the b'ne NEBO (*q.v.*, iv.) (βαναι [L]). Ezra 10 43 = 1 Esd. 9 35 BANAIAS (βαναι [L]).

11. Father of PELATIAH (*q.v.*, 4), Ez. 11 1 (בניהו), *v.* 13 (בניה, ὁ τοῦ βαναιου).

BENAMMI (בֶּן־עַמִּי), Gen. 19 38. See AMMON, § 1.

BENCH (כִּרְלֹ), Ez. 27 6† AV. See SHIP.

BEN-DEKAR, RV **Ben-deker** (בֶּן־דֶּקֶר); one of Solomon's prefects, in charge of NW. Judah (1 K. 4 9, ΥΙΟΣ ΡΗΧΑΣ [B], . . . -ΧΑΒ [L], Υ. ΔΑΚΑΡ [A]). The name is improbable; nor is Ⓖ's Ben-Rechab any more probable. It is reasonable to hold that, as in other cases, the father of this prefect was an influential officer of the crown. The prefect's real name has certainly dropped out. Klostermann suggests that we may restore thus: 'Elihoreph, son of Shisha the secretary' (*v.* 3). Ben-dekar is not impossibly a corruption of Beneberak (*v.* 9). The locality suits.

BENE-BERAK (בְּנֵי־בְרַק), a Danite city, the modern *Ibn Ibrāk*, about an hour SE. from Joppa (Josh. 15 45: BANAIBAKAT [B], BANHBAPAK [AL]).

[1] In the list given at the end of chap. ii. by Ⓖ[L] he is [illegible] as επι της αυλαρχιας και επι του πλιτθειου, *i.e.*, דקלכן of 2 S. 12 31, for which, however, Ⓖ[L] has μαδεββα.

bane et barach [Vg.]; בנבקבר[1]). It appears in Ass. (upon an inscription of Sennacherib) as *kanaibarka* (cp *KAT*[3] 172). Jerome mentions a village *Bareca*, which was situated near Azotus. The name (properly a clan name) may be paraphrased, 'Sons of the storm god Rammān or Rimmon' (who was sometimes called Rammān-barka; see BARAK), and is thus of interest as a survival of the old Canaanitish religion.

BENE JAAKAN (בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן), Nu. 33 31 *f.* † See BEEROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN.

BEN-GEBER (בֶּן־גֵּבֶר), 1 K. 4 13 AV[mg.] RV, AV GEBER, 1.

BEN-HADAD (בֶּן הֲדַד, §§ 43, 46; ΥΙΟϹ ΑΔΕΡ [BAL.] Υ. ΑΛΕΡ [A] in 2 K. 13 24; ΑΔΑΔ [A] in 2 K. 13 25; בר־הדד), or rather Bir-'idri; ⊕ is at least a witness to the letter R at the end of the name.

1. Name. The divine name Bir was confounded by a Hebrew scribe with the Aramaic *bar*, 'son,' and translated into Hebrew as Ben (= ⊕ υἱός), and DR was miswritten DD; hence arose the wrong form Ben-hadad. The name in Assyrian is (*ilu*) IM-'idri, where the ideograph IM is most naturally read Rammān (the Assyrian thunder god; cp EN-RIMMON), but may of course be read (and probably was read also) Bir or Bar (cp the name Bir-dadda, and see BEDAD). The meaning is 'Bir is my glory.' See Wi. *ATU*[2] 69 *ff.*, who contrasts Schr. and Del.; but cp Sehl. *KAT*[3] 200, Del. *Calwer Bib. Lex.*[2] 97, and Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 70 *f.*

The name Ben-hadad is used as a general name for the kings of Damascus in Jer. 49 27; but as this passage occurs in a very late oracle, made up of borrowed phrases, the use is of no historical significance. In fact, Amos, from whom the author of Jer. *l.c.* borrows the phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad,' means most probably by Benhadad (Am. 1 4) the first king of Damascus who bore that name; he speaks, in the parallel line, of 'the house of Hazael.' Hazael was certainly a historical person; he was the successor of Benhadad I. (others say Benhadad II.). Consequently, Benhadad in Amos's phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad' cannot be a merely typical name, as in the post-exilic passage, Jer. 49 27. There are two (some, however, say three) Benhadads in the Books of Kings, just as there are (really) two Hazaels (see HAZAEL).

2. Benhadad I.

1. BEN-HADAD I., son of Tab-rimmon, was the ally of ASA (*q.v.*, 1), king of Judah, against Baasha, king of Israel (1 K. 15 18 *ff.*). He was an energetic king, and constantly involved in warfare, not only with Ahab of Israel, whom he appears to have besieged in Samaria (2 K. 6 *f.*), but also with Shalmaneser II. of Assyria. In 854, at the head of a Syro-Palestinian league which included Israel, he opposed Shalmaneser, not without success. For, though Shalmaneser claims to have been victorious at Karkar (near Hamath), he certainly had to return to Assyria to prepare for a more decisive campaign. Again in 849 and in 848 Shalmaneser, though nominally victorious, had to return. Convinced that he had no ordinary opponent, the Assyrian king entered on his next campaign with a much larger force than before. Bir-'idri, however, had taken his precautions, and again it was only an indecisive victory that was gained by Shalmaneser. On the relations between Benhadad and Ahab, in which there was apparently a change for the advantage of Israel, see AHAB, § 4 *ff.* Benhadad is sometimes referred to, not by name, but as 'the king of Syria'; see 1 K. 22 2 K. 5 6 3 *ff.* Some unnecessary trouble has been produced (1) by the supposition that the period between 'Benhadad's' assistance to Asa and 'Benhadad's' death (which

[1] Pesh. seems to point to the reading בעל־ברק, 'the lightning Baal.'

[2] Cp the obscure name Rammān-...

occurred between 846 and 842) was too long to be assigned to a single king of Damascus, and (2) by the reading of the name of the opponent of Shalmaneser I. as Dad-'idri, which, again, is supposed to be equivalent to Hadad-ezer. On the first point it is enough to remark (after Wi.) that Tab-rimmon may (Rezon and Hezion not being identical) have been for a long time contemporary of Baasha and Asa, so that only about forty years may have elapsed between Benhadad's war with Baasha and his death. On the second point, it may be doubted whether the reading Dad-'idri is tenable;[1] the equation IM = Rammān (or Bir) appears to have been made out (see above); and even were it otherwise, it could hardly be held that *'idri* is 'the Aramaic form of *ezer*' in הדדעזר (Sayce, *Cret. and Mor.* 316), for an *y* would have made the alteration of *'idri* into הדר impossible. *'Idru* (*'idira*), whence *'idri* ('my . . .'), seems in fact to be derived from *'adara*, 'to be wide, grand' (אדר; cp Heb. הדר). On the narrative of the death of Benhadad (2 K. 8 7-15), see HAZAEL.

2. BENHADAD II. By this king is here meant, not the contemporary of AHAB (often wrongly so designated), but the son of Hazael (possibly the grandson of Benhadad I.). The oppression of Israel, begun by Hazael, was continued by his Ben-hadad (2 K. 13 3). But was his name really Ben-hadad?

3. Benhadad II. (probably = Mari').

Rammān-nirari III. (see ASSYRIA, § 32) mentions a king of Damascus named Mari', whom he besieged in his capital, and compelled to pay tribute. This event must have occurred between 806 or 805 and 803. Now Benhadad II. is represented as a contemporary of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, who probably reigned (see CHRONOLOGY, § 34) from 814-708. It is difficult to suppose that another king named Mari' came between Hazael and Benhadad. More probably Mari', and not Benhadad, is the right name of the son of Hazael. This king may have sought to compensate himself for the blow inflicted by Assyria, by exercising mastery over Israel. (For a different view of the Syrian wars see DAMASCUS, § 7.)

T. K. C.

BEN-HAIL (בֶּן־חַיִל, 'son [man] of might'), one of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 Ch. 17 7). The name, however, is suspicious. Bertheau quotes Ben-hesed ('son of lovingkindness'), 1 K. 4 10 (MT); but the reading there is doubtful (see BEN-HESED, § 3). ⊕[BAL.] and Pesh. read בְּנֵי for בֶּן (τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν δυνατῶν; but ⊕[L] adds τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ); cp Gray, *HPN* 65 n. 2. If the story of Jehoshaphat's commission is only 'ideal,' we may surmise that the name Ben-hail is equally unhistorical.

BEN-HANAN (בֶּן־חָנָן—*i.e.* 'son of a gracious one'—a patronymic; ΥΙΟϹ ΦΑΝΑ [B], Υ. ΑΝΑΝ [A], -ΝΝ. [L]), a son of SHIMON (*q.v.*), a Judahite (1 Ch. 4 20).

BEN-HESED (בֶּן־חֶסֶד, 'son of kindness'; an impossible name, see below), the third in the list of Solomon's prefects (1 K. 4 10, AV 'son of Hesed'; ΥΙΟϹ ΕϹΩΘ [B], . . . ΕϹΔ [A], ΜΑϹΕΙ ΥΙΟϹ ΕϹΩ[ΒΗΡ] [L]).

His prefecture included, at any rate, Socoh; but which of the different Socohs? If we look at the sphere of the prefect whose name precedes his in the list, we shall think of one of the two southern Socohs mentioned in Joshua, either that in the mountains near Hebron, or that in the Shĕphēlah, SW. of Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, we consider the sphere of the two prefects whose names follow his, a northern Socoh, which is possibly referred to in early Egyptian name-lists (see

1. Prefect of Hebron?

[1] Del. (*Calwer Bib. Lex.*[2] 97) conjectures, as the original form of the name of Benhadad II., Bin-Addu-'idri, which he interprets 'the son of Addu (= Rammān) . . .' Pinches has, in fact, found the names Bin (?)-Addu-natan and Bin (?)-Addu-amar, which occur on tablets of King Nabūna'id. See, however, Wi. *ATU*[2] *nters.* 69, n. 1.

SOCOH, 2), will be more suitable. The decision must be in favour of one of the two southern places of the name, because otherwise the land of Judah will have had no prefect. Which of the two is the right one? Perhaps the fact that in the adjacent growing country of the Shephelah it is [illegible] that it had to supply provisions for the [illegible]. The whole land of Hepher' also fell to his lot [illegible] of this name in the N. (HEPHER [illegible] Gt Hepher, Hapharaim). But if this [illegible] one, we must expect the land of Hepher to be some large district (this, indeed, [illegible] by 'the whole land'). In 1 Ch. [illegible] we read of a Heber (חבר), who was the father of Socoh. Finally this Heber is closely connected with Hebron (the [illegible] ב and פ are easily confounded [illegible]); we should, therefore, probably read בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ חֶבֶר, 'the whole land of Heber,' or, better, 'of Hebron' חֶבְרוֹן.

2. His place of residence is in MT called Arubboth. Arāb in Josh. 15 52 (see Klo.) does not help us. ⊕ᴬ ἀραβωθ cut the knot by reading עַרְבוֹת for אַרְבוֹת. Analogous phenomena elsewhere suggest that בית should be בּ, and that it has been misplaced. ביתאר (cp βαιωρ in v. 8 [BL], perhaps for 'Beth horon') could, of course, be only a mutilated form of [illegible]. To read 'Bethlehem' would be much too bold, and Bet-togabra (mod. *Bēt Jibrīn*) would not suit, since the name is too late, and (as Buhl points out, *Pal.* 192) the description of the battle of Mareshah in 2 Ch. 14 7 is opposed to the assumption that there was a town on the site of Bet-togabra in early times. It is quite possible, however, that the neighbouring town of Mareshah had a second name, namely Beth-gibborim, but perhaps Beth-horim, 'place of caves'[1] that has been corrupted into Arubboth. בית־חרים may have been partly mutilated and partly corrupted in the record into ביתאר, whence ארבות especially if חרים was written with the mark of abbreviation (חר or חר). The conjecture is geographically plausible. At the present day Bēt Jibrīn is rightly described as 'the capital of the Shephelah';[2] this is set forth more fully elsewhere (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS). Suffice it to remark here that if Bet-jibrin became the 'centre of the district' after the fall of Mareshah, the earlier city cannot have been less important in the time of Solomon. If Taanach and Megiddo are mentioned in the record of the prefectures, surely Mareshah, under this or some other name, must have been mentioned too. Now, Bēt-Jibrīn is only 20 min. N. of Mer'ash (Mareshah).

2. Residence at Mareshah?

We have spoken of Beth-horim as possibly an early name of Mareshah. This designation would harmonise excellently with the natural features of the neighbourhood of Mareshah and Bet-togabra. The excavation of the caverns which now fill the district must have begun in ancient times. The Christian and Islamic marks and inscriptions which are sometimes found do not oppose this obvious supposition. See ELEUTHEROPOLIS, § 2.

We now turn to consider Ben-hesed's real name. Klostermann has made it probable that the first two prefects were described as sons of Zadok, the priest, and Shisha (Shavsha), the secretary, respectively (cp *v.* 2 *f.*). It is very possible that בן־חסד should be read בֶּן־הַסֵּפֶר, 'son of the secretary,' and that the prefect was in fact the Ahijah mentioned in *v.* 3. This is slightly favoured by ⊕ᴸ's (μαχει, but really rests on internal probability (cp BIDKAR). The misreading בֶּן־הַסֵּפֶר is touching, as a

3. Real name Ahijah?

[1] Beth-horim, 'place of caves,' would naturally come to be explained 'place of the Horites' (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS, § 2); the Horites were no doubt regarded as giants (gibbōr = γίγας ⊕), like the Anakim. Hebron is called in Targ. Jon. Gen. [illegible] 'the city of the giants.'

[2] GASm. *HG* 231.

monument of the sufferings of the later Jews under a גוי לא־חָסִיד, 'an unkindly (cruel) people' Ps. 43 1.

T. K. C.

BEN HINNOM (בְּנֵי הִנֹּם), Josh. 15 8 18 16, 2 K. 23 10, 'son of HINNOM' (*q.v.*).

BEN HUR, 'son of HUR' [*q.v.*] (בֶּן־חוּר, 'son of Hur'; ⊕ᴮ βαιωρ [⊕ᴬ], BEN YIOC ωρ [A], ΟΥΡΙΟ [L]), one of Solomon's prefects (1 K. 4 8, see SOLOMON). The prefect's own name is omitted; probably this fact is due to the very defective tradition of the lists, for there is no doubt that most of the prefects were the sons of famous men. The name of the district is wanting. Yet the hill-country of Ephraim was not deficient in places of importance. Consequently either Hur or Ben-hur must be incorrect. Either 'Hur' stands in the place of one of David's and Solomon's heroes, or Ben-hur is a corruption of the name of the prefect's city. ⊕ᴬ's rendering may seem to protect Ben. But nowhere else in ⊕ᴬ's version of this section is υἱὸς given instead of υἱός (υἱός is of course an interpolation), if the בן represented by ⊕ᴬ is correct, we must suppose that it is a mutilated form of בכר; perhaps בן has כר in [illegible] בכר. In this case, Azariah, son of Zadok the priest (v. 2), will be the prefect's name, and his city will be [illegible] Beth-horon. Azariah, therefore, stands first in both lists, which is intrinsically probable. If, however, we follow the βαιωρ of ⊕ᴮ, the prefect's city-name has come down to us; βαιωρ may [illegible] Bethhoron. [illegible] have come from [illegible] Hebrew, from Bethhoron. So, in the m[illegible] K[illegible] remain.

T. K. C.

BENINU (בְּנִינוּ, § 79 (3), 'our son'?; BENIAMEIN [BN], BANOYAIAI [A], -OYIA [L]), Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 14 [14].

BENJAMIN (בִּנְיָמִין often; but בֶּן יָמִין [*viz.* see Ba. note] 1 S. 9 1 Kt.; NAMES, §§ 48, 73; BENIAM[C]IN or BAIN, [BAL.]

The gentile is **Benjamite**, בִּנְיָמִינִי [illegible] [Judg. 3 15], also יְמִינִי [illegible] 1 S. [illegible] also in 1 S. [illegible] ⊕; MI [illegible]; [illegible] Judg. [illegible] 1 S. 22 7]; ειμ[μ]ειδιδιος, [illegible] [illegible]; in 1 S. 22 7 ειμειτης [A]; in 1 S. [illegible] ⊕ᴬ, ταβιν; in 2 S. 20 1 ⊕ᴬ has αραχει; in [illegible] ⊕; [illegible]; in Ne. 12 34 ⊕ᴬ μιαμειν; in Zech. 14 14 ⊕ᴮ ειαμειν.

Though popularly explained as meaning the propitious or sturdy tribe[1] 'the son of my right hand'[2] Benjamin was probably at first a geographical name for the people of the southern portion of the highland district called Ephraim (cp the expression ארץ ימיני in the old narrative 1 S. 9-10 16), just as a district of Gilead (Gad) seems to have been called Sāfōn, 'North' (see ZEPHON; cp also Teman, Temeni, *Yemen*, and on the other hand *esh-Shaam*).

1. Name.

It is not impossible indeed that this district was already known to the Canaanites as 'the South'; but there is nothing to suggest that it was. Indeed, it is a good deal more probable that the name means 'south of Joseph,' the Hebrews who settled in the highlands of Ephraim being known as 'the house' or 'sons' of Joseph,' a designation which retained this general sense till quite a late date. The question is rather whether Benjamin, at first a distinct tribe, afterwards became the southern part of Joseph (*e.g.*, by the energy and success of Saul; as Winckler supposes), or whether it was not rather the southern part of Joseph that, under the influence of forces immediately to be described,

[1] Another interpretation was probably 'son of days' (*i.e.*, of old age' (so in Test. xii. Patr. Ben. 1 1; cp Gen. 44 20 'child of his old age,' יֶלֶד זְקֻנִים).

[2] In the uncertainty how the present text of Judg. 20 16 arose (cp Moore, *ad loc.*), there is perhaps hardly sufficient ground for connecting with this etymology the story of the 700 left-handed warriors. Cp, however, also EHUD, and the story of the Benjamite deserters to David, who could use the bow and the sling with either hand (1 Ch. 12 2).

came gradually to be distinguished from the rest of the highlanders of Ephraim by the special name of Benjamites, 'men of the south,' the S. part, as being the smaller (cp 1 S. 9 21), receiving the distinguishing cp the t.

It is not difficult to conjecture how this would naturally come about. The plateau of Benjamin, if it is, as we have seen, historically connected with

2. Land. Joseph, is hardly divided physically from Judah. Indeed, although no mean country (στενώτατος δὲ ὁ κλῆρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετήν: Jos. *Ant* i. 5 22), it differs materially in its physical features from the northern part of Ephraim, being sterner and less fruitful—in fact, more Judean. Moreover, valleys, running down to the Jordan (Suwênit, Kelt) and to the sea (Merj ibn 'Omer), exposed it to attack from the E. (Moab) and from the W. (Philistines), while a line of strong Canaanite fortress-cities (Gibeon, etc.) constituted an additional source of danger to its highland peasants. That these southerners had a certain traditional fierceness[1] (Blessing of Jacob)[2] was, accordingly, only a natural result of their position and history. We cannot be surprised, then, that they won the right to a special name and place.

It is thus hardly necessary to assume, with Stade (*ZATW* 1 148 ['81]), some specific attempt or series of attempts to overcome by force the Canaanites of the cities (Jericho, Ai), perhaps under the leadership of the clan of Joshua, in order to account for the origin of a separate tribe: the general situation might be sufficient.

Mixture of race may, however, have helped to differentiate the tribe, altho gh at least the Canaanite

3. Population. elements took a very long time to become thoroughly amalgamated, as we see from the story of Gibeon (Josh. 9; St. *GVI* 161), and still more from the hints about BEEROTH (*q.v.*, i.),[3] which appears to have retained its distinctively Canaanite population at least till the time of Saul: indeed, even the radical policy of the latter seems to have been only p rtly successful (see ISHBAAL, 1). If the name CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI (*q.v.*) indicates the presence of immigrants from across the Jordan we must look for the explanation to much later times (Josh. 18 24 P). The position of Benjamin on the marches of Joseph, however, doubtless provided opportunities for mixture also with other tribes.

Benjamin is, *e.g.*, explicitly brought by E (Gen. 35 18) into connection with a tribe called BENONI (*q.v.*), while the first appearance of one or both of them is connected in some way (at least etymologically) with the disappearance of RACHEL (*q.v.*). If Simeon really temporarily settled in this neighbourhood before making his way south (cp ISRAEL, § 7), it is at least worthy of note that in a Simeonite list we find a clan name, JAMIN 2 (1 Ch. 4 24), and a place name Bilhah (*v.* 29; see BAALAH, 2). Nor is it impossible to find suggestions of some connection with REUBEN: a famous landmark on the borders of Benjamin is connected with his name (though the genuineness of the text is perhaps not beyond question),[4] as is also BILHAH (*q.v.*), the handmaid of Rachel. In Bilhan, on the other hand, to which the Chronicler in his first genealogy assigns a prominent place (1 Ch. 7 10), we cannot safely see the remains of a Bilhah clan (see BILHAH), for the name may have been taken from the Horite genealogy, as Jeush was taken from the Edomite (below, § 9 ii. a). Historical probability is certainly in favour of the idea that, after Dan failed to establish himself, Benjamin eventually spread westwards—although some of the apparent actual traces of this are not to be trusted (see HUSHIM, Gen. 46 23 [Danite; see, however, DAN, § 8] compared with 1 Ch. 8 11 [Benjamite]; AJALON [1], Josh. 19 42 [Danite] compared with Judg. 1 35 [house of Joseph] 1 Ch. 8 13 [Benjamite; see BERIAH, 3]). The confused connection with Manasseh, however, that seems to

[1] The historical figures belonging to the tribe, too, have a certain passionate vehemence (Saul, et c.).

[2] For a suggestion of a possible original connection between the metaphor employed in the Blessing and the constellation Lupus right opposite Taurus (= Joseph), see Zimmern's art. 'Der Jakobssegen u. der Tierkreis,' *ZA* 3 168 ['92].

[3] A late editor may be following trustworthy tradition when he adds CHEPHIRAH in his list (with which cp Ezr 2 25 = Neh. 7 25 29 1 Esd. 5 17 19).

[4] 'Son (בן) of Reuben' may be a corruption of 'stone (אבן) of Reuben,' which may be not an alternative name of the stone, but an alternative reading for BOHAN (*q.v.*).

result from the present text of 1 Ch. 7 15 compared with *v.* is perhaps due merely to corruption of the text. (Shupham a Hupham may have had no place in the original system of t Benjamite list, 1 Ch. 7 6-11, and being perhaps supplied on t margin [see below, § 9 ii. a] may, by some confusion, have m their way into the text also in Manasseh, *v.* 15 [cp He, *ad*. What connection with Moab is intended in 1 Ch. 8 8 the pr condition of the text makes it impossible to divine (the clau may be a gloss; see below, § 9 ii. b). Cp PAHATH-MO Nor perhaps can we venture to interpret historically the sugge tion of the Chronicler with regard to a later transference of cla from Benjamin back to Ephraim (see BERIAH, 2, 3). C names common to Benjamin and other tribes are not rare.

The memory of the derivative or at least secondar character of Benjamin still lived in the earlier days o

4. Age. the monarchy, as we see from 2 S. 19 20 [2 (cp also 20 1 with 20 21) and (apparently) from Judg. 1 22,[1] and seems to be reflected in the patriarcha story (JE) which tells how, last of all, Benjamin wa born in Canaan.[2] That the differentiation of Benjamin was relatively ancient, however, we should be prepare to believe from the fact of the other branches of Josep being called not brothers but sons.[3] The reference i the Song of Deborah is too obscure (not to speak of it perplexing connection in some way with Hos. 5 8) to b of much use as positive evidence; while the story of Ehud, if it is perhaps hardly necessary, with Winckler (*Gesch.* 1 138), to regard the single explicit reference to Benjamin as an interpolation (see below, § 5), may perhaps reflect the conditions of an age when no very clear line was drawn between Benjamin and the rest of Joseph (Judg. 3 27)—the men of the south and the men of the more northern highlands. At all events by the time of David Benjamin was, owing to the energy of Saul, a distinct political element to be reckoned with, although we must not forget that, *e.g.*, in the story of the first appearance of Jeroboam, the 'house of Joseph' is an administrative unit (1 K. 11 28).[4]

The peculiar condition of the legends relating to this tribe provokes an attempt to explain it. This

5. Legends. must take account of two inconsistent tendencies—a tendency in favour of the tribe (Judg. 3 15 1 S. 4 12 1 K. 3 4 9 2), and a tendency against it (Judg. 19-21). When we bear in mind the central position of the tribe, and the abundance and importance of sanctuaries within and near its bounds (see below, § 6), it cannot surprise us that there were many traditions of incidents in which the tribe played a part. It is, however, remarkable that some of them have no special reference to sanctuaries.

We can hardly suppose this due to contending politic l interests (those of Ephraim and Judah) leading to a sort of diplomatic flattery of the boundary tribe with a view to secuing its adhesion—just as there evidently was rivalry of a less peaceable kind (*e.g.*, 1 K. 15 17 22). A. Bernstein, who worked out this view in great detail in his able, if unequal, essay *Ursprung der Sagen von Abraham, Isaak u. Jacob*, 1871 (se especially 61), does not take account of the stories unfavourable to Benjamin outside of Genesis; and it seems clear that Benjamin was naturally a part of the northern kingdom (1 K. 12 21 belongs to a much later date than *v.* 20). The late history of the tribe, especially after the fall of Samaria (see below § 7), would go a long way towards accounting not only for the preservation but also for the mixed character of much Benjamin tradition. If we wish any further explanation, it seems reasonable to seek it in a natural interest, friendly or otherwise, in the great tribal hero, the mysterious Saul and his house.

The interest in the tribe is undeniable.

Israel will run any risk rather than that of losing Benjamin (Gen. 42 38 *J*); the narrative delights in detailing the various signs of special affection on the part of 'Joseph,' and even Judah offers himself as surety for him (Gen. 43 9 *J*) or, according to E, Reuben the first-born offers his two sons (Gen. 42 37). On the other hand, all the tribes led by Joseph reprove and chastise Benjamin, but relent and find a substitute in Jabesh Gi

[1] St., however, supposes that the account of Benjamin has b n lost (*Gesch.* 1 138).

[2] P, however, ignores this (Gen. 35 2).

[3] Nöldeke (in a private communication) thinks that at an ear time Benjamin was a powerful tribe, and that the rise of the story of its late origin (as also Judg. 19-21) is to be accounted for simply as the result of the crippling of its power by David.

[4] It has been argued by St. from 1 K. 4 18 [19] that it did not include Benjamin (*ZATW* 1 115 n.); but could we argue from 4 8 that it did not include Ephraim?

(Judg. 19–21), a story that is strangely parallel to Joseph's securing Benjamin (falsely), the others interceding, and Joseph offering to become substitute (Gen. 44 ff.). What historical substratum may underlie this Gibeah story we have not the means of determining. Its late date and its untrustworthiness in its present form appear in its practically wiping out the tribe that was not so very long after able to give its first ruler to a united 'Israel' (see also below, § 7, end, on post-exilic interest in Benjamin).

6. Religious position.

Benjamin was in a sense at the centre of the religious life of the land. What the religious history of ANATHOTH (q.v., 1) may have been we can only guess; but there were sacred massebas and trees that bore the names of DEBORAH (Gen. 35 8 Judg. 4 5) and RACHEL (Gen. 35 16 20 Jer. 31 15),[1] and Ramah, Geba, Gibeah, Mizpeh, Gibeon, Gilgal,[2] not only were Canaanitish sanctuaries but also continued to be of unmistakable importance in Israel; indeed, Geba, which (or perhaps it was the neighbouring Gibeah) one writer calls 'Gibeah of God' (1 S. 10 5), was perhaps selected by the Philistines as the site of their nêsîb because of its sanctity (1 S. 13 3 and especially 10 5; cp SAUL, § 2 n.) as well as because of its strategic position.[3]

More important still, perhaps, Bethel itself, the famous royal sanctuary (Am. 7 13), where, according to the story, Israel encamped after crossing the Jordan (see BOCHIM), is said by P to have belonged to Benjamin (Josh. 18 22). No doubt the Chronicler afterwards (1 Ch. 7 28) assigns it to Ephraim; but (though it may well have been a border town with connections on both sides) that is perhaps only because he could not conceive of Benjamin, a tribe that he regarded as belonging to the southern kingdom, extending so far north. At all events, there was reason enough for the words used of Benjamin in Dt. 33 12 (cp Dt. *ad loc.* and see below, § 5),

> 'The beloved of Yahwè, he dwelleth secure;
> He (*i.e.*, Yahwè) encompasseth him all the day,
> And between his shoulders[4] doth he dwell.

It seems, therefore, not unfitting that this tribe, martial though it was, should for all time, whatever view we take of the character of Saul, be associated with two of the greatest names in the history of Hebrew thought and religion, representative of two of the greatest of religious movements: Jeremiah, who was a native of a Benjamite town, and Paul, who at least believed that he was sprung from the same tribe (Rom. 11 1 Phil. 3 5; cp Test. xii. Patr., Benj. ch. 11).

7. Later history.

Saul's career ended in gloom; yet his work was not entirely undone. It was, therefore, a matter of course that the men of Benjamin (especially the Bichrites, see below, § 9 ii. β), even more than the rest of the house of Joseph, should dislike being subordinated to the newly-risen house of Judah (SHIMEI, 1), and should embrace any good opportunity to assert their claim (SHEBA, ii. 1), and that, along with the rest of the house of Joseph, they should throw in their lot with JEROBOAM (1). We have, accordingly, no reason to question the accuracy of the statement in 1 K. 12 20: 'there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only,'[5] (cp Ps. 80 2 [3] and Hos. 5 8 with We.'s note, and see ISRAEL, § 28; Jericho is regarded as north Israelite in 1 K. 15 27 16 15 ff.). However, as Jeroboam was not a Benjamite, and the capitals of the northern kingdom were always in the northern parts of Joseph (cp ZARETHAN II.), Benjamin does not appear to have

[1] On the stone of Bohan or Reuben, see above (§ 3).

[2] Baal-tamar also was probably a sacred place. On the special importance of Gilgal in early times, see CIRCUMCISION, § 2.

[3] We has even tried to show that Gibeah was believed by some to have been the seat of Israel's famous shrine, the 'ark'; but he takes no account of the discussion of Kosters (*ThT* 27 [1893] 78 [93]; cp ARK, § 5).

[4] Note the Arabic metaphor, WRS, *Kin.* 46 (foot).

[5] We cannot argue from 2 Sam. 24 9, for 'Judah' here means, not, as the Chronicler (1 Ch. 21 6) oddly supposed, a tribe, but the southern kingdom (the Chronicler thinks it necessary to try to explain—see the attitude of Saul to understand him—why Benjamin and Levi were not numbered).

really gained by this step. In fact, it seems to have eventually gravitated more and more southwards. Indeed, lying on the border between the two kingdoms, it was important strategically rather than politically, and, although we cannot very well follow the details of the process,[1] some of its towns seem to have been, at one time or another, and more or less permanently, incorporated in the southern kingdom. The blow that the northern kingdom received in 722 was favourable to this process, and in another sense the sack of Jerusalem in 586. Thus in Jer. 33 13 the land of Benjamin' is included in an enumeration of the various districts of the territory of Judah, viz., the Shephêlah, Negeb, etc., just as in 2 K. 23 8 'from Geba to Beersheba' like 'from Geba to Rimmon' in Zech. 14 10, stands for the whole land of Judah, and in Jer. 6 1 Jeremiah's clansmen are living in Jerusalem; and in the century following the rebuilding of the temple [illegible] of Judah, the combination of names appearing often to mean the families that were not taken to Babylon (cp Kosters, *Herstel, passim*, and the Jews came to believe that Rehoboam's kingdom had from the first consisted formally of these two tribes (cp Ps. 68 27 [28][2] Chron. *passim*, and a late writer in 1 K. 12 21). Hence we need not be surprised at the fulness with which Benjamin, as compared with the other Joseph tribes, is treated in the book of Joshua (Dt. 8051), or at the frequent and copious Benjamin lists in the Chronicler (see § 8 f.). Only we must remember that these tribal distinctions were in later times theoretical, Simon (2 Macc. 3 4), Menelaus, and Lysimachus were Benjamites; for the explanation of Mordecai's mythic genealogy (Shimei—Kish—Benjamin) see ESTHER, § 2 f.

8. Late Writers' statistics: geographical.

(*a*) Although the priestly writer's conception of the frontier of Benjamin is not even self-consistent (the Arabah, a point in Judah's N. boundary (Josh. 15 6), being assigned first (v. 61) to Judah and then (18 22), if the text is correct; see BETH-ARABAH, 1) to Benjamin, it can be identified roughly.

From the Jordan near Jericho he makes it pass up to Beth-aven and Bethel (*Beitin*), where it turns S. to Ataroth-addar (possibly '*Ain Ṣâriya*) and thence W. to Beth-horon the nether (*Beit'Ûr*), returning by Kiriath-jearim and Nephtoah (*Lifta*), circling round the south of Jerusalem through the vale of Hinnom and the plateau of Rephaim, and by the spring of Rogel, and finally returning by En-shemesh (*Ain-el-Ḥarsiyeh*) and the valley of Achor to the Jordan at Beth-hoglah (*Ain*, or *Ka, r-Ḥajla*).

What led P to fix on this line, the southern stretch of which he repeats with greater fulness in the delineation of Judah (Josh. 15 5-10), we cannot say; nor can we say why he makes the boundary run south of Jerusalem.[3] The 'Blessing of Moses' has indeed been taken to imply (Dt. 33 12; see above, § 6) that in the latter part of the eighth century Jerusalem was held to lie inside the boundary of Benjamin; but 'by him' in the first line is probably due to a clerical error, and line 3 is quite indistinct: nothing points specially to Jerusalem.[4] Stade (*GIJ* 162) proposes Gibeon; perhaps Winckler would suggest Gibeah; Oort, however (*ZAW* 1896, pp. 297-300), pleads vigorously for Bethel, and nothing could be more appropriate in a poem so markedly north-Israelitish. It is plain enough, on the other hand, that Jerusalem is assigned to Benjamin by P (though he avoids giving the name of the town, speak-

[1] See the account in GASm, *HG*, ch. 12.

[2] On the other tribes mentioned in this verse see ZEBULUN, NAPHTALI.

[3] According to the Talmud the Holy of Holies and some other parts of the temple stood on Peniamite soil (*Sanhedr.* 84); but the site of the altar, though within Benjamin, was a piece of land that ran into Benjamite territory from Judah (*Yoma*, 12).

[4] Unless Jerusalem may be thought to be implied in the mention of Benjamin before Joseph (*Dr. Dt.* 38). But on the order of the tribes cp Di.

ing simply of 'the Jebusite'); and, if we do not know precisely why he does so, we can at least see that he has a purpose of some kind, for in Judg 1 21 it is quite clear that the editor has for the same reason twice substituted 'Benjamin' for the original 'Judah,' which we find in the otherwise identical Josh 15 63. We must conclude that, whatever conceptions prevailed in later times, in the days when tribal names were really in harmony with geographical facts of one kind or another, Jerusalem was counted to Judah.

(*b*) Many late lists of Benjamite towns have been preserved. 1. The only early one is the rhetorical enumeration of twelve places on the path of the Assyrian invader (Is. 10 28-32).

Of the six towns in it which are not mentioned in any of the other lists, two are those of towns the sites of which are known with certainty: MICHMASH (*Mukhmas*) and GEBIM (*Jeb'ib*).

2. P's list (Josh 18 21-28) comprises an eastern and a western group—viz., a group of twelve (to which he adds in 21 18 two others) and a group of fourteen towns.

Of these twenty-eight the following sixteen may be regarded as identified, some with certainty, others with a high degree of probability: JERICHO, BETH-HOGLAH, ZEMARAIM, BETHEL, PARAH, OPHRAH, GIBEON, RAMAH, BEEROTH, MIZPEH, CHEPHIRAH, 'the JEBUSITE,' GIBEATH, KIRIATH, ANATHOTH, ALMON (see ALEMETH).

3. Neh. 11 31-35 contains a list of some sixteen towns alleged to be settled by Benjamites. The list, which may be incompletely preserved, is more and more assigned, by scholars of various schools, to the time of the Chronicler (see Torrey, *Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.* 42 *f.*; Mey. *Entstek.* 107, 189); at all events, it cannot be early.

Of the eleven new names (unless the Alia of *v.* 31 be the Ayyim of Josh. 18 23) not in the Joshua lists, 6 or may be regarded as identified beyond dispute: HADID, NEBALLAT, LOD (see LYDDA), ONO.

4. In the list Neh 7 = Ez. 2 = 1 Esd. 5 (see EZRA, ii. § 9), *vv.* 25-37 *f.* = 34, and 17*b*-22 respectively, seem to enumerate places (apparently places where members of Israel's 'congregation' were resident), mostly within old Benjamite rather than old Judahite territory.

In this list, excluding NEBO (iv.) as being probably merely a transposition of NOB, we have still five other new names, of which, however, some seem to be spurious, and only NETOPHAH and BETH-AZMAVETH (see AZMAVETH [1.]) can be regarded as identified with any certainty.

Other places perhaps in Benjamite territory are BAAL-HAZOR (2 S 13 23) and NOBAH (see Moore, *Judges*, 443). 1 Esd. also adds a CHADIAS and AMMIDOI (CHADI-ASAI).

9. Genealogical. Lists of Benjamite clan or personal names (sometimes, of course, including place names) are many. They have mostly, however, suffered much at one stage or another in transmission.

(i.) P's two (Gen 46 = Nu. 26) are, as usual, different versions of the same list.

They probably contain two triplets (*a*) BELA—BECHER—Ashbel, and (*b*) GERA—Naaman—Ahiram; and a third triplet, not quite so certain, (*c*) Shuphan—Hupham—Ard.

(ii.) The Chronicler's two (1 Ch. 7 and 1 Ch. 8) are more difficult to understand, but are constructed more or less on the same scheme.

(*a*) In 1 Ch. 7 6 *ff.* (sons of the first triplet [—of which, however, Ashbel, 'Man of Baal,' becomes Jediael, 'Intimate of El'][2] we have what is of all the lists perhaps the most symmetrical. Certain peculiarities (such as apparent doublets) make it plausible to suppose that the symmetry was once even greater. Abijah, a name that occurs elsewhere in the Chronicler's genealogies only in priestly families,[3] should perhaps be read 'the father of' (cp 'father of Bethlehem,' 1 Ch. 4 4). In that way the two places Anathoth and Alemeth would be assigned to the last-mentioned son of Becher, just as in *vv.* 12 Shuppim and Huppim are ascribed

[1] Verse 12*a* in a sense represents the third triplet, and 12*b* has names connected in chap. 8 with the second.

[2] Cp יְרִיאֵל, 1 Ch. 27 32, יִשְׁעִיאֵל, 2 S. 23 8 (Marquart in a private communication to us). We can hardly argue from the Ashbal of Ashbel of the Peshitta that the change of Ashbel to Jediael is due to an accident; for in the Peshitta 1 Ch. 7 6 simply substitutes the corrupt Gen. list (46 21) of nine names (with its 'Ehi and Rosh Muppim') for the Chronicler's list of three sons.

[3] On the supposed Abijah, wife of Hezron, see CALEB, ii.

vv. 1b—1*i* the last-mentioned son of Bela. Marquart,[1] to whom the detection of this anagram is due, suggests that יעיאל שבי he read בנו יריא. If some form of this theory be adopted it would be only natural to look for a name (or names) assigned to the last-mentioned son of Jediael (the remaining branch of Bela's sons). But it is Hushim the son of Aher (*v.* 12). This will seem to be probable if we may adopt the rest of Marquart's theory, that Aher is a mis-written אחיר. Ahiah, or Ahishahar, אחי שחר, is a corruption of the same name (see above). If Uzzi and Uzziel in *v.* 7 are a doublet, 'five' in the second is not original. Perhaps Ehud etc., in *vv.* 10 are broken off from Bilhan, the intervening words being a parenthesis.[2] Wife in 12 is thus required to give symmetry to the genealogy, it is nevertheless in a sense an appendix.

(*b*) Chap. 8 has in parts the appearance of being constructed in a very schematic form (though efforts to detect a geometrical scheme have not been markedly successful), and this seems to warrant the conviction that the present obscurity is due to textual corruption. For remedying that some help can be had from the versions; but it is not sufficient. Certain suggested emendations (see an article by the present writer in *JQR* 11 114 [1921]) so greatly reduce the disorder that now prevails that there seems to be reason to believe that the genealogy was at one time markedly regular in structure, and that consider able labour—in attempts to restore it is warranted. It has also seemed difficult to explain how the historically important Benjamite clans—the clan of Saul and Sheba (viz., Bechers), and that of Shimei (viz., Gera)—are so subordinated in this extraordinary compilation (they appear to be omitted altogether in N.—see, however, BECHER). It is probable that the subordination is due to corruption of the text. When emended in the way already referred to, 1 Ch. 8 1-7*b* is reduced to P's three triplets with the additional statement that Gera was the father of [Elpaal (*v.* 18) and Shimei], or rather, as Marquart acutely suggests, SHIMEI (*v.* 19; cp Gr [ἀδελφ]ωμαι). What follows is obscure; the reconstruction proposed in *JQR*, *l.c.*, is in parts not much more than a guess, but it seems extremely probable that the names in *vv.* 1-27, beyond P's three triplets, were originally attributed to Gera through Ahishahar (once corrupted into Shaharaim; see above, (*a*)) and Hushim (*v.* 12 being an intrusive repetition of a later part of the list). Then *vv.* 30-38 gave the genealogy of the Bichrites (for ובני דבכרי, 'and his first-born,' read ובני דבכרי, 'and the sons of the Bichrite'), *v.* 39 (and perhaps a marginal gloss due to some bewildered reader of *vv.* 1-7) (in their new position after the intrusion of *vv.* 28-29, chap. 9). Marquart suggests that these nine verses originally followed the mention of the sons of Bela. For fuller details of other suggestions the reader is referred to the article above cited.[3] It is difficult to avoid the conviction that some reconstruction is necessary.

(iii.) In Neh 11 7 *ff.* and 1 Ch. 9 7-9 we have two versions of a list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem, the original of which it is quite impossible to restore.

The names are grouped in the form of genealogies of a few persons; for which, among other reasons, Meyer pronounces the list an invention of the Chronicler (*Entstek.*, 189). Kosters, however, suggests that the genealogical form is original (*Herstel*), and that the authority was a list of Jerusalem Benjamites living in Jerusalem before the arrival of Ezra.

(iv.) On the list of Benjamite warriors in 1 Ch. 12 *vv.* see DAVID, § 11 (*a*) iii. On relations of Benjamin to other tribes, see, further, RACHEL, BILHAH, JOSEPH.

2. A Benjamite, b. Bilhan, 1 Ch. 7 10 (see No. 1, § 9, ii. *a*).

3. A Levite, of the line Harim, in the list of those with foreign wives, Ezra 10 31 (see EZRA, i. § 8, end).

4. A Levite, in the list of wall-builders, Neh. 3 23 (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), perhaps the same as No. 3.

5. In the procession at the dedication of the wall (EZRA, i. § 1, *v.*), Neh. 12 34 (Μαριαμιν [L]); on which see Kosters, *Herstel*, 59.

H. W. H.

BENJAMIN, GATE OF (שַׁעַר בִּנְיָמִן), Jer. 20 2 37 13 38 7 Zech. 14 10. See JERUSALEM.

BENO (בְּנוֹ) is taken as a proper name in 1 Ch. 24 26 *f.* by EV, in *v.* 26 by 𝔊 (ΥΙΟΙ ΒΟΝΝΙ [A], ΒΟΝΝΕΙΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ [L], B om.); in *v.* 27 𝔊BA has ΥΙΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ, 𝔊L ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥ.) and by Jer. and Targ. That the list of the sons of Levi is in a most unsatisfactory state is evident from a comparison with Ex. 6 17 *ff.*, 1 Ch. 6 17 [2] *ff.* 29 *f.* [14] and 23 21 *f.* The MT is most obscure, and, according to Kittel, *vv.* 20-31 are one of the latest additions; one rendering is to take *v.* 26 as follows: 'Of Jaaziah, his (Merari's) son, (even) the sons of Merari through Jaaziah his son,' etc.

BEN-ONI (בְּנוֹנִי; ΥΙΟΣ ΟΔΥΝΗΣ ΜΟΥ [ADEL])

[1] In a private communication to the present writer.

[2] So Marquart. On foreign names in this list see above, § 3.

[3] See now also Marquart's important article on the same subject (*JQR* xiii.).

rightly interpreting the mind of the writer), the first name of BENJAMIN (§ 3), given to her new-born child by the dying Rachel (Gen 35 18). Ben-oni must, however, have been an early tribal name. We [illegible] clan names ONAM and ONAN (both in Lev [illegible] former also Hor[illegible]); also a Benjamite city ONO [illegible] can the existence of an ancient city called B[illegible]N (Beth-on?) be denied. To assume however with Pro[illegible] Sayce (*Patriarch. Pal.* 161 f.), first that Beth-el was also called Beth-on, and next that the names Beth-on and Ben-oni imply that the name of the god worshipped at Luz was On, and next that this divine name was derived from On = Heliopolis in Egypt, is purely arbitrary. Cp BETH-AVEN, AVEN [illegible]

BEN-ZOHETH (בֶּן־זֹחֶת, etym. doubtful, probably corrupt) ZOHETH and Ben-Zoheth are mentioned in 1 Ch. 4 20 (υἱοὶ ζωαθ [B], υἱ. ζωχαθ [A], υἱ. ζαωθ [L]) among the sons of Ishi of JUDAH.

BEON (בְּעוֹן). Num. 32 3. See BAAL-MEON.

BEOR (בְּעוֹר, possibly miswritten for ACHBOR; see BAAL-HANAN [1]; Βεωρ [BAL; WH in 2 Pet 2 15 p. 1. Father of the Edomite king BELA (ii. 1), Gen 36 32 (βαιωρ [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 43 (βαιωρ [A]; σεπφωρ [L] Zippor [L]).

2. Father of BALAAM (Nu 22 5, etc., βεωρ [A] except in Dt 23 4 [5] Josh. 13 22 Mi 6 5; in Josh 24 9 [BA omits]), called Bosor in 2 Pet. 2 15 AV (βοσορ [Tr. following ℵBC]; Vg *Bosor*; cp the conflate reading βεωσορ [ℵ*]). RV BEOR (βεωρ WH). In Nu. 24 3 [BAFL] reads τῷ βεωρ (βαιωρ [A]) for Heb. לְבְעֹר.

BERA (בֶּרַע, scarcely, 'with evil,' cp BIRSHA; these like other names in Gen. 14, may be mutilated and corrupted forms; βαλλα [ADL], βαρα [L], βαλλαι [Jos. *Ant.* i. 9]), king of Sodom, who joined the league against Chedorlaomer (Gen. 14 2). See CHEDORLAOMER § 2, end.

BERACHAH, RV **Beracah** (בְּרָכָה, βερχεια [ℵA], βαραχια [AL]), a Benjamite David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 3). See DAVID § 11.

BERACHAH (RV **Beracah**), **VALLEY OF** (עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה, κοιλας ευλογιας [BAL]), the scene of the great thanksgiving of Jehoshaphat and his people (2 Ch. 20 26; in 26a ὁ αὐλὼν τῆς εὐλογίας [BA], ἡ κοιλὰς τῆς εὐλ. [L]). The geographical knowledge of the narrator was evidently good; but that, of course, does not make his narrative any more historical (see JEHOSHAPHAT). At no great distance from Tekoa there is a broad open wâdy, on the west side of which are extensive ruins named *Berekut*. Just opposite the ruins the wâdy itself is called the *Wâdy Berekut* (Robinson, *LBR*, 275). From the form Berekut we gather that the true ancient pronunciation was probably Berēkôth, 'reservoirs.' T. K. C.

BERACHIAH (בְּרַכְיָהוּ), 1 Ch. 6 24 [39], RV BERECHIAH, 5.

BERAIAH (בְּרָאיָה, § 31, 'Yahwe creates'; βαραια [L], βεριβα[1] και β. [BA]). 1. A Benjamite, assigned to the b'ne SHIMHI (8); 1 Ch. 8 21. The name is probably post-exilic, 'creation' being one of the great exilic and post-exilic religious doctrines.

2. See BEDEIAH.

BEREA. 1. An unknown locality in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Bacchides encamped before the battle in which the Jews were defeated and Judas the Maccabee was slain (Apr. 161 B.C.). The camp of Judas was at Elasa, Eleasa, or Alasa, also unknown but probably *Kh. Ḥâsâ* between the two Beth-horons on the main road from Sharon to Jerusalem (1 Macc 9 4 f.). The best reading seems to be βεριεα [ℵNV]; but there is MS authority also for βεθ ζηθ and Βεθαζηθ, viz. Lat. has *Berethzeth*. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11 1) has Βηθζήθω, or, in some MSS, Βηθαζήθ. I would think of the modern Bir ez Zeit, 1½ m. NW. from Jaffa, or of Beitzeth ruins [illegible]

2. RV **Berea**, Βεροια [A]; βηρεω [V]), the scene of the death of MENELAUS, the modern Verope (2 Macc 13 4).

3. Βέροια [L; WH] (some MSS Βέρροια) now *Verria*, or *Kara Verria*, in Lower Macedonia, at the foot of Mt. Bermios, 5 m. above the left bank of the Haliacmon (*Vardari*). It has a splendid view over the plains of the Haliacmon and the Axius, plane trees and [illegible] streams make it one of the most [illegible] towns of the district. Yet it did not lie on the main road; which perhaps accounts for its being chosen as a place of refuge for Paul and Silas in their midnight escape from Thessalonica (Acts 17 10).

A curious parallel is found in Cicero's speech against Piso. Unable to face the clients of complaint at Thessalonica, Piso [illegible] the out-of-the-way town of Berœa (*in oppidum a nostris remotum, Berœam*).

In the apostolic age Berœa contained a colony of Jews, and a synagogue (Acts 17 10). They were of a nobler spirit (εὐγενέστεροι) than those of Thessalonica, possibly because they did not belong to the purely mercantile class. Not only were many of the Jews themselves converted, but also not a few of the Greeks, both men and women (των ΕΛληνιδων γυναικων των εὐσχημονων και ανδρων ουκ ολιγοι, Acts 17 12), the [illegible] seems to indicate that the apostle was here dealing with an audience at a higher social level than elsewhere. Paul's stay here seems to have been of some duration (several months, Rams. *Paul*, 234), partly in order to allow him to watch over the converts of Thessalonica, only 50 m. distant; he may have been still at Berœa when he made those two vain attempts to revisit them to which 1 Thess. 2 18 alludes, and Timothy may have been sent to them from Berœa, and not from Athens, on the occasion mentioned in 1 Thess. 3 2. The apostle was at length obliged to quit the town, as the Jews of Thessalonica heard of his work and resorted to their usual tactics of inciting to riot (σαλευοντες τους οχλους, Acts 17 13). Silas and Timothy were left in Macedonia; but Paul was escorted by certain of the converts to the sea-coast, as far as Athens (Acts 17 14 f.). This hurried departure (εὐθέως, v. 14) must have been by the road to Dium. [illegible] Acts [illegible]. The conjecture, however, of Ramsay, that the journey to Athens was performed [illegible] with his companions [illegible] from the W. [illegible] as it [illegible] to the sea' (RV 'as far as to the sea').

Possibly one of his escort was that Sopater, son of Pyrrhus of Berœa, who is mentioned in Acts 20 4 as accompanying Paul from Corinth to Macedonia. The Sosipater of Rom. 16 21 is probably another person. We read in Acts 20 [illegible] that the escort from Corinth preceded Paul to Troas; this may have been partly due to his making a detour in order to revisit Berœa. W. W.

BERECHIAH (בְּרֶכְיָה, in Nos. 4 f. בְּרַכְיָהוּ § 28, 'Yahwè blesses' = Jeberechiah. βαραχ[ε]ια [BNA], -χιας [L]).

1. Son of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. 3 20 (βαραχια [L], -χια [B]).

2. One of the Levites that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites, 1 Ch. 9 16 (-χιας [L], -χια [A], om. [B]), not in Neh. 11. Probably the same as the doorkeeper for the Ark, 15 23.

3. Father of Meshullam in list of wall-builders (Neh. 3 30, § 1 f.; Ezra x. 15, § 28 [ed], 15; Neh. 3 4 (-χιας, ℵA, om. B), 6 (-χιου [L8], βαρια [A]); cp 6 18).

4. Father of Meshezabel (Zerechiah, Zechariah) (βαραχιας [BℵAV]). Omitted in the Ezra list. On the question of his identity with the BERACHIAH (AV), or BARACHIAH (RV) of Mt. 23 35, see ZACHARIAH.

5. Father of Asaph, chief singer, 1 Ch. 6 39; 15 17 (-χια [L]).

6. Ely, Meshullemoth; one of the chief men of the b'ne Ephraim, temp. Ahaz, 2 Ch. 28 12 (Ζαχαριας [B], Βαραχιας [A]).

BERED (בֶּרֶד; βαρδα [AD]; -ραδ [L]; *BARAD* [Vg.]). A place in S. Palestine, or perhaps rather

[1] That is בְּרִיעָה; cp 1 Ch. 7 30.

N. Arabia, between which and Kadesh lay BEER-LAHAI-ROI [q.v.] (Gen. 16 14). Three identifications deserve mention. (1) The Targums represent it by the same word as that given for Shur in v. 7. Onk. by חגרא Hagra, and Jer. Targ. by חלוצא Ḥalusa. The former word, however (cp Ar. *ḥijr*, 'a wall, enclosure'), seems to be meant for a translation of the name Shur, not for an identification of the place. The second name is clearly the Elusa of Ptol., which is now probably *Ḳ'ṣ. Ḳ'ṣaiṣ* in the Wady 'Ashaj, about 12 m. from Beersheba on the way to Kuhaibeh or Rehoboth (see Palmer, *PEFQ*, 1871, p. 35; Guerin, *Judée*, 2 295 *sq.*). (2) Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 299 76 145) identify a certain 'well of judgment' with the well go Beridan in the Gerarite country (in which Beersheba also is placed). This 'well of judgment' seems like a confused reminiscence of Eanmishpat *i.e.*, Kadesh (Gen. 14 7). Is this Beridan the same spot which Jerome (*OS* 101 3) calls Barad, where, he says, a well of Agar was shown in his day? (3) If, with Rowlands, we find BEER-LAHAI-ROI (*q.v.*) at 'Ain Muweileh, Bered may be some place in the Wady esh Sheraif, on the E. side of the Jebel Dalfa (see Palmer's map).

T. K. C.

BERED (בֶּרֶד), an Ephraimite clan, 1 Ch. 7 20 (Βαρδ [A], ραδαμ [L], om. [B]), apparently called in Nu. 26 35, BECHER, a well-known Benjamite clan name. When we consider the close relation between the two tribes, the occurrence of Becher in Ephraim seems not unnatural (cp BERIAH, 2 *f.*). See, however, BECHER.

BERI (בֵרִי), prob. בְּאֵרִי, § 79, 'belonging to the well' [or to a place called Be'er]; the name occurs twice in Phoenicia; CABPEI [B], BAPI [A], BHPEI [L]), an Asherite family name (1 Ch. 7 36).

BERIAH (בְּרִיעָה), perhaps 'prominent,' § 79; cp the play on the name in 1 Ch. 7 23 with the play on the name BERA [*q.v.*] in Targ. ps.-Jon.; BAP[E]IA [BAL]).

1. An Asherite clan individualised; Gen. 46 17, Nu. 26 44 f. (G[illegible] Βηριά [A], Βηρεί [illegible] omitted); 1 Ch. 7 30 Βηριγά [B], [illegible] -γα [B], [illegible] gentilic, **Berite**, Nu. 26 44 (ὁ βαρο[ε]ι [B] and F], Βιρια [B^vid], -ραι [A], Βηρει [L]).

2. An Ephraimite clan-name, in a story of a cattle-lifting raid in 1 Ch. 7 21-23 (beginning at 'and Ezer and Elead'; v. 23 βαργαα [B], -ρια [L]); cp 8 13. According to the Chronicler, Beriah was a son of Ephraim, born after his brother had been slain, and he was called Beriah because 'it went evil with his [father's] house' (note the assonance בְּרִיעָה בְּרִעָה). This notice of the conflict with the men of Gath is enigmatical; were there faintly reminiscences of the border strifes of the early Israelites which were recorded in documents distinct from our canonical books and accessible to the Chronicler?

We preserve a sceptical attitude (*Prol.*[4], 214); Bertheau and Kittel, however, think that there is here a genuine tradition, and that, on the destruction of the clans Ezer and Elead, the Ephraimites of the lower districts applied to Joshua to the Ephraimite clan. Sheerah and Beriah (1 Ch. 8 13). A colony to S. A. Lower, consists of this state and only traditionally [illegible] may [illegible] Ephraimite into Philistine [illegible] on the land of [illegible] to the wider [illegible] which Hormah and he himself [illegible] (see Gosh[illegible]).

It would be unsafe to use these unsupported statements of the Chronicler as historical material. See below.

3. A clan of Benjamin (§ 9 (ii.) (3)), 1 Ch. 8 13 (βεριγα [B], βαρ [A], βαραα [L]), 16 (βαρ[ε]ιγα BA]), probably to be identified with No. 2. It appears to be stated that the Benjamite clan Beriah was adopted into Ephraim in recognition of the service it had rendered to the imperilled territory. So Bertheau; cp Bennett, *Chron.* 89. Cp also EPHRAIM.

4. A Gershonite (Levite) family, 1 Ch. 23 10 *f.* (Βεριια [BL]; om. A in v. 10).

S. A. C.

1 Note that in βεριγα (1 Ch. 7 30 [B], and 8 13 [B]), βαιγαα 1 Ch. 7 23 [B], and βαρ[ε]ιγα (8 13 [A], 16 [BA]) [illegible] soft γ [illegible] [illegible] Ar. [illegible] see GVZA, Z[illegible], ZDMG [illegible]

2 Perhaps reverse the statement of the MT; cp Barnes, *Proph. Test. Christ.* [illegible]

BERITES, THE (הַבְּרִים), appears, through a corruption of the text, in 2 S. 20 14 (MT), where Klostermann, Kittel, Budde, and (with some hesitation) Driver, read הַבִּכְרִים, 'the Bichrites (see BICHRI). The consonants בכרי are, in fact, presupposed by the strange rendering of G[A] (καὶ παντες) ἐν χαρρει; G[L] καὶ πασα πόλις). The description of the progress of SHEBA (*q.v.* ii.) now first becomes intelligible.

BERITH (בְּרִית), Judg. 9 46 AV, RV **El-berith.** See BAAL-BERITH.

BERNICE (ΒΕΡΝΙΚΗ [Ti. WH] for ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ, the Macedonian form of ΦΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ), eldest daughter of Herod Agrippa I., and sister of the younger Agrippa (Acts 25 13 *f.*, 26 30). She was married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis; and after his death she lived, not without suspicion of incest, with her brother Agrippa. She next became the wife of Polemon, king of Cilicia. This connection being soon dissolved, she returned to her brother, and afterwards became the mistress of Vespasian and Titus (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. 5 1; XX. 7 2 *f.*; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 81; Suet. *Tit.* 7); cp Sch. *GVI* i., and see HERODIAN FAMILY, 9.

BERODACH BALADAN (בְּרֹאדַךְ בַּלְאָדָן), 2 K. 20 12 EV; EV[mg] MERODACH-BALADAN.

BEROEA (ΒΕΡΟΙΑΙ), 2 Macc. 13 4 RV, AV BEREA, 2.

BEROTH (ΒΗΡΩΘ? [A]), 1 Esd. 5 19 = Ezra 2 .. BEEROTH.

BEROTHAH (בְּרוֹתָה), a place mentioned by Ezekiel (47 16; ΑΒΘΗΡΑ [BQ], ΩΣΘΗΡΑ [A], ΒΗΡΩΘ'Α- [Q[mg]]), in defining the ideal northern frontier of the Holy Land. It is apparently the same as BEROTHAI (*q.v.*), and may be regarded as a lengthened form of Beroth (Beeroth, 'wells.' As yet it has not been certainly identified. Ewald (*Hist.* 3 154) connected it with the well-known Berytus (the *Bi'rutu* and *Bi'runa* of the Amarna letters, the *Bi'arutu* of the List of Thotmes III. [so W. M. Muller], and the mod. *Beirut*); but it seems clear that a maritime city would not suit Ezekiel's description. Tomkins would, therefore, place Berothah in the neighbourhood of the rock-hewn inscriptions in the *Wady Brisa*, NW. of Baalbec, down which wady a stream is marked in the *Carte de Liban* as flowing to the Orontes (*PEFQ* Ap. 1885, p. 108), but his philological argument seems unsound. Furrer (*ZDPV* 8 34), Socin (*Palᵗᵇ*, 300), and v. Ri[illegible] (*Bib. Atl.*) have thought of *Berutân*, a village not far to the S. of Baalbec; but this is only a plausible conjecture, and must be judged in connection with Furrer's general theory of the frontier (see HOR, MOUNT; RIBLAH; ZEDAD). Cp ARAM, § 6.

BEROTHAI (בְּרֹתַי; Klo. would read בְּרֹתַי), a town belonging to Hadadezer, king of Zobah, 2 S. 8 8 (G[A] ἐκ των ἐκλεκτῶν πόλεων, perhaps reading מִבְּרוּת from בָּרַר 'to separate, select' [so Klo.]), possibly another form of BEROTHAH (see, however, Klo. and the article TIBHATH). In 1 Ch. 18 8 (where G[A] has the same translation), which is parallel to 2 S. 8 8, for Berothai we find the name CHUN, which must be a corruption either of the first three letters of Berothai (*i.e.*, בְּרוֹת) or one of the earlier alphabetic stages, or of some other name which the Chronicler found in his copy of the narrative. For suggested emendation see MEROM, 2.

1 The reading ברתי is probably supported by G in [illegible] places, and by the καλλιστοις (ἐκλεκτῶν of G[BAL]) of Jos. *Ant.* VII. 5 3. The latter's text, however, must have represented a conflate reading, for he reads Μαχωι(ι), which points to קִכּוּן 'from Cun.'

BEROTHITE (הַבְּרֹתִי), 1 Ch. 11 39. See BEEROTH.

BERYL. The Beryl as a mineral species[1] includes, besides the common beryl, the aquamarine or precious beryl, and the emerald.

1. Description. The similarity between the beryl and the emerald was pointed out by Pliny (37 20); the only points of distinction are the green colour of the emerald and the somewhat superior hardness of the beryl (7.5 to 8 in the mineralogical scale; specific gravity from 2.67 to 2.732).

If we leave out of account the emerald, the colours of the beryl range from blue through soft sea-green to a pale honey-yellow, and in some cases the stones are entirely colourless. The aquamarine is so named on account of its bluish-green colour, '*aqua viridi similis et maris imitantur*' (Plin., *l. c.*). The beryl crystallises in six-sided prisms with the crystals often deeply striated in a longitudinal direction. The great abundance of aquamarine and other forms of beryl in modern times has very much depreciated its value; but it is still set in bracelets, necklaces, etc., and used for seal.

That the beryl was known to the ancients there can be no doubt. Some of the finest examples of ancient

2. Greek names, etc. Greek and Roman gem-engraving are found executed in beryl (see King's description of a huge aquamarine intaglio over two inches square, *Precious Stones, Gems, and Precious Metals*, p. 132): the Romans cut it into six-sided prisms (*Plin. l. c.*) and mounted them as ear-drops. It is also clear from the evidence of Pliny (*l.c.*, *beryllis*) that, in later times, at least, beryl was called by the same name as now, though apart from 𝔊 (see below) the name does not appear in any Greek writer till considerably after Pliny's time.[2] It appears, however, to have been called also σμάραγδος; Theophrastus seems to know three kinds of smaragdos, which may well be our true emerald, our aquamarine, and our common beryl (*Lap.* 23). In Herodotus, too, smaragdos is the material not only of the gem engraved for the ring of Polycrates (3 41), but also of the pillar in the temple of Heracles at Tyre (2 44), which cannot have been of true emerald, as the noble kinds of beryl are never found of large size.

The Hebrews must be presumed to have known the beryl. We may perhaps identify it with the *shoham*

3. Hebrew name. (שֹׁהַם); for P tells us that the ornaments on the high priest's shoulder (Ex. 28 9 20 35 27) were of *shoham*, and 𝔊 renders this σμάραγδος. We cannot always trust 𝔊's rendering of stone names (see PRECIOUS STONES); but in this case the identification seems suitable. We are told that on each *shoham*-stone were inscribed the names of six of the tribes of Israel, for which purpose a natural hexagonal cylinder of beryl would be admirably fitted if, as has been suggested, the six names were inscribed longitudinally on the six faces. The *shoham*-stones mounted in ouches of gold were probably therefore beryls pierced or simply mounted at the end with bosses (*umbilici*) of gold, like the beryl cylinders described by Pliny.

The importance given to the beryl among the Babylonians and the Phœnicians (see above) makes it all the more probable that the Hebrews would specially value it. From Gen. 2 12 (later stratum of J?) it would appear that the *shoham* was known in Judah before the exile, and believed to abound, with good gold and bdellium, in HAVILAH. The Chronicler brings *shōham*-stones into connection with the construction of the pre-exilic temple (1 Ch. 29 2; but the reading may be incorrect, see EBONY, *c*), while the writer of Job 28 16 classes it with gold of Ophir and other precious substances.

The etymology of the word *shoham* (which occurs in Chronicles as a proper name; see SHOHAM) is at present uncertain.

4. Etymology and versions. Ges.-Kod. (*Thes.*, s.v.) traces it to a root meaning 'paleness,' as of 'the [illegible] stone,' while Haupt, [illegible] 2 2 with [illegible] Arab. [illegible], renders 'pearl.' Delitzsch, followed by [illegible], argues that *shōham* means a 'dark-coloured [stone]' (Gen. [illegible] 4 5 6; cp *Parz. Gral.* 14 6 [illegible]), and Halévy [illegible] Ass. [illegible] *amūtu* with Syr. [illegible] rather than Heb. *šōrā* (*Rev. Crit.*, 1881, p. 47 f.).

Shoham is rendered in the various versions as follows:—

𝔊 (AV) βηρυλλιον (as in Targ. [בירוניין], Saad. etc.) in Ex. 28 20 39 13, reproduced in Ezek. 28 13 (see PRECIOUS STONES); λιθος [της] σμαραγδου in Ex. 25 9 35 27 39 6; λ. ὁ πρασινος (lo green) in Gen. 2 12; λ. σαρδιου in Ex. 35 9, λ. σοομ [BA], ὀρυγος [illegible] in 1 Ch. 29 2, [illegible] (as in Aq. in Ex.), Theod. and Symm. at Ex. and Gen., and Vg. lom. [illegible] in Ezek.] except in Job) in Job 28 16; Peš. everywhere [illegible] (PRWLA) or [illegible] (except Ex. 28 20 [illegible] where its text differs; Aq. in Gen. 2 12 and Vg. in Job 28 16 *sardon*, q.v.

RV[mg] adds as an alternative the rendering BERYL,[1] thus supporting the identification argued for above.

EV follows throughout the usual Vg. rendering, giving everywhere 'onyx' (see ONYX), reserving 'beryl' for the Hebrew *Tarshish* (see TARSHISH, STONE of). In the NT, however, 'beryl' is naturally the EV rendering of βηρυλλιον (Rev. 21 20).

W. R.

BERZELUS (ΒΕΡΖΕΛΛΕΟΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 38 AV = Ezra 2 61 BARZILLAI, 2.

BESAI (בְּסַי, § 52; ΒΑΣΕΡ [L]). The b'ne Besai, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 49 (βασ[ε]ι [BA]), Neh. 7 52 (βησει [BA] βαισ [N]), 1 Esd. 5 31 BASIAL, RV BASHAI (βασθαι [BA], βεσσερ [L]).

BESODEIAH (בְּסוֹדְיָה, 'in the secret of Yah,' § 22; the form, however, is very improbable [see BEZALEEL]; read, rather, חֲסַדְיָה, Hasadiah), an Israelite, father of Meshullam in the list of wall builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 6 (ΒΑΔΙΑ [V], ΑΒΔΕΙΑ [N], ΒΑΣΩΔΙΑ [A^vid], ΒΑΣΙΔΙΑ [L]).

T. K. C.

BESOM (מַטְאֲטֵא, Is. 14 23; Peš. [illegible]; Vg. *scopa*), ΠΗΛΟΥ ΒΑΡΑΘΡΟΝ [BNQT], Π. ΒΑΘΡΟΝ [A], a word occurring nowhere else in Hebrew (or in [illegible] sense) in any Semitic dialect.[2] According to Talm. B. K. [illegible] *hanā*, 26 b., the word, though unknown to the Rabbis (who called the article מאלבינה), was still in use among the women (cp Jer. *Megilla*, ii. 2). There is not, therefore, any reason to doubt that Vg. and Peš. are right in understanding something to sweep (away) with (cp the metaphor in Is. 30 [illegible]), or whatever, as ARTICLE OF FURNITURE, § 10). The besom of destruction is not unknown to mythology (Otto Henne Am Rhyn, *Die Deutsche Volkssage*,[12] 411 *f.*); but the figure hardly needs any mythological warrant (Che., *ad loc.*).

BESOR (בְּשׂוֹר, ΒΟΣΟΡ [BAL], Jos. *Ant.* vi. 14 6, ΒΑΣΕΛΟΣ), a wâdy (נַחַל), mentioned in the account of David's pursuit of the Amalekites, 1 S. 30 9 *f.* 21 (22 21 βεανα [B], βεχωρ [A]). It was probably this wâdy that Saul 'crossed' when he chastised the Amalekites (1 S. 15 5; read וַיַּעֲבֹר בְּנַחַל, Klo.); and in the two definitions of the Amalekite territory in 1 S. 15 7 ('and Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah,' etc.), and 27 8 ('for those were the inhabitants of the land, which were from old time,' etc.), we should probably read 'from the torrent Besor even to the torrent [land] of Musri.' See ELEM (1.). According to Guérin (*Judée*, 2 211), it is the modern Wâdy Ghazza which issues from the Wâdy es-Seba' and empties itself into the sea SW of GAZA.

T. K. C.

BETAH (בֵּטָה), a city of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, 2 S. 8 8 (MT) = 1 Ch. 18 8 (MT), TIBHATH. Peš., however,

[1] On the stone called Beryl in EV see § 4.

[2] The chrysoberylus, chrysoprasus, etc., of classic authors of ancient jewellery appear, to some extent at least, to have been names applied to different shades of beryl.

[1] Omitted (through oversight) at Ex. 25 [illegible] 28 18.

[2] In Arab. the root means 'incline (the head),' in [illegible] 'set in order.'

ever, reads Tebah, and this is also favoured in 2 S. *l.c.* by 𝔊 (μασβακ [B], -βαχ [A], ματεβακ [L], where μα arises from a corrupt repetition of the preceding letter in this translator's Heb. text). Cp Ew. *Hist.* 3 151, and see TEBAH.

BETANE (ΒΑΙΤΑΝΗ [B], ΒΑΤ. [𝔄], ΒΑΙΤ. [A]), one of the places to which, according to Judith 1 9, Nebuchadrezzar sent his summons. The BETH-ANOTH (*q.v.*) of Josh. 15 59 appears to be meant.

BETEN (בֶּטֶן—*i.e.*, 'vale' or 'hollow';—ΒΑΤΝΕ [A], ΒΑΙΘΟΚ [B], ΒΕΤΕΛ [L]), an unidentified site in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19 25) called ΒΕΘΒΕΤΕΝ by Eusebius (*OS* 236 41), who places it 8 R. m. to the E. of Acco.

BETH (בַּיִת, st. constr. of בָּיִת, see BDB); the most general term for a dwelling; used of a tent in Gen. 27 15 33 17, but generally of houses of clay or stone; also of temples (cp BAJITH, *Beth-Bamoth* [MI, *l.* 27]). Combinations of Beth with other words are frequent in Hebrew place-names (see NAMES, § 92). In Assyrian, compounds with Bit are used as names of countries: *e.g.*, Bit-Humri = the kingdom of Israel; Bit-Yakin (*i.e.*, Babylonia, the country of Merodach-Baladan).

Among other interesting compounds with Beth are BEESHTERAH (?), Beth-eked, Beth-haggan, Beth-lehem, Beth-meon (see BAAL-MEON), Beth-peor.

BETHABARA (ΒΗΘΑΒΑΡΑ [C^2 KT^b UAH]), Jn. 1 28 AV, is the place where John baptized, according to the reading which became widely current through the advocacy of Origen, who could find no Bethany across the Jordan, but found a Bethabara with a tradition connecting it with the Baptist. Origen, however, admitted that the majority of MSS were against him. See BETHANY, 2.

Origen was followed by Chrysostom; Epiphanius, like Arm. (Lagarde), has Βηθαβρά. In the present text of Origen the form varies between Βηθαρά, Βαθαρά, Βηθαβαρα, and Βηθαραβα (the latter also in 𝔎c.b. syr.hel.(mg.), æth.; see WH 2 74); in *OS* 240 12 108 6 we find *βηθααβαρα*, *Bethabara*.

The traditional site of the baptism of Jesus is at the Makhādet Ḥajla (see BETHARABAH, 2, where, too, it is suggested that we should read Bethabarah in Josh. 18 22). The two monasteries of St. John attest the antiquity of the belief in this site.

Conder suggests the Makhādet 'Abāra, NE. of Beisān, partly because of the nearness of this ford to Galilee and Nazareth, and partly because the river-bed is here more open, and the banks of the upper valley more retired (*PEFQ*., 1875, p. 73).

Another suggestion of the same explorer (*ib.*, 1877, p. 155) is philologically weak.

As stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), the true reading in Jn. 1 28 was probably *βηθαναβρα*—*i.e.*, BETH-NIMRAH, now *Tell-Nimrin*, NE. of Jericho.

BETH-ANATH (בֵּית עֲנָת—*i.e.*, 'temple of Anath'; in Josh. ΒΑΙΘΘΑΜΕ [B], ΒΑΙΝΑΘΑΘ [A], ΒΗΘΑΝΑΘ [L]; in Judg. ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΧ [B], -ΘΕΝΕΘ [BAL], ΒΕΘΕΝΕΚ [A]), an ancient Canaanite fortress, with a sanctuary of ANATH (cp BETH-ANOTH), Josh. 19 38. It is mentioned unmistakably by Thotmes III., Seti I., Rameses II., and Rameses III. in the lists of places conquered by these kings (see *RP*(2) 5 52 6 38; Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 160, 236, 239; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 193, 195, 220). According to Judg. 1 33, it adjoined Naphtalite territory, but (like Beth-shemesh) remained Canaanitish down to the regal period, subject only to the obligation of furnishing labour for public works. Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 236 45 105 .) inappropriately refer to a village called Batanaea, 15 R. m. E. from Cæsarea, possessing medicinal springs. But the site now most in favour, 'Ainitha, in a valley 6 m. WNW. from Kedesh—is hardly strong enough to have been that of such a fortress as Beth-anath (Buhl, *P* 232, but cp Conder, *PEF Mem.* 1 200).

BETH-ANOTH (בֵּית־עֲנוֹת; ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΜ [B], -ΘΑΝΩΝ [A], ΒΗΘΑΡΩΘ [L]). A town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 59), towards the eastern border of that region, identified by W. M. Müller with the Bi-t-'n-t of the list of places conquered by Shishak (*u. Eur.* 168). If the form Beth-anoth be correct, it may be explained as = Beth-anath, 'house of ANATH' (*q.v.*); cp עָנוֹק (Josh. 21 11) and שָׁרֵן, עָנָק and שָׁרוֹן. To suppose a popular etymology 'place of answering' (*i.e.*, an echo?), with Kampffmeyer (*ZDPV* 16 3; cp 10 30, *SBOT*), is needless.

But is the form correct? Conder and Kitchener (*PEF Mem.* 3 311 351) identify Beth-anoth with *Beit 'Ainūn*, 5 m. N. of Hebron, near the sites of HALHUL and BETZUR (cp BETANE). This appears reasonable, and suggests a doubt whether the ancient name may not have been בֵּית־עֵינוּן, Beth-'enun. It is true that 𝔊B favours עָנָם, and 𝔊A עָנִין (י in the first syllable being unexpressed); but the case of Anem (see EN-GANNIM, 2) shows that the absence of י both in MT and in the text implied by 𝔊 is not decisive. A spring is mentioned to the west of the ruins of Beit 'Ainūn.

T. K. C.

BETHANY (ΒΗΘΑΝΙΑ [Ti.WH]). 1. A small village first referred to in the Gospels, 15 furlongs to the E. of Jerusalem on the road to Jericho (Jn. 11 18 Lk. 19 29, cp *v.* 1), and commonly identified with the Beth-Hini[1] of the Talmud. It is no doubt the mod. *el-'Azariyeh* (from Lazarus or Lazarium—the *l* wrongly taken as the article). El-'Azariyeh lies on a spur SE. of the Mt. of Olives (cp Mk. 11 1 Lk. 19 29). Its fig, olive and almond trees give one at first a pleasant impression; but a nearer inspection of the few houses is disappointing.

There are various romantically interesting spots connected by old tradition with Lazarus (cp the Itin. Hieros. ed. Wessel. 596, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and *OS*(2) 108 3 239 10). The Castle of Lazarus (based on *castellum*, the Vg. translation of the Gr. κώμη) is a ruined tower, presumably anterior to the time of the Crusaders, and hard by is the tomb of Lazarus; the house of Simon the Leper also is shown.

2. The Bethany where John baptized (Jn. 1 28, Ti. WH after 𝔎*BAC*, edd., RV) is distinguished from the Bethany mentioned above by the designation 'across Jordan' (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορ.); its exact situation is unknown. The reading of TR and of AV is BETHABARA (*q.v.*). Another suggestion is that Bethabara ('house of the ford') and Bethany (= בֵּית אֳנִיָּה, 'house of the ship') are one and the same place (see GASm. *HG* 542, n. 12).

The analogy of some corrupt OT forms (cp KISHION) suggests, however, that the true reading in the traditional source of Jn. 1 28 would be one combining in the second part of the name the letters N, B, and R—such a name as *βηθαναβρα*. We actually find *βαινθαναβρα* in 𝔊 Josh. 13 27 for the Bethnimrah of the Hebrew text. Now, the site of BETH-NIMRAH [*q.v.*] is well known. It is accessible alike from Jerusalem and from the region of Jericho (cp Mt. 3 5), and the perennial stream of Nahr Nimrin, which flows into the Jordan, would supply abundance of water. This theory belongs to Sir George Grove; it has been adopted by Sir C. W. Wilson (Smith's *DB*,(2) *s.v.* 'Bethnimrah'), and has strong claims to favourable consideration. Of course, the insertion of the words πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδ. would be a consequence of the faulty reading *βηθανια*. T. K. C.

BETH-ARABAH (בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה or בֵּית עֲרָבָה; once Josh. 18 18, by a scribe's error [see 𝔊] simply הָעֲרָבָה Josh. 18 18, ΒΑΙΘΑΡΑΒΑ [BAL]; 15 61 ΘΑΡΑΒΑΑΜ [B] ΒΗΘΑΡΑΒΑ [AL], 18 22 ΒΑΙΘΑΒΑΡΑ [B], -ΑΡΑΒΑ [AL])

1. One of the six cities in the 'wilderness' of Judah (Josh. 15 61), mentioned also as on the boundary lines of Judah and Benjamin (15 6 [*βαιθαραβα* BA; *βηθαραβα*

[1] We may therefore dismiss the interpretation 'place of the wretched one' (cp the play upon Anathoth, Is. 10 30 MT). Beth-Hini is generally explained 'place of unripe fruit (cp בִּכּוּרָה, 'unripe fruit,' esp. of figs). The Talmud, however, says (Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.* 150). If so, these figs may have led to the name BETHPHAGE—*i.e.*, possibly, 'house of young figs'—but the name Beth-Hini remains unexplained. Another form of the name is Beth-oni (בית־אוני).

L] 18 18); see also BETH-BASI. The reference in 18 22 must be considered separately (no. 2). The wilderness of Judah in 15 61 is the deep depression adjoining the Dead Sea, together with the overhanging mountains and the barren country beyond, including probably a district in the neighbourhood of Arad (see SALT, CITY OF). Beth-arabah may have been the first or principal settlement in that desolate corner of the Arabah or Jordan valley which forms the N. end of the Dead Sea. Though mentioned twice, if not thrice, with Beth-hoglah, it must have been considerably to the S. of that place, for unless, with Knobel, we put it at Ḳaṣr Ḥajla (which seems rather to have been Beth-hoglah), there is no other suitable site for it till we come to the copious fountain of *'Ain el-Feshkha*, near the NW. corner of the Dead Sea (31° 43′ N., 35° 26′ E.). The name Beth-arabah ('the house, or homestead, in the Arābah') has, therefore, a special significance (cp that of BETH-JESHIMOTH, *q.v.*). This indication of the site was made in writing by Robertson Smith. Perhaps, however, it is best to suppose that there were two settlements: one near the fountain (viz., Beth-arabah), the other (see MIDDIN) at the fountain.

2. It will be still easier to adopt this identification if we may follow $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ in reading not 'Beth-arabah' but 'Beth-abarah' in Josh. 18 22. The ford (*'Abārah*) referred to in the name ('house or place of the ford') might then be the famous Makhadet Ḥajla near the mouth of the *Wādy el-Ḳelt*, the bathing-place of the pilgrims, where tradition places the baptism of Jesus Christ. Such a Beth-abarah would be more naturally mentioned between Beth-hoglah and Zemaraim than a place situated at *'Ain el-Feshkha*. The confusion of the two names was very easy (note the variant Βηθαραβα in Jn. 1 28). Cp BETH-ABARA. T. K. C.

BETH-ARAM (בֵּית הָרָם), Josh. 13 27 AV, RV BETH-HARAM (*q.v.*).

BETH-ARBEL (בֵּית אַרְבֵאל; ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΒΟΑΜ [B]. . . . ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΒΟΑΜ [Q*]. . . . ΙΕΡΟΒΑΑΛ [A], ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΒΑΑΛ [Q^a], Symm. τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ αρβηλ), a place cruelly destroyed by 'Shalman' (Hos. 10 14†; שַׁלְמַן, Baer שַׁלְמָן; CΑΛΑΜΑΝ [BAQ]). Robertson Smith in 1881 (*EB*[9] 12 200) favoured an identification of Beth-arbel with the trans-Jordanic Arbela (see *OS*[2] 214 72 886), now *Irbid*, in which case there might be a reference either to Shalmaneser III. or to a Moabite king Shalamanu mentioned in an inscription (*KB* 2 20) as a tributary of Tiglath-pileser III. Schrader (*KAT*[2] 440-442) argues ably for identifying Shalman with the latter king, who very probably made an incursion into Israelite territory. The combination of Beth-arbel with the trans-Jordanic Arbela (*Irbid*), however, is improbable: Shalman should be a more important king, and Beth-arbel (if this compound phrase may be accepted) a more important fortress, than Schrader's theory supposes. Wellhausen and Nowack think that Shalman may be Shalmaneser IV.—the first Shalmaneser known to the Israelites. If so, the latter part of Hos. 10 14 will be a later insertion. The reference to Beth-arbel, however, remains a difficulty. Surely the reading must be corrupt.

$\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ suggests a correction. Read בית ירבעם, and, as a consequence, for שלמן read שָׁלוּם. The murder of Zechariah, son of Jeroboam II., by SHALLUM [*q.v.*, 1] is probably referred to (שר, or שָׁדַר?, points to a fate like that of Sisera; cp שָׁדוּד, Judg. 5 27). A reader of Hosea justly assumed that Zechariah was not the only person who was murdered, and took the massacre of the royal family to be a fulfilment of the stern prophecy in v. 15, which ends: 'in a storm (בשער, We.) the king of Israel shall be cut off.' The words 'mother and children were dashed to pieces' may, however, refer to the cruelty of Menahem to the women of TAPPUAH [*q.v.*, 2], as related in 2 K. 15 16. If so, the interpolator combines two striking events which equally formed part of the divinely threatened judgment upon Israel. See Che. *Expos.* Nov. 1897, p. 364.

For a new but difficult theory of Hos. 10 14 see Herz, *Amer. J. Sem. Lang.* 14 207 f. (98). The versions give little help except as to 'Arbeel' ($\mathfrak{G}^{B}$). $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ preserves a trace of a theory that the reference is to the slaying of Zalmunna by Gideon, in which case Ps. 83 11 (12) would be parallel. Σαλαμαν [BAQ], it is true, does not accord with this theory; but Syro-Hex. points to צלמנע; σαλμαια is $\mathfrak{G}^{NAR^{A}}$'s rendering of Zalmunna, and has some authority in Hosea. Vg. gives *sicut vastatus est Salmana a domo eius qui iudicavit Baal.* The conclusive exegetical objections to this view need not here be stated. See also Field's *Hexapla*. T. K. C.

BETHASMOTH (Βαιθασμωθ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 18 RV. See AZMAVETH (1.).

BETH-AVEN (בֵּית־אָוֶן, cp. Benj. 'ben-Oni'), a place to the E. of Bethel near Ai (Josh. 7 2, βηθαυν [A], βηθαυ [L], from which, indeed, it has been proposed, following $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$, to eliminate the name, but on insufficient grounds[1]), and to the W. of Michmash (1 S. 13 5; where ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ [B*L], ΒΑΙΘCΩ· [B^ab] are obviously wrong; 1 S. 14 23 ΒΑΜΩΘ [B], ΤΗΘΑΥΝ [or τῇ θαυν, A^vid], ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ [L]). The site has not been identified;[2] but it must have been the last village on the edge of the desert country, for to this it gave the name Wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18 12 βαιθαυν [A]; -θων [B]; -θαουν [L]). All the data point to the neighbourhood of *Deir Dīwān*—either that village itself, or *Kh. Ḥaiyān*, immediately to the S. For the rest see BETHEL, § 4. G. A. S.

BETH-AZMAVETH (בֵּית־עַזְמָוֶת), Neh. 7 28; see AZMAVETH (1.).

BETH-BAAL-MEON (בֵּית בַּעַל מְעוֹן), Jos. 13 17. See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-BARAH (בֵּית בָּרָה, ΒΑΙΘΗΡΑ [BA], -ΒΗΡΑ [L]; the form of the second part of the name is obscure) is not to be identified with the Bethabara of Jn. 1 28 (Re. '); it occurs only in the story of Gideon (Judg. 7 24), who sends to his fellow-tribesmen in the hill country of Ephraim, bidding them cut off the Midianites' retreat by holding against them 'the waters as far as Beth-barah, and (also) the Jordan.' The latter words (ואת־הירדן) seem to be a gloss on 'the waters' (המים). By 'the waters,' however, are really meant, not the Jordan, but the streams emptying themselves into the Jordan which the Midianites would have to pass. Beth-barah must have been situated somewhere in the wādy formed by one of these streams, and there are points in the narrative which suggest locating it near the mouth of the *Wādy Fāri'ah*, between which and the Jordan the Midianites would find themselves in a *cul-de-sac* (Moore).

BETH-BASI (ΒΕΘΒΑCΙ [A], ΒΑΙΘΒΑΙCCΕΙ [N], -ΒΑCC. [NV], -ΒΑCΙ [V], בית בסי [Pesh.], *Beth-bessaren* [Vet. Lat.]), a fortified city in the desert (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ), the ruinous parts (τὰ καθῃρημένα) of which Jonathan and Simon repaired, when menaced by Bacchides (1 Macc. 9 62 64). The Syriac (see above; cp Vet. Lat.) reads Beth-yashan (cp JESHANAH). This is probably correct; the corruptions can be easily accounted for. Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 1 5) calls the place Beth-alaga (*i.e.*, Beth-hoglah), which is too far from the MS readings, but may be a correct identification, though BETH-ARABAH also suggests itself. G. A. Smith, however, thinks that the second *b* in Beth-basi may be correct. 'In the wilderness of Judea, E. of Tekoa, there is a *Wādy el-Bassah*, which name as it stands means "marsh," an impossible

[1] We. supposes מקדם לריחאל to be a gloss, and און a contemptuous distortion of אל in the manner of Hos. 4 15, etc. (*CH* 125). So Albers, but not Di. or Bennett, *SBOT*.

[2] Possibly it was early destroyed. This, as Mühlau remarks, would account for the disparaging transformation of the name Bethel into Beth-aven (Riehm, *HWB*[2] 1 213).

term, and therefore probably an echo of an ancient name.'

T. K. C.

BETH-BIREI, RV **Beth-biri** (בית בראי), 1 Ch. 4 31. See BI ITH-LI BAOTH.

BETH-CAR (בית־כר; Βαιθχορ [BL], Βελχ. [A], [μεχρι] κορραιων, Jos. *Ant.* vi. 2 2; ישרין [Targ.]), a place, presumably in the district of Mizpah, to which the Israelites pursued the defeated Philistines (1 S. 7 11 [Dt.]). The phrase 'under Beth-car' is remarkable. Does it mean 'under the gates of Beth-car' (so We. *TBS* 68)? or does it mean 'to the foot of the hill on some part of which Beth-car stood'? No such name as Beth-car is mentioned elsewhere; hence it is at first sight too bold to identify it (as *PEF*, not disapproved by GASm. *HG* 224) with 'Ain Kārim, the name of a flourishing village a good way to the S. of Nebi Samwil, and W. of Jerusalem. The name Beth-car, however, is self-evidently corrupt, and if we may emend it into 'Beth-haccerem' the identification with *'Ain Karim* becomes probable (see BETH-HACCEREM). Only 1½ m. to the N. of 'Ain Kārim is Dēr Yāsīn, not improbably to be identified with the Jashan or Jeshanah of *v.* 12 (see SHEN), which need not be the same as the Jeshanah of 2 Ch. 13 19.

The alternative is to read 'Beth-horon' (Klo.); כ and ח were, from phonetic causes, easily confounded. 'Under Beth-horon' would be a very intelligible expression; but Beth-horon is certainly too far north. The reading 'Beth-jashan,' quoted from Pesh. (*not* ☪) by G. A. Smith (*HG* 224), is no reading at all, but a corruption of the text of 1 S. 7 11, as We. has pointed out.

T. K. C.

BETH-DAGON (בית דָּגוֹן, § 95, 'house of Dagon,' Βηθδαγων [AL]). 1. A city of Judah, enumerated in the third group of 'lowland' towns (Josh. 15 41, βαγαδιηλ [B]). The list is so scattered and irregular that nothing can with certainty be inferred from it as to the site of Beth-dagon; but MAKKEDAH (*q.v.*), which is mentioned in the same verse, must have lain off the mouth of Aijalon (Josh. 10 28). Here we find, 6 m. SE. from Joppa, a Beit-Dejan, and, 1½ m. farther S., Dāmūn. Each of these has been identified with Beth-dagon (see Rob. *BR* 3 298, Clermont Ganneau, *PEFQ*, 1874), and one of them (the former, according to Friedr. Del.) is probably the Bit-daganna mentioned in Sennacherib's prism-inscription (col. 2 *l.* 65; *KB* 2 92). It must be remembered, however, that the name occurred in several places through Palestine—Beit Dejan nearly 7 m. E. of *Nāblus* (see *PEF* map), and, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 8 1 *BJ* i. 2 3), Dagon near Jericho, each on an important trade route from Philistia to the Jordan Valley. There may, then, have been more than one Beth-dagon on the borders of Philistia, and it ought not to be overlooked that neither Dajūn nor Beit Dejan lies in the Shephēlah proper. On the doubtful phrase 'land of Dagon' in Eshmunazar's inscription, and on the god Dagon, see DAGON, § 1. On Dājūn see especially Cl. Ganneau *Arch. Res. in Pal.* 126 *ff.*

2. A locality not yet identified (but cp Conder, *Hdbk. to the Bible*, 165), on the border of Asher (Josh. 19 27; βαιθεγενεθ [B]).

3. The temple of Dagon in Ashdod (1 Macc. 10 83, βηθδαγων [A$^{N\,c.a\,c.b}$V], βοδαγων [$\aleph^{*}$]).

G. A. S.

BETH-DIBLATHAIM (בית־דִּבְלָתַיִם; cp Ass. *dublu*, 'foundation'; but see NAMES, § 107), a town in Moab mentioned along with Dibon [1] and Nebo [iii.] (Jer. 48 22 = ☪ 31 22, επι οικον δαιβλαθαιμ [BQ], ε[illegible] δεβλαθαιμ [$\aleph$A]), evidently the same as ALMON-DIBLATHAIM, which also occurs in connection with [illegible] (Nu. 33 46 *f.*). This place (called בת דבלתן; Meb[illegible] and Ba'al Me'on are stated by Mesha on his stele to have been fortified by himself (*C.I.* 30)

BETH-EDEN, AV$^{mg.}$, EV 'house of Eden' (בית עֵדֶן; εξ ανδρων χαρραν [BAQT]), an Aramæan city or land, with a ruler of its own, but presumably allied to Damascus [illegible] No satisfactory identification of this place has been made. The vocalisation (עָדֶן not עֵדֶן) forbids us to see in it the Παράδεισος of Strabo and Ptolemy, and equally forbids us to regard it with Wetzstein (Del. *Jes.*[4] 702; cp Vg. *de deliciis voluptatis*) as a poetical name of Damascus. The view, however, adopted by Schrader (*KAT*[2] 327) and favoured by ☪[Lag] (see above), that Beth-eden is the Bit-adini of the inscriptions (see EDEN), is not less inadmissible; for this is too far to the N. of Damascus, and had in the time of Amos, long been subject to Assyria (Wi. *AT Unters.* 183; cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 33 526 [79]). No doubt there were other places called EDEN (*q.v.*, ii.). There is equal uncertainty as to the name Bikath-aven (see AVEN, 3), which corresponds to Beth-eden in the parallel line.

T. K. C.

BETH-EKED (בית עֵקֶד, EV 'shearing house' RV$^{mg.}$ 'house of gathering'),[1] where Jehu met Ahaziah's brethren, is either a place-name or (more probably) the designation of an isolated house used on certain occasions by the shepherds of the district (2 K. 10 12 14 βαιθακαθ [B]; but in *v.* 14 ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ [Bab.mg] -καδ [AL]; Pesh. has 'and he was overthrowing the altars that were on the way' [*v.* 12], and בית עבר [*v.* 14]; cp Cod. Vind. of Vet. Lat. *Bethacar*).

BETHEL (בֵּית־אֵל, §§ 1, 10, always one word [Ba.] on Gen. 12 8 Josh. 7 2], RV wrongly with a hyphen; 'house of God'—*i.e.*, βαιτυλιον—(cp βαιτουλια, BETHULIA); see IDOLATRY, § 2, MASSEBA; βαιθηλ [BADEL]; but Gen. 35 7, βεθ. [D]; gentilic **Bethelite,** see HIEL).

1. Site. 1. A town on the border between Benjamin and Ephraim, W. of the wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18 12; on 12 16, where ☪[A] omits the clause, and ☪[BAF] has ηλαζ for Bethel or Makkedah, see TAPPUAH, 2), without doubt the present *Beitin* (from Beitil, by the common interchange of *l* and *n*), a small village (said to have 400 inhabitants), with ruins of early Christian and Crusaders' buildings, about 10 m. N. of Jerusalem. It lies on the backbone of the central range, a little E. of the watershed, and 2890 ft. above the sea. From the village itself the view is confined to the plateau, which, like most of the territory of Benjamin, presents a bleak prospect of gray rocks and very stony fields, relieved by few trees and a struggling cultivation. A few minutes SE., however, lies one of the great view-points of Palestine, the Burj-Beitin or Tower of Bethel (probably the ruin of an early Christian monastery), supposed to mark a traditional site of the tent and altar of Abraham 'to the E. of Bethel' (Gen. 12 8), and of Lot's view of the 'Circle of Jordan' (13 3-10). Four good springs and a great reservoir amply certify the present village as the site of the city which 'was called Luz at the first' (Gen. 28 19, οἶκος θεοῦ [ADEL]). The sanctuary, 'God's house,' the 'place' (as it is called in Gen. 28 11, where it is distinct from the city) which grew famous enough to absorb the city's name in its own, may have lain either on the site of the Burj-Beitin, or on one of the neighbouring slopes, where there is a natural stone [illegible] (*PEFQ*, 1881, p. 255); and the curious formation of the rocks in terraces and ramparts has been taken for the material suggestion of the 'flight of steps' (LADDER) which Jacob saw in his dream (Gen. 28 10 *ff.*).[2] There he raised a pillar, or massebah, to Yahwè, and afterwards is said (Gen. 35 1-8) by the same narrator, E (it is J who gives the previous story of Abraham's altar), to have built an altar and called the 'place' (not yet 'city') 'God of Bethel' (for which ☪ Pesh. and Vg read 'Bethel'). Here Deborah, Rebekah's

[1] Cp the Targ. בית נגישת רועא, 'place of the [illegible] together of the shepherds.' For עקד, however, we [illegible] perhaps read נוקדים (נוקדים), and omit the next word ([illegible] not in *v.* 14) *hā-rō'īm* (הָרֹעִים) as a gloss; *nōkēdim* was a less common word for 'shepherds' than *rō'īm*.

[2] Schlatter (*Chr. Topog.* 23) infers from Gen. 12 8 [illegible] (om. ☪A) that the sanctuary lay E. of the town, in Deir [illegible]

foster-mother, died. She was buried *below* the town, beneath an oak called 'the oak of weeping' (see ALLON-BACUTH, MULBERRY); trees, it is probable, would not be found on the stony plateau above. The next notice of Bethel is in the JE narrative of Joshua's conquests (Jos. 7 2 8 9 12 [om. BAF; βηθαν L]), in which Bethel is not yet the name of a city (so also the Deuteronomist in Jos. 12 9 [Γεθ [A]; in vv. 16 'Bethel' is with $\mathfrak{G}^{BAF}$ to be omitted), but is still distinct from Luz (16 2 [$\mathfrak{G}^{LA}$ does not distinguish them, reading λοιζα (B in vv. 1, A in vv. 2) after βαιθηλ]). The later priestly writer, however, makes them the same (18 13, cp 22 [βησανα [B], βηθηλ (A)]; in Judg. 1 23 the parenthesis is probably a gloss).[1] In Judg. 4 5 the prophetess Deborah is said to have sat under the palm-tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel—a statement which the critics who understand the song of Deborah to imply that she belonged to the tribe of Issachar suppose to have arisen from confusion with the other Deborah (see DEBORAH). There is no cogent reason, however, for their inference from the song, and while a palm is an unusual, it is not an impossible, tree at the altitude of Bethel: there is one at Jerusalem. In the story of the crime of the Benjamites the priestly writing tells of a national gathering before God at Bethel (Judg. 21 2).

In the records of the period after the Judges the name Luz does not occur; we may suppose it by this time to have been absorbed in that of Bethel, which was still a sanctuary (1 S. 7 16 10 3). The division of the kingdoms brought Bethel a new opportunity: its ancient sanctity was taken advantage of by Jeroboam for political ends, and he made it one of the two national shrines which he established in North Israel in order that his people might not go over to Jerusalem. In these shrines he set up the golden calves—'Thy God, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt' (1 K. 12 29). A priesthood, not Levitical, was established, and a new altar, pilgrimages, and feasts were ordained (1 K. 12 30 *f.*). In the words of Amaziah to Amos, Bethel became a royal and national temple ('sanctuary of the king,' 'house of the kingdom,' Am. 7 13).[2]

3. History.

A later (perhaps post-exilic) narrative records a prophecy as made by a prophet from Judah, by which Jeroboam was judged according to the Deuteronomic standard, and Yahwé's overthrow of Bethel was predicted (1 K. 13; cp 2 K. 10 29). There was no such feeling of guilt or foreboding of doom, however, among the prophets of the northern kingdom, for we find a company of them settled in Bethel, and the place visited by Elijah and Elisha (2 K. 2 2 *f.* 23).

For a national sanctuary the position was convenient. The present village lies about a furlong off the most easterly of the three parallel branches into which the great north road here divides, very near its junction with the road by Michmash to Jericho, and not many miles from the heads of those two other roads which come up from the coast by the Beth-horons, and by Gophna, respectively, to meet the north road just mentioned. That is to say, the main lines of traffic N. to S. and E. to W. crossed at the gates of Bethel. Like other ancient sanctuaries, it must have had a market; its mercenariness and wealth are implied by Amos (8 4, etc.). Moreover, Bethel lay upon the natural frontier between the two kingdoms on the plateau between the passes of Beth-horon and Michmash (on the Chronicler's story of its capture by Abijah of Judah, see ABIJAH, 1). The prophets Hosea and Amos appear in opposition to Bethel not on the ground (taken by the later Deuteronomists) that it was the seat of a schism, but because of

4. Important position.

[1] In Judg. 2 1 *a* Bethel ought probably to be read for BOCHIM (q. v.).

[2] בי מקדש־מלך הוא ובית ממלכה הוא. AV 'for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's house'; RV 'for it is a sanctuary, and it is a royal house.'

the superstitious and immoral nature of its cult, even though the object of this was Yahwe himself. They regard it as apostasy from Yahwe (Am. 4 4, 'Come to Bethel and revolt'; 5 5 [βαθηλ $\mathfrak{G}^{A\text{mg}}$] 'Seek ye Bethel, seek Yahwe'), and its crimes culminate (Am. 7 10) in the silencing of his prophet Amos by its priest Amaziah (see AMOS, § 20). It shall, therefore, bear the brunt of the impending doom (Am. 3 14 Hos. 10 15 [οἶκος τοῦ ισραηλ BAQ]). In scorn Amos had said 'Bethel shall become AVEN'—*i.e.*, vanity, falseness, false worship, idolatry (5 5)—so Hosea calls it Beth-aven (4 15 5 8 10 5) oftener than he calls it Bethel. The nickname was the readier because of the actual BETH-AVEN (*q. v.*), which once stood, and perhaps in the eighth century still stood, in the neighbourhood. After the fall of the northern kingdom the heathen colonists naturally adopted the cult of the 'god of the land,' and Bethel retained its importance as a religious centre (2 K. 17 28). Isaiah and Micah do not mention Bethel; it is very doubtful if Jeremiah does so (Giesebrecht on Jer. 48 13). The frontier of Judah, however, must have been gradually pushed N. so as to enclose it, for when Josiah put down 'the high places in the cities of Judah' he destroyed the altar in Bethel and desecrated the site (2 K. 23 4 15). The city itself must have been inhabited by Jews, for its families are reckoned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 8 *c*; Ezra 2 28 (γαιθηλ [B]) = Neh. 7 32 (βηθηλ [BN*]) = 1 Esd. 5 21 (βετολιω [B], βητ. [A]). It was the most northerly site repeopled by Jews (Neh. 11 31; βηθηρ [N^{c.a} mg. inf.; om. BN*A]).[1] We hear nothing more of Bethel till it is described as one of the strong places of Judah which Bacchides fortified in 161 B.C. (1 Macc. 9 50; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3), and then it disappears from OT history.

5. Post-biblical.

In 69 A.D. Vespasian garrisoned Bethel before his advance on Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* iv. 9 9); and *circa* 132 Hadrian placed a post there to intercept Jewish fugitives (Midrash, *Ekkah*, ii. 3; Neub. *Geog. Talm.* 115). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333) gives it as Betthar 12 R. m. from Jerusalem. Robinson's theory (*LBR*, 270), that Bethel is therefore the Bether of Hadrian's war, is unfounded. Euseb. and Jerome call it a village: the latter adds (under Aggai) that where Jacob dreamed there was built a church—perhaps part of the ruins at Burj-Beitîn. The Crusaders exhibited the rock under the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as Jacob's Stone; but the 'Cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre' gives Bethel as a casale ceded to that church in 1160, and the site of a tower and chapel built by Hugues d'Ibelin (Rey, 378). See Guérin, *Judée*, chap. 58; *PEF Mem.* 2 278 *f.* 305 *f.*; Stanley, *SP* 217; GASm. *HG*, chap. xii. and pp. 289 *ff.* 298.

(2) A place to which David sent part of the spoil of the Amalekites (1 S. 30 27): probably the same as BETHUEL, if we are not with $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ (and Budde) to read βαιθσουρ—*i.e.*, BETH-ZUR.

G. A. S.

BETH-EMEK (בית העמק), § 99, 'house in the valley'), a place on the boundary of Asher (Josh. 19 27).

Before Beth-emek some words appear to have dropped out: perhaps they are represented by $\mathfrak{G}$'s καὶ εἰσελευσεται [τὰ] ορια. (After ορια $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ continues σαφθαιβαιθμε, where σαφθαι seems to be a corruption of γαιφθαιηλ [= γαι ιεφθαηλ], prefixed wrongly to βαιθμε [= βαιθεμεκ]; ασαιφθα βηθαεμεκ [A], σαφα βηθαεμεκ [L]; Symm. εἰς την κοιλαδα). The description in vv. 27 *f.* is not clear; there would seem to be two descriptions of the north boundary (if 'on the left hand,' v. 27, means 'northward' as if the equivalent of καὶ εἰσελ. ορια is to be inserted before 'northward' in v. 27).

Robinson was struck by the resemblance of the name to that of 'Amḳa, 6½ m. NE. of 'Akka (Acre), but he himself points out (*BR* 4 103 108), the situation of 'Amka is too far N. of Jefat (Jiphtah-el?), and, even if this objection be waived, 'Amka is at any rate too far N. of Kābūl (which must be the ancient Cabul).

F. K. C.

BETHER (θεθηρ [BL], βαιθηρ[2] [A]), one of the additional cities of Judah in Josh. 15 59 $\mathfrak{G}$ (cp *SBOT*), mentioned after Karem ('Ain Karim) and Gallim (cp GIBBAR). No doubt it is the modern *Jattir* (7 m. SW.

[1] On this list see EZRA, ii. §§ 5 [*f.*, 15 [1]] *a*.

[2] βαιθηρ also occurs in 1 Ch. 6 59 [A], as a substitute for ατταν [B] *i.e.*, Jutta.

of Jerusalem), which stands on the slope of a steep projecting hill between the Wady Battir and a smaller valley. If we ascend higher we shall reach a site admirably adapted for a fortress, where there are still some ruins connected by popular legend with the Jews. On the E. side are chambers in the rock and old cisterns. Neubauer (*Géog. Talm.* 103-114, cp 90) and Guérin (*Jud.* 2 387-395) had all but demonstrated that this was the Bether (ביתר) or rather Beth-ter (ביתתר), within whose walls Bar Cochba so obstinately resisted the Romans under Julius Severus (A.D. 134-5). The proof has now been completed by the discovery of an inscription stating which divisions of the Roman army were stationed there.[1] It is, therefore, no longer possible to maintain with Gratz (*Hist.* 2 417) that the Beth-ter of Bar Cochba was identical with the Betthar of the itineraries, which was situated between Antipatris or Diospolis and Cæsarea (see ANTIPATRIS, § 2, end). See GIBBAE.

Only two ancient statements respecting the position of Bether need be here quoted. Eus. (*HE* 6 6) describes βιθθηρα in these terms: κολίχνη τις ἡν ὀχυρωτατη. τῶν Ἱεροσολυμων οὐ σφοδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα, and the Talm. of Jerus. (*Taanith*, 4 8), 'If thou thinkest that Beth-ter [spelt with two ת almost always in this section] was near the sea, thou art in error: truly it was 40 m. away from the sea.' T. K. C.

BETHER, The mountains of (הָרֵי בֶתֶר), Cant. 2 17 EV, following Vg. (*Bether*). The word Bether, however, all recent critics agree, is not a proper name: it qualifies the preceding words. Putting aside the old, forced explanations of the phrase, such as 'mountains of ravines' (𝔊 βηθαρ βρη κοιλωμάτων—*i.e.*, הרי בתרים; cp BITHRON), and 'mountains of separation' (between the lovers), one might conjecture that 'Bether' was the Syrian plant malobathron, from which a costly oil was procured, used in the toilet of banqueters (Hor. *Od.* ii. 7 7), and also in medicine (Plin. *NH* xxiii. 4 48). So Symm. (Field, *Hex.* on Cant. 2 17), RV^mg.; Wellh. *Prol.*[4] 399; ET 391. Others emend בתר into בשמים, 'spices,' in conformity with 8 14 (so Pesh., Theod., Meier, Gratz). The best solution, however, has yet to be mentioned: בתר is miswritten for [ברתים, 'cypresses'; cp 1 17 (Che.). 'Mountains of cypresses' is an appropriate term for Lebanon; cp 'mountains of panthers' (18). See *JQR* 10 571, and cp CANTICLES, § 15 n.

BETHESDA (ΒΗΘΕCΔΑ [cod^leid]—*i.e.*, בֵּית חִסְדָּא 'house of mercy'; ΒΗΘΖΑΘΑ [Ti. WH]), the reading of TR in Jn. 5 2, for which the best authorities have BETHZATHA or BETHSAIDA. On the topographical question, see JERUSALEM.

BETHEZEL (בֵּית הָאֵצֶל; 𝔊^BAQ οἶκον ἐχόμενον αὐτῆς, *i.e.*, אצלה, 'near her'), an unidentified place in the Shephēlah mentioned by Micah (1 11), who foresees the captivity of its noble ones (עצליו, emended from עצבתו, 𝔊's reading [ὀδύνης], where MT has עמדתו: so Che., *JQR*, July '98). It is scarcely the same as Azel (cp AZALL).

BETH-GADER (בֵּית גָּדֵר; ΒΑΙΘΓΑΙΔΩΝ [B], -ΓΕΔΩΡ [A], ΒΗΘΓΕΔΔΩΡ [L]), a town, whose 'father' Hareph was of Calebite origin (1 Ch. 2 51); the genealogy seems to represent post-exilic relations. On the analogy of the other great divisions Shobal abi Kirjath-jearim and Salma abi Bethlehem, Beth-gader was perhaps no unimportant place, and we may possibly identify it with GEDOR, 1.[2] It is noticeable that the further divisions of Hareph are not enumerated, as they are in the cases of Shobal and Salma.

BETH-GAMUL (בֵּית גָּמוּל, 'place of recompense'? [cp Gamaliel, גַּמְלִיאֵל]: ΟΙΚΟΝΓΑΙΜΩΛ [B], Ο.ΓΑΜΩΛΑ [A], Ο. -Λ [Q], Ο. -ΩΑΒ [𝔄^c.4], om. 𝔄*). In Moab on the table-land E. of the Jordan (Jer. 48 23), identified by

1 Cl. Gan., *Acad. des inscr., Comptes rendus*, 1894, p. 13 *f.*
2 The position of GEDER, with which it might otherwise be connected, is unknown.

some with *A'ik. Jemail*, which lies to the east of the known DIBON; according to others, it finds its mo representative in *Umm ej-Jemâl*, about five hours Bosra.

BETH-GILGAL (בֵּית הַגִּלְגָּל). Neh. 12 29 RV; GILGAL, § 6 (5).

BETH-HACCEREM, AV **Beth-Haccherem** (הַכֶּרֶם, § 103, 'vineyard place'), is expressly called a town, but a 'district' (פֶּלֶךְ), near Jerusalem, Neh. (ΒΗΘΑΧΑΜ [B], -ΘΑΧΧΑΡΜΑ [A], -ΘΑΚΑΜ [𝔄], -ΧΑΡΑΜ [L]). From Jer. 6 1 it appears to have inclu a conspicuous height to the S. of Jerusalem which used as a beacon-station (Βαιθθαχαρμα [B], Βεθθ. Βηθα. [Q], Βηθθαχαρ [A].

Jerome (in his comment on the latter passage) says that it one of the villages which he could see every day with his own from Bethlehem, that it was called Bethacharma, and that it on a m[illegible]ain. Hence, many since Pococke have placed i the so-called Fureidis or 'Frank Mountain' (2487 ft. above sea-level), between Bethlehem and Tekoa, and very near latter (so even Giesebrecht). Jerome's statement we are una to criticise; but there is now no name near the 'Frank Mounta which confirms this theory, and the special fertility which [illegible] Beth-haccerem implies to have characterised the dis suggests looking elsewhere. After all, it was rather hasty to i from Jer. 6 1 that Beth-haccerem was bound to be near Teko

Since we have found reason elsewhere (BETH-C to correct 'Beth-car' in 1 S. 7 11 into Beth-haccere and to identify this with the beautiful village of 'A Kārim, about an hour and a half W. of Jerusale it becomes difficult to resist the conclusion that the h referred to by Jeremiah was the *Jebel 'Ali*, at the foot which lies the village in question. The fruitful oliv groves and vineyards of 'Ain Kārim are watered from superb fountain, and would justify the name Bet haccerem. The summit of the Jebel 'Ali commands view of the Mediterranean, the Mount of Olives, a part of Jerusalem (Baed.[3] 112). Conder mentions th there are still cairns on the ridge above 'Ain Kārim whic may have served as beacons (*PEFQ*, 1881, p. 271 One is 40 ft. high and 130 ft. in diameter, with a fl top measuring 40 ft. across.

Two more references to Beth-haccerem may be ind cated. In the Mishna treatise, *Middoth* 3 4, it stated that the stones for the great altar in the secon temple came from the valley of Beth-cerem, which Adl (*JQR* 8 390) identifies with Beth-haccerem and 'A Kārim; and among the eleven towns which 𝔊^BAL ha (but not MT) in Josh. 15 59 occurs Karem (Καρεμ which, from the context, can only be 'Ain Kārim. C TAHCHEMONITE. For another (probable) Be -carem see BATH-RABBIM. T. K. C.

BETH-HAGGAN (בֵּית הַגָּן, *domus horti* [Vg.], EV 'the garden-house'; better in 𝔊 as a proper name, ΒΑΙΘΑΝ [B], ΒΑΙΑΤΓΑΝ [A^vid. sup^las], ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ = Beth-horon [L]), a place, apparently to the S. of Jezreel, on the road to which Ahaziah fled in his chariot when he saw Jehoram slain by Jehu (2 K. 9 27). Jenin, the first village which one travelling southwards would encounter, may very well be Beth-haggān (= Beth-hag-gannim, 'place of gardens'), *i.e.*, EN-GANNIM (*q.v.*, 2). If, however, we hold with Conder that Megiddo, which Ahaziah reached at last—to die—was Mujedda' at the foot of Gilboa, a little to the S. of Beisān, it will become natural to identify Beth-haggān with a northern *Beit Jenn*, between Mt. Tabor and the S. end of the Lake of Gennesaret (Beit Jenn is, in Arabic nomenclature a favourite name). Against this view of the flight of Ahaziah, see GASm. *HG* 387, n. 1. T. K. C.

BETH-HANAN. See ELON-BETH-HANAN.

BETH-HARAM, AV incorrectly BETH-ARAM (בֵּית הָרָם; ΟΘΑΡΓΑΕΙ, or perhaps -ΑΔΩΜ [B], ΒΗΘΑΡΑΜ [AL]), Josh. 13 27 (P). For the true form of the [illegible] see BETH-HARAN.

BETH-HARAN (בֵּית הָרָן, probably 'house of HARAN,' Βαιθαραν [B], -αρρα [A], -ν [FL], Nu. 32 36 [E]), the correct and original pronunciation of the name of the place also called BETH-HARAM (cp GERSHOM for GERSHON). The place thus designated was an ancient Amorite city, fortified by the conquering Gadites. The site is occupied by the modern *Tell er-Rāmeh*, which stands up in a wady of the same name, between Heshbon and the Jordan, at no great distance from the river. The objection to this raised by Guthe (*ZDPV* 23, n. 1) is not decisive.

Rāmeh does indeed imply a form, Beth-harāmāh; but this form is vouched for by the existence of the Aramaic Beth-ramtha (see below). It arose in the Hebrew by a phonetic modification of Beth-haram) which was the older and correct form of the name had passed out of use, and so the later form, Beth-haram, came to be misinterpreted. Moreover, Buckingham's view of a 'conspicuous mound' called 'Beit Harran (*Land of Moab*, 340) has not been verified by subsequent travellers,[1] though it is still recognised in Baed.[(3)] (map of Peræa), and the identification (which stands in Di.'s comm.) is retained by von Riess in *Bibl. Atlas*[5], on the assumption that Beit Harran (or Haram) is nearer to the outlet of the wādy than Tell er-Rāmeh.

The really conspicuous mound is surely that of Tell er-Rāmeh which is 673 ft. above the sea-level, and certainly marks the site of an ancient town of importance (Conder, *PEF Mem.*, *E. Pal.* 1 218). Such a town was the Beth-ramtha of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.* 247), the name of which is attested by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome.[2]

Herod had a palace here (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10 6; *BJ* ii. 4 2); Herod Antipas walled it and called it Julias after the wife of Augustus, at the same time that Herod Philip rebuilt Bethsaida and gave it the same name after the emperor's daughter (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 1; *BJ* ii. 9 1). Jerome, however, enables us to correct this statement (*OS* 103 17). The older name of the city was Livias; the name was changed to Julias when Livia was received into the gens Julia by the emperor's testament (see Schürer, *HJ.* ii. 1 142). Eus. (*OS* 234 98) and Theodosius (530 A.D.) also call it Livias; the latter (*De Situ Terræ Sanctæ*, 65) describes it as 12 R. m. from Jericho, near warm springs that were efficacious against leprosy. T. K. C.

BETH-HOGLAH, once (Josh. 156) AV **Beth-hogla** (בֵּית חָגְלָה, § 104, 'place of partridge,' cp HOGLAH),[3] a Benjamite city on the border of Judah (Jos. 156, Βαιθαγλααμ [B], -λα [L], -θαλα [A]; 18 19 21, θαλασσαν and Βεθεγαιω [B], Βαιθαλαγα [A], Βηθαγλα [L., and A in 21]). It is the modern 'Ain (and Kasr) Hajla, a fine spring and ruin situated between Jericho and the Jordan S. of Gilgal (cp Di. on Gen. 1 11 and Baed.[(3)] 154).[4] Under the form Bethalaga it is, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 1 5), the place to which Jonathan fled before Bacchides, 1 Macc. 9 63 (but see BETHBASI). The *Onom.* erroneously identifies Beth-hoglah with Atad (see ABEL-MIZRAIM, end). The interpretation '*Bethagla, locus gyri*' of Jer., according to WRS (*Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 191, n. 1), may rest upon a local tradition of a ritual procession around some sacred object there (cp Ar. *hajala*, 'hobble, hop'—similar perhaps to the Ar. ceremonial *tawāf* (for which see We. *Heid.*[(2)] 110).[4] The form *hajla* survives also in Makhāḍet Hajla (see BETH-ARABAH, 2), a noted bathing-place for pilgrims at the mouth of the Wādy el-Kelt (Baed. 169).

BETH-HORON (בֵּית חוֹרוֹן, also ב׳ חֹרוֹן and ב׳ חֹרֹן, and in Ch. ב׳ חוֹרוֹן; Βαιθωρων or Βεθ. [BAL]).

1. Site. Βεθωρα, Βαιθ-, -θωρω, Βηθ. in Jos. [cp the modern form Beit 'Ūr], probably 'the place of the hollow' or 'hollow way') was the name of two neighbouring villages, upper Beth-horon (ב׳ ה׳ עֶלְיוֹן, Josh. 16 5; *βηθωρων* [L]) and lower Beth-horon (ב׳ ה׳ תַּחְתּוֹן, Josh. 16 3; but in 2 Ch. 8 5 העליון and

[1] See, *e.g.*, Schick, *ZDPV* 2 11; cp p. 2.

[2] Jos. gives the name as *βηθαραμαθα* and *βηθαραμφθα*; once (*Ant.* xvii. 10 6) the text gives *αμμαθα*. Eus. (*OS* 234 87) *βηθραμφθα*, with a fragmentary reference to the *ἀσσυριοι*. Jer. (*OS* 25 11; 103 16), 'Betharam domus sublimium vel montium'; 'quæ a Syris dicitur Bethramtha').

[3] The *o* in Hoglah is not supported, and all the evidence points to the reading 'Hajla.'

[4] For another explanation see EN-EGLAIM.

התחתון—hence the dual form preserved by *ωρωειν* [B; but *βηθωρων* AL], Josh. 10 10 *f.*), near the head and the foot, respectively, of the ascent from the Maritime Plain to the plateau of Benjamin, and represented to-day by *Beit 'Ūr el-fōqa* and *Beit 'Ūr et-tahta* (large *PEF* Surv. Map, Sheet XVII.). The road leaves Beit Sūrīn (in which some see 'Azzen-sheerah; see SHERAH), 840 ft. above sea-level, on the high plain of Aijalon; climbs up the spur of the Benjamite hills in about 50 minutes to the lower Beth-horon, 1240 ft., and thence, dropping at first for a little, ascends the ridge, with the gorges of Wādy Selman to the S., and Wādy es-Sant and Wādy el-'Imeish to the N., to the upper Beth-horon, 1¾ m. from its fellow and 2022 ft. above the sea; and thence, still following the ridge, comes out on the Benjamite plateau about 4½ m. farther on, to the N. of el-Jib (Gibeon), at a height of about 2300 ft. The מַעֲלֵה or ascent to Beth-horon (Josh. 10 10) may be the road towards the upper Beth-horon from Gibeon: it does rise at first from the plateau before descending; the יֶרֶד or descent to the two Beth-horons (Josh. 10 11, $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$) is the whole road from the edge of the plateau. More probably, the two are the same taken from opposite ends. This Beth-horon road is now no longer the high road from Jerusalem and the watershed to the Maritime Plain; but it was used as such from the very earliest times to at least the sixteenth century of our era, and indeed forms the most natural, convenient, and least exposed of all the possible descents from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem to the plain of Sharon. The line of it bears many marks of its age and long use. Carried for the most part over the bare rock and rocky debris, it has had steps cut upon it in its steeper portions, and has remains of Roman pavement. Standing as they do upon mounds, the two Beth-horons command the most difficult passages of this route and form its double key.

2. Beth-horon road.

The constancy with which the Beth-horons appear in history is, therefore, easily explicable (they do not occur, however, in either the lists of the conquests of Thotmes III. or the Amarna letters).

3. Military history.

According to JE, after Joshua had won for Israel a footing on the Benjamite plateau and made peace with Gibeon, the latter was threatened by the Canaanites. Joshua defeated them at Gibeon, and pursued them all the way down by the Beth-horons (Josh. 10 10 *ff.*). In the days of Saul the Philistines must have held the pass from their camp at Michmash (1 S. 13 18).[2] Solomon fortified Beth-horon the nether, along with Gezer, on the opposite side of Aijalon (1 K. 9 17 [om. BL, Jos. *βητχωρα*; in 1 K. 2 35*i* *βαιθωρωθ*, A]; 2 Ch. 8 5 adds Beth-horon the upper [*βαιθωρωμ*, B]). During his son Rehoboam's reign Shishak or Šošenk of Egypt invaded Judah by the Beth-horon passage, it would appear, for both Ai-yu-ru-u (Aijalon) and Bi-tu-ḥ-va-ru-n (Beth-horon) occur in his lists of the towns he conquer (Nos. 26 and 24; see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 166).

In the Syro-Maccabean wars, Seron, a Syrian general, advanced on Judah by Beth-horon; Judas with a small force met him on the ascent, defeated him, and pursued him out upon the plain (1 Macc. 3 13-24 [$\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ *v.* 16, *μεθωρων*]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7 1). A few years afterwards, Nicanor having retired from Jerusalem upon Beth-horon, Judas attacked and slew him, and routed his army as far as Gezer (1 Macc. 7 39 *ff.*; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 5). Beth-horon was among the places fortified by Bacchides (1 Macc. 9 50 [*βηθωρων*, V*], Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3). See also Judith 4 4 (*βεθωρω* [A]).

[1] A similar dual (חרנים) is to be read in 2 S. 13 34 with We., Dr., and Bu. *SBOT*, following $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$'s *ωρωνην* (*ορεων η* [Avid], *σωραιμ* [L]).

[2] It was probably by the Beth-horons that the Philistines [illegible] Saul (1 S. 13 14) and 'from Gibeon south to Gezer,' by David (2 S. 5 25).

In 66 A.D. a Roman army under Cestius Gallus, ascending by Beth-horon, had their rear disordered by the Jews, and after a short and fatal siege of Jerusalem retreated pell-mell by the same way. Josephus describes the difficulties of the ground in a manner that leads us to suppose that the Romans in their haste ran a-back pt to the high road by the Beth-horons, but were swept down by the gorges on either side (*BJ* ii. 19). Perhaps because of this occurrence, Titus, in his advance upon Jerusalem two years later, took another road; and Beth-horon is not again mentioned in the military history of Palestine.

In the division of the land among the tribes of Israel, the border line between Benjamin and Ephraim ran by

4. Population. the Beth-horons (Jo h. 16 3 5 [L τ. 5, βηθωρων], 18 11 *f.*) wh ch were counted to Ephraim (Josh. 21 22). They remained part of the N. kingdom; and we do not read of any Jews settled there in post-exilic times That is to say, they were held by the Samaritans Sanballat, one of the chief foes of the Jews in Nehemiah's day, is called 'the HORONITE' (Neh. 2 10, αρων[ε]ι [BA], ανρωνει [ℵ vid], ωρωνιτης [L] 10 13 28, om. BℵA, ωρανιτης [ℵ c.-a mg.], etc.). Schlatter (*Zur Topog. u. Gesch. Pal.* 4, 'War Beth-horon der Wohnort Sanballat's?') seeks to prove that Horonite means 'from Horonaim,' the town in S. Moab (Is. 15 5 Jer. 48 3 5 34, and Moabite stone), partly on the ground that Sanballat is associated with Tobiah the Ammonite; but Ammonite may mean 'from CHEPHAR-AMMONI' (a town of Benjamin, Josh. 18 24); and Buhl (*Geog.* 169) points out that ⅏'s form of Beth-horon Ὠρ νειν (Josh. 10 10 [B], cp 2 S. 13 34) confirms the possibility of *Horini* meaning 'from Beth-horon.' By 161 B.C. Beth-horon had become a city of Judæa (1 Macc. 9 50; Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 1 3, cp 7 1).

According to the Talmud, it was the birthplace of many rabbis (Neub. *Géog. Talm.* 174). Jerome gives it in the itinerary of S.

5. Post biblical references. Paula, who came to it from Nicopolis (*Epit. S. Paul., Hier. Op.*, ed. Migne, i. 883). There are the ruins of a mediæval castle in upper Beth-horon, but the substructions in both villages are probably more ancient. The name is given by very few mediæval travellers (Brocardus, ch. 9; Marin. Sanutus, 249), and if not at all, it would appear, by the Arab geographers unless the 'Urāmah mentioned by Yāḳūt, but not located, be the same place. The mediæval pilgrims went to Jerusalem by Ramleh and the present line of road. In 1801 Dr. Clarke (*Travels*, pt. ii. vol. i. 628) rediscovered the name.

See Rob. *BR* 3 59; Guérin, *Jud.* 1 338, 346; Stanley, *SP* 212; GASm. *HG* 210-213, 254.

G. A. S.

BETH-JESHIMOTH. once (Nu. 33 49) AV **Beth-jesimoth** (בֵּית הַיְּשִׁימוֹת, ΒΗCΙΜΟΥΘ [AI]), is assigned in Joshua (12 3 ac[ε]ιμωθ [BA], ΔΙCΙΜ. [F vid], ΒΗΘ-ΑC[Ε]ΙΜ. [L], 13 20 ΒΑΙΘΘΑCΕΙΝωθ [B]) to the Reubenites (cp Nu. 33 49, ἀνὰ μέσον αισιμωθ [BFL], Α. Μ. ΑC. [A]); but probably it was, like most of the neighbouring places, in the possession of the Moabites during a considerable period of the Hebrew monarchy. We know that it was Moabite in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 25 9, οἶκον θασιμουθ [B], ο. βεθασ. [B^vid^A], ο. βαιθα. [Q*], ο. βαιθ' ιασ. [Q^a]), who speaks of it along with Baal-meon and Kiriathaim as 'the glory of the country.' As βησιμώθ it is mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* iv. 7 5) as having been taken by Placidus; Eus. writes βηθσιμούθ (*OS*[2] 266 27) and βηθασιμουθ (233 81); Jerome (*ib.* 103 9), writing *Bethsimuth*, describes it as a village bearing in his day the name *Iamuth*, opposite Jericho at a distance of 10 R. m. 'in meridiana plaga, juxta mare mortuum.' The name and description point to the modern *Khirbet es-Suweimeh*. The name Jeshimoth may be compared with the Jeshimon 'on the face' of which 'the headland of Pisgah looked down' (Nu. 21 20); for probably this Jeshimon (= 'desolation') is not the Jeshimon of Judah, but the barren land off the NE. end of the Dead Sea. With this name Hommel (*AHT* 197) compares *Yasumunu*, the name of a Palestinian district mentioned by an early Assyrian king. Cp GASm. *HG* 564, n. 1.

BETH-LE-APHRAH (בֵּית לְעַפְרָה), Mic. 1 10† RV, AV APHRAH, HOUSE OF.

BETH-LEBAOTH (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת, §§ 93, 104.—*i.e.*, 'abode of lions,'—Josh. 196, ΒΑΘΑΡωθ [B], ΒΑΙΘΑΛ-

ΒΑΘ [A], ΒΗΘΛΕΒΑωθ [L]), or, simply, LEBAOTH (15 32, ΛΑΒωC [B], -ωθ [AL]), an unidentified [illegible] the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15 32), assigned to S[illegible] (Josh. 19 6). The parallel passage in 1 Ch. 4 [illegible] BE'ITH-BIRI (בְּעֵית בִּרְעִי), which has probably arisen fr[illegible] corruption of the text. For 'and at Beth-biri a[illegible] Sha'ar-aim' ⅏ has καὶ οἶκον βραοιμσεωρειμ [B], βαροιμ' σ. [A], κ. ἐν βαιθβαρειμ κ. ἐν σααριμ [L].

BETHLEHEM (בֵּית־לֶחֶם Ru. 1 19, etc.; לֶחֶם 1 S. 20 6, etc.; ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ [L commonly] some [illegible] ΒΕΘΛΕΕΜ, ΒΑΙΘΛΕΕΜ [BA]; Jos. ΒΗΘΛC-ΜΗ and [illegible] ΛΕΜΑ; gentile **Bethlehemite**, בֵּית־הַלַּחְמִי, [illegible] ΛΕΕΜΕΙΤΗC. 1 S. 16 1[?], etc.) meant, to the He[illegible] 'house of bread'; NAMES, § 10; on a less ob[illegible] explanation of H. G. Tomkins, see ELHANAN, 1. [illegible]

1. Beth-lehem-judah (בֵּית־לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה Judg. 17 7 *ff.*, e[illegible] the modern *Beit Lahm*, 2350 ft. above sea-level 5[illegible]

1. Site. S. of Jerusalem (Jos. 20 stadia, *Ant.* v. 1[illegible] a little off the high road to Hebron, on a s[illegible] running E. from the watershed, surrounded by va[illegible] among the most fertile of Judæa. The site is with[illegible] springs (the nearest being one 800 yards SE. of [illegible] town, and others at Artās 1½ m. away), but rece[illegible] water from an aqueduct from the Pools of Solo[illegible] (CONDUITS, § 3) compassing the SE. end of the sp[illegible] and from many cisterns - of which the greatest [illegible] three in front of the great basilica; there are th[illegible] others from 12 to 21 ft. deep, on the N., called Bi[illegible] Dā'ūd. The immediate neighbourhood is very fert[illegible] bearing, besides wheat and barley, groves of olive a[illegible] almond, and vineyards. The wine of Bethleh[illegible] ('Talhami') is among the best of Palestine.

So great fertility must mean that the site was occupie[illegible] in spite of the want of springs, from the earliest times

2. OT references. but the references to it in Judges—as th[illegible] home of the Levite who sojourned i[illegible] Micah's house (17 7 9), and of the young woman whom the Benjamites maltreated (19 1 *f.* 18)—a[illegible] in the Book of Ruth are of uncertain date, and into th[illegible] clear light of history Bethlehem first emerges with David. It was his home (1 S. 20 6 28, very early), for the w[illegible] of which, when it was occupied by the Philistines, he expressed so great a longing—probably as a pledge o[illegible] his fatherland's enfranchisement that his three captai[illegible] broke the enemy's lines, and drew water from the cis[illegible] 'in the town's gate' (2 S. 23 14 *ff.*, from the same c[illegible] source), which tradition has identified with the Bi[illegible] Dā'ūd (but Guérin, *Jud.* 1 130 *ff.*, following Quaresmius, prefers those in front of the basilica). Other references to Bethlehem as David's home are 1 S. 16 1 4 17 12 15 (from later strata). Asahel, brother of Joab, was buried in Bethlehem in his father's grave (2 S. 2 32). Thus Joab, like his leader, was a Bethlehemite. Except for a statement of 2 Ch. 11 6 (⅏^nsA βαιθ' εεμ), that Rehoboam fortified Bethlehem, the town is not mentioned again till Micah, who describes it (5 2) as still one of the smallest of the townships of Judah, but illustrious as the birthplace of the Messianic king (see MICAH, ii. § 2 *b*). According to Jer. 41 17, the Jews who in 586 B.C. fled to Egypt rested at Gidroth-chimham (see CHIMHAM), near Bethlehem. The Bethlehemites carried into captivity by Nebuchadrezzar repeopled their town after the return (Ezr. 2 21 βαρθαλαεμ [B], βεθλαεμ [A]; Neh. 7 26 Bom βεθλεεμ [ℵ], βαισαλεεμ [A], cp 2 6; 1 Esd. 5 17 βαιθλωμων [B], βαιθλωμων [A], βεθλεεμ [L]). Bethlehem is the scene of the beautiful story of Ruth, in connexion with which it is necessary to note that Moab is clearly visible from about Bethlehem: thus, Ruth in her adopted home must often have had her own fatherland in sight. In the lists of the MT of Joshua (P) Bethlehem is not given; but it is added with ten others in the ⅏^HAL text of 15 59 (και εφραθα αυτη εστι βαιθλεεμ): ⅏'s reading must be genuine, since the group which it

[1] If it does so even then: see DAVID, § 1 *a*.

includes is too important to have been omitted from the original.

The name Ephrathah or Ephrath of this passage is assigned to Bethlehem also in Mic. 5 2 [1] (the [illegible]

3. Ephrath. אפרת or אפרתה is not certain; but the reference to Bethlehem is clear), in Ru. 1 11, virtually in Ru. 1 2 (L om.) in 1 S. 17 12 (B om. L) and probably also in Ps. 132 6. Apart from Micah, the documents in which Ephrath[ah] occurs are probably so late that we might reasonably suppose that Bethlehem was the earlier name of the town. On the other hand these documents are probably based on very early material. Micah (if Mic. 5 2 is his work) takes the name as well known. It is possible to argue from 1 Ch. 2 19 50 4 4 (βαιθλαδεν [B], βαιθλαεμ [A]), that Ephrath[ah] was the name of the whole district in which Bethlehem lay.

Bethlehem is not mentioned by Josephus after Solomon's time, nor in the Books of Maccabees; which proves how insignificant it continued to be. As the place commanded the fertile wadies and water-supply around it,—the Philistines had deemed it important enough to occupy—this silence is very remarkable.

4. Christian times. Bethlehem reappears in Mt. 2 1 Lk. 2 4 as the birthplace of Jesus, distinguished still as Βηθλεεμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας (Mt. 2 1, cp vv. 5 6), 'the city of David' (Lk. 2 4 15 cp Jn. 7 42). Lk. describes the new-born child as having been laid in a manger (ℵ A B D L Ξ omit the definite article of LXX), 'because there was no room for them in the κατάλυμα; they had retired then 'to a stall or cave where there was room for the mother and a crib for the babe.'

It is significant that Bethlehem appears to have been chosen, along with the sites of the crucifixion and the resurrection, for special treatment by the Emperor Hadrian. As he set up there an image of Jupiter and an image of Venus, so he devastated Bethlehem and planted upon it a grove sacred to Adonis (Jer. *Epist. ad Paul.*, 58 3). This proves that even before 132 A.D. Bethlehem was the scene of Christian pilgrimage and worship, as the birthplace of Jesus. (The Talmud also admits that from Bethlehem the Messiah must come: Beracholh, 5*a*.) About 150 A.D. Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 70 78) describes the scene of the birth as in a cave near the village. This tradition may be correct: there were many ancient cave-stables in Palestine (Conder, *Tent Work*, chap. 10), and caves are still used as stables. In 315 A.D. the site of Bethlehem was still 'a wild wood' (Cyr. Jerus. *Catech.* 12 20). Constantine cleared it and built a basilica. Soon after, in Jerome's time, a cave in the rock near the basilica was venerated as the stable, and in a neighbouring grotto Jerome himself prepared his translation of the Bible. From that day to this the tradition has been constant.

The centre of interest in modern Bethlehem is, therefore, the large basilica S. Maria a Præsepio, surrounded and fortified by the Latin, the Greek, and the Armenian monasteries. Although the architecture is mixed and of many periods, the bulk of the church is that built by Constantine. Cp De Vogüé, *Églises de la Palestine*, 46 *ff.*

Eutychius (*circa* 937, quoted by Guérin, 2 161) asserts, indeed, that the church is a building of Justinian, who pulled down Constantine's as too small and raised a grander edifice. Procopius, however, in his *De Ædific. Justin.*, whilst recording that this emperor built the walls of Bethlehem (5 8), does not mention any basilica there of his construction, as, had there been one, he must have done. Probably Justinian only added to Constantine's church, and the building is, therefore, the most ancient church in Palestine and one of the most ancient in the world. The fine mosaics are from the court of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (*circa* 1169 A.D.), and the rafters by Philip of Burgundy (in 1482).

[1] In the latter two passages Ephrathite means, of course, 'of Ephrath[ah]' Bethlehem. It is interesting that in *PEFQ*, Jan. 1898, Schick attempts to prove that Ramathaim-zophim, the town of Samuel 'an Ephrathite,' was in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. 'Ephrathite' in 1 S. 1 1 probably means Ephraimite (cp Judg. 12 5 where for אֶפְרָתִי 𝔊 has Εφραθειτης but 𝔊AL εκ του Εφραιμ).

Under the chancel is the Grotto of the Nativity (cap. 1 50) the Milk-Grotto and the Grotto of our Lady, 'mgharet el halib and 'mgharet-es-Seyyide. We have [illegible] the place [illegible] the traditions which [illegible] it. It is only probable that Jesus was born in [illegible] and there is nothing to prove that this was the cave, for the site lay desolate for three centuries.

[illegible] Tobler's monograph, *Bethlehem in Ja[illegible]*, and Pierotti, 'Das jetzige Bethlehem,' *ZDPV* 17 [illegible], with map and name-lists.

2 Bethlehem of Zebulun (Josh. 19 15, Βαιθμαν [B]), now *Beit Lahm*, 7 m. NW. of Nazareth, 'a miserable village among oak woods' (Guérin, *Galilée*, 1 [illegible]; Rob. *BK* 3 11). In the Talmud it receives the designation עצרית, perhaps a corruption for נצרית, 'of Nazareth' (Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.* 180 *f.*) The combination of two names so famous in the Gospel history is remarkable. Most scholars take this Bethlehem to have been the home and burial-place of the judge Ibzan (Judg. 12 8 10). Josephus and Jewish tradition assign him to Bethlehem Judah (*Ant.* v. 7 13). G. A. S.

BETHLOMON (βαιθλωμων [A]), 1 Esd. 5 17 = Ezra 2 21, BETHLEHEM, § 2.

BETH-MAACHAH (בית־מעכה), 2 S. 20 14. See ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH.

BETH-MARCABOTH (בית המרכבות), § 96—*i.e.*, 'the house of chariots') and HAZAR-SUSAH (חצר סוסה, —*i.e.*, 'station of horses') are mentioned together in Josh. 19 5 *f.* (= in the list of Simeonite towns.

The 𝔊 readings are: for Beth-marcaboth; in Josh. 19 5 βαιθμαχερεβ [B], -θαμμαρχασβωθ [A], βηθαμαλχαχωθ [L]; in 1 Ch. 4 31, where the Hebrew article is omitted, βαιθμαρειμωθ [B], -ρχαβ και εν μαριαβωθ [L], -θ' μαρχαβωθ [A]. For Hazar-susah; in Josh. 19 5 σαρσουσειν [B], ασερσουσιμ [A], Α[σα]ρσουσιν [L]; in 1 Ch. 4 31, Hazar-susim [see below] ημισυσεσοραμ [B], ἡμισυς ἕως ὁραμ [Bab], ημισυεωσιμ [A], ασερσουσι [L].

The names seem to indicate posts of war-horses and chariots, such as Solomon is said to have established (1 K. 9 19 10 26). The two places may possibly be identical respectively with MADMANNAH and SANSANNAH, 'cities' in the Negeb towards Edom. The latter are the older names; for Madmannah, at least, appears in 1 Ch. 2 49 (which belongs to the list of pre-exilic settlements of the Calebites), whilst it is impossible to assign a very early date to 1 Ch. 4 31, where Beth-marcaboth and HAZAR-SUSIM (חצר כסים) are mentioned as Simeonite towns 'before the reign of David.' That the two places actually were regular stations for horses and chariots may be taken for granted; but it may be questioned whether they were so before post-exilic times, when the Persians established post-stations on the route from the Shêphêlah into Egypt (by Gaza to Pelusium).[1] On this view Sansannah may very well be the modern *Sunsim*, a village in an olive-grove on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza (9½ m. NE. from the latter town), and Madmannah may be conjectured to be the modern *Khân Yûnus*, 14 m. SW. from Gaza (so Guérin, *Jud.* 2 295). *Khân Yunus* has always been an important station. It may be noted that in the time of Micah (1 13) Lachish (about 8 m. from Sinsim) also was a chariot city. Cp MARCABOTH. W. R. S.

BETH-MEON (בית מעון), Jer. 48 23. See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-MERHAK, AV 'a place that was afar off,' RV^mg. 'the Far House,' (בית המרחק. ΕΝ ΟΙΚΩ ΤΩ ΜΑΚΡΑΝ [BAL], *procul a domo*). Beth-merhak is either the proper name (so Ges.[13], BDB doubtfully), in which case the name is Beth-hammerhāk, like Beth-haccerem,—or a description (Ew., The., Ke., Kau. *HS*, 'the last house') of the place outside Jerusalem where David waited with his attendants until the people and the body-guard had passed, 2 S. 15 17 (on the text, which is doubtful, see Dr. *HPSm.* and Klo. *on loc.*)

[1] It is evident that chariots went down to Egypt by this way at least as early as the eighth cent. B.C. Cp Gen. 46 5 Mic. 1 13.

BETH-MILLO (בית מלוא), Judg. 9 6 RV^mg.; see JERUSALEM.

BETH NIMRAH (בית נמרה, perhaps 'place of pure water'; cp Ar. *namir*, Ass. *namri*, 'transparent'; but see NIMRIM and NAMES, § 104; Nu. 32 36 ΝΑΜΡΑΜ [BL], ΑΜΒΡΑΝ [A], [Ν]ΑΜ. [L]; Josh. 13 27 ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΒΡΑ [B], ΒΗΘΑΝΑΜΡΑ [L], ΒΗΘΑΜΝΑ [A]), or **Nimrah** (Nu. 32 3 ΝΑΜΒΡΑ [B], -ΑΜΡ. [F], ΑΜΒΡΑΜ [A], ΜΑΜΒΡΑΝ [L]), one of the Amorite cities which were afterwards 'built' by Gad (Nu. 32 36), is the Βηθναμβρα and *Bethamnaris* of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*[2] 2 11, *ib.* 102 11), a village still extant in their day, about 5 R. m. N. from Livias (Bethharan, *q.v.*), the בית נמרין and בית נמר of the Talmud (cp Del. *ad loc.*), the modern *Nimrin*, a well-watered oasis on the brink of the Jordan valley some 1¾ miles E. of Jordan (cp Buhl, *Pal.*[3] 162). Beth-nimrah is nowhere mentioned under this name in O.T. outside of Numbers and Joshua, but it is identified by many modern critics with the waters of NIMRIM (*q.v.*), and, as stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), Beth-nimrah may be the original of the variants Bethany, Bethabara, in Jn. 1 28.

BETHORON (Judith 4 4), RV BETH-HORON (*q.v.*).

BETH-PALET, or (Neh. 11 26) BETH-PHELET, RV always **Bethpelet** (בית־פלט, 'house of escape'), an unknown Calebite town (cp PELET [1], 1 Ch. 2 47), on the Edomite border of Judah, Josh. 15 27 (ΒΑΙΦΑΛΑΔ [B], ΒΑΙΘΦΑΛΕΘ [A], ΒΗΘΦΕΛ [L]), mentioned in the list of Judahite villages (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1*a*]; Neh. 11 26 (ΒΗΒΦΑΛΑΤ [N^a mg.], ΒΗΘΦΑΛΑΤ [L], om. BN*A). For the gentilic Paltite (הפלטי), corruptly PELONITE (1), see PALTITE.

BETH-PAZZEZ (בית־פצץ), an unknown point on the border of Issachar, Josh. 19 21 (ΒΗΡΣΑΦΗΣ [B], ΒΑΙΘΦΑΣΗΣ [A], ΒΗΘΦΑΣΣΗΣ [L]). Compare the equally obscure name HAPPIZZEZ.

BETH-PEOR (בית פעור, ΟΙΚΟΣ ΦΟΓΩΡ [BAFL]), a place named in Dt. 3 29 4 46 3 16 Josh. 13 20. In Josh. 13 20 (ΒΑΙΘΦΟΓΩΡ [BL], ΒΕΘ. [A]) it is enumerated among the cities of Reuben; in Dt. 3 29 4 46 the ravine (גיא) in front of (מול) it is mentioned as the place where Israel was encamped when the Deuteronomy discourses were delivered; and in Dt. 3 16 the same ravine is mentioned as the place of Moses' burial. The exact site is uncertain; but it seems clear that it cannot have been very far from the Pisgah ridge. Eusebius states (*OS*[2] 233 78) that Βεθφογορ was near Mount Φογορ (cp 'the top, or head, of Peor,' ראש הפער, Nu. 23 28), opposite to Jericho, 6 m. above Livias (*i.e.*, Tell er-Rāmeh; see BETH-HARAN); and (*OS*[2] 213 47) that Mount Φογωρ was opposite to Jericho, on the side of the road leading up from Livias to Heshbon, a part of it being 7 m. from the latter place (115 1-2). If we may judge from the map in the *Survey of E. Palest.*, the ascent from Livias to Heshbon would be made naturally either along the Wādy Hesbān (cp Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 525 *f.*; Tristram, *Moab*, 346) or along the more circuitous road N. of this, said by Tristram (p. 343) to be the one ordinarily used. The statements of Eusebius, if correct, would thus point to a site near one of these two roads, some four or five miles N. of Nebā. The 'head of Peor' (Nu. 23 28) might be an eminence in the same locality. The opinion that this was the site is supported by the mention, in Josh. 13 20, of Beth-peor next to the 'slopes (אשדות) of Pisgah,'—*i.e.*, in all probability, the declivities on the S. side of the Wādy 'Ayūn Mūsā. The 'ravine in front of Beth-poor' might thus be the Wādy Hesbān. Conder (*PEFQ* 1882, p. 85 *f.*; *Heth and Moab*,[3] 146 *f.*) suggests a site farther to the S.—*e.g.*, on the crest of a hill above 'Ain el-Minyeh, 8 m. SW. of Nebā, commanding (see Nu. 23 28; and 24 2 compared with 25 1) an extensive view of the lower valley of the J[ordan]. Peor, however, the spot at which Baal of Pe[or] worshipped (which can hardly have been far [from] Beth-peor), would seem (Nu 25 1-3) to have been [more] readily accessible from the plain of Shittim [than] e.g. S. [illegible] than 'Ain el-Minyeh would be; Nu [illegible] compared with *v.* 14 makes it probable also that [it is] less distant from Pisgah; whilst, as we have seen, [illegible] ever other indications we possess point to a site [near] the Nebo Pisgah ridge (the modern Nebā, Ras Siā[illegible]) rather than to one S. of it. Until, therefore, [it has] been shown that there is no eminence in the neigh[bour]hood of the Wādy Hesbān commanding the pa[illegible] implied in Nu. 23 28 and 24 2 (cp 25 1), it is hea[illegible] the ancient Beth-peor must be sought. Travell[ers] perhaps explore this region with the view of ascert[aining] whether there is such a height. Cp PEOR. S. A. [illegible]

BETHPHAGE (ΒΗΘΦΑΓΗ [Tl. WH], *Bethphagē*), a locality near the Mt. of Olives, on a small hill o[illegible] road from Jerusalem to Jericho. It is menti[illegible] together with BETHANY [*q.v.*, 1], and probably la[illegible] the E. of it (Mt. 21 1 Mk. 11 1 Lk. 19 29). Orig. Mt (vol. xvi. chap. 17) describes it as a place of pa[illegible] (cp *OS*[2] 188 75). According to various passag[illegible] the Talmud, Beth-phage was the name of the di[illegible] extending from the base of Olivet to the wall [illegible] Jerusalem, and, according to the Talm. Bab. (*Men.* [illegible] 78 *b*), Beth-phagē was one of the limits of the Sabb[illegible] zone around Jerusalem (cp GEZER), whence C. I. Gann[illegible] would identify it with Kefr et-Tūr (see *PEFQ* 1[illegible] p. 60; but see BETH-ZUR).

The current explanation of the name is a little m[illegible] plausible than that of BETHANY (*q.v.*). Βηθφαγη ([illegible] בית פאני of Talm.) would naturally mean 'place [illegible] young figs'; cp פג in Cant. 2 13 with Delitzsch's n[illegible] This, however, may be no more than a popular [illegible]mology. Nestle (*Phil. Sac.* 1896; cp *ZNTW*, etc. [illegible] 138) is convinced that the narrative of the barren [illegible] tree, which in Mt. 21 17-19 Mk. 11 12-14 is localised [illegible] Bethany, has arisen out of this faulty popular explanat[illegible] of Beth-phagē. It has often been remarked that the [illegible] is a startling peculiarity in this narrative as compar[illegible] with the other evangelical traditions. See also [illegible] Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 166.

The mediæval Bethphagē was discovered by Guillem[illegible] and Clermont-Ganneau in 1877 between the Mount [illegible] Olives and Bethany. In his account of this discover[illegible] the latter scholar offers the suggestion that the 'Villag[illegible] of the Mount of Olives' (*Kefr et-Tūr*), which admittedl[illegible] stands on the site of some important ancient village [illegible] may be the Bethphage of the Gospels and of the Talmud [illegible] This view would clear up the Talmudic statemen[illegible] respecting the Sabbatic zone already mentioned. See [illegible] *PEFQ* 1878, pp. 51-61.

BETH-PHELET (בית־פלט), Neh. 11 26 AV. See BETH-PALET.

BETH-RAPHA (בית־רפא), in an obscure genealogy of Chelub (=Caleb), 1 Ch. 4 12 (ΒΑΘΡΑΙΑΝ [B], -ΡΕΦΑ [A], ΒΗΘΡΑΦΑΝ [L]). No place of this name is known; Rapha appears to be a clan-name, unconnected of course with 'Rephaim.' RAPHA [2] appear[illegible] occur as a name in BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. *β*).

BETH-REHOB (בית רחב, ΡΟΩΒ [BAL]), an Aramæan town and district, which with ZOBAH and MAACAH sent men to the help of Ammon against David (2 S. 10 6, *ib.* 8, REHOB [ΡΟΑΒ A]; ΒΑΙΘΡΑΑΒ [L in both]).[2] See ARAM, §§ 5, 6. It is stated in Judg.

[1] In the Talmud, מצח also means a jaw or cheek, and from Dt. 18 3 we learn that the cheeks (Syr. has מרא) belonged to the portion of the priests (cp Reland, [illegible]). Hence, on the [illegible] that there was a school of priests here.

[2] A reference to a similar defeat at the hands of Saul in 1 S. 14 47 (cp Θ Βαιθωρ [B], -ρωωβ [L], Βεθωρ [A]) is open to suspicion; see SAUL, § 3, and cp Wi. *GVI* 1 142 *f.*

18[illegible] that Laish-Dan was in 'the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob' (ολκοτ ρααβ [B], ο. ρωβ [L], ο. ταβ [A]). Beth-rehob is doubtless the REHOB of Nu 13 21, which, according to P, was the most northern point reached by the spies[1] (ρααβ [B], ρωβθ [F]). A connection with the inherite REHOB (i. 2, 3) is improbable (though not impossible, see ARAM, § 2)[2]

The exact site of Beth-rehob is uncertain. It can hardly be the Jebel Hūnn, finely situated above the great plain of Hūleh to the W. of Bānias, and remarkable for the remains, partly ancient, of a fortress (so Rob. *BR* 4 17 *f*). Others have thought of A[illegible] *Hūra*, about 1 hour N. of Dan; but may not the site of the *town* Beth-rehob be placed quite as reasonably at Bānias itself[3] (see CAESAREA, § 7 *f*)?

BETHSAIDA (ΒΗΘΣΑΙΔΑ [Ti.], ΒΗΘΣΑΙΔΑ [WH]; Syr. [illegible]; place of fishing or hunting). Josephus

1. Julias. tells us (*Ant.* xviii. 2 1) that the Tetrarch Philip raised a village (κώμη) Bethsaida on the Lake of Gennesareth to the rank of a city, and called it Julias, after Julia the daughter of Augustus. Elsewhere he describes Julias as in the Lower Gaulonitis (*BJ* ii. 9 1), close to the Jordan (*Vit.* 72), near where the latter runs into the lake (*BJ* iii 10 7). Pliny (v. 15) and Jerome (*Comm.* Mt. 16 13) also place it E. of Jordan. In conformity with these data, the site has been fixed on the fertile and very grassy plain El-Buteiha, in the NE. corner of the lake, either at et-Tell, a mound with many ruins, close to the Jordan where the latter issues from the hills, or at Mas'adiyeh, by the mouth of the river (to which Thomson [*Land and Book*, ed. 1877, 360] heard the name Bethsaida attached by Bedouin). Fish abound on either side of the Jordan's mouth and (presumably) in the river itself. There can be little doubt that this was the 'city called Bethsaida' (Lk. 9 10; εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης βηθ. is not found in ℵ*BL, etc., which reads εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην βηθ.; so Ti. WH, etc.) to which Jesus withdrew, as being in Philip's jurisdiction, when he heard of John's murder by Antipas (cp Mt. 14 13). Lk. places near it the feeding of the five thousand, which Mt. (14 14 *ff.*) and Mk. (6 31 *ff.*) describe as in a desert (*i.e.*, uninhabited) but grassy place (Mt. 14 19 Mk. 6 39 'green grass,' such as grows in the Buteiha, in contrast to the paler herbage of the higher and drier parts), to which Jesus proceeded by boat, followed by multitudes on foot. J. also describes the scene on the E. shore of the lake (6 1), and says 'there was much grass in the place' (*v.* 10). A site on the Buteiha suits also the Bethsaida of Mk. 8 22, for Jesus was already E. of Jordan (*v.* 13) and went thence to the villages of Cæsarea Philippi (*v.* 27). All interpreters of the Gospels are virtually agreed about this.

The question has been raised, whether there was not a second Bethsaida. After the feeding of the five

2. Mk. 6 45. thousand, Jesus, it is said, constrained his disciples to go before him to the other side to Bethsaida (Mk. 6 45, εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς βηθ.). This has forced some scholars, one or two much against their will (Reland, *Pal.* 653 *ff.*, Henderson, *Pal.* 156 *f.*), to conclude that there was a Bethsaida to the W. of Jordan, either a suburb of Julias, separated from it by the river, or at 'Ain Ṭābigha (Rob. *LBR* 358 *f.*), 4 m. along the coast, where there is a bay containing fish in abundance, and the modern shrine of *Sheikh 'Ali el-Ṣiyād*, 'Aly of the Fishermen, and strong streams (flowing). But, in the first place, the phrase 'to go to the other side' does not necessarily imply the passage from the E. to the W. coast of the lake, for Josephus speaks of 'sailing over' (διεπεραιώθην) from Tiberias to Tarichea

[1] The mention of the 'entrance to Hamath' here is possibly a gloss (cp Moore, *Judg.* 399)

[2] In 2 S. 8 3 12 the king of Zobah is called 'son of Rehob'; see HADADEZER.

[3] So Thomson, *Land and Book*, [illegible]; Robinson, *Pal.* 240; Moore, *Judg.* 399.

(*Vit.* 59), though these towns lay on the same side; and secondly, Jesus would not seek again the territories of Herod Antipas so soon after leaving them for those of Philip, but would most probably return to what Lk. tells us he had just chosen as his headquarters. We may be certain, then, that the Bethsaida of Mk 6 45 is still Bethsaida [illegible].

Nor need we seek for another in the 'Bethsaida of Galilee' to which the Fourth Gospel (1 44 [45] 12 21) says

3. John 1 44 [45] 12 21. that Andrew, Peter, and Philip belonged. In the time of the Great War (66 70 A.D.) the name Galilee appears to have been extended round the Lake – Josephus calls Judas of Gamala the Galilæan (*Ant.* xviii. 1 6) – and at even an earlier date the jurisdiction of the ruler of Galilee may have comprised part of the E. coast (cp *Ant.* xx. 4 [illegible]). Besides, a town which lay so immediately on the Jordan might easily be reckoned to Galilee. In any case, by 84 A.D. the E. coast was definitely attached to the province, and Ptolemy (v. 15), writing about 140, places Julias 'in Galilee.' That being so, it [illegible] heard that it is only the Fourth Gospel that speaks of Bethsaida of Galilee. [illegible] (Wilson *Ex.* [illegible] Hoffmann, *Z* [illegible] 1877, 372 *ff.*; Holtzmann, *JPT*, 1878, pp. 383 *f.*; Furrer, *ZDPV* 2 66 *ff.*; Socin and Benzinger in Baed. ed. 1891, p. 256; GASm *HG* 457 *ff.*; Ed. [illegible] 241 *ff.*) no reason compelling us to the theory of a second or western Bethsaida. It is interesting that the disciple of Jesus called Philip should come from Philip's Julias.

Early Christian tradition and the mediæval works of travel agree in showing no trace of more than one Bethsaida. The site shown for it, however, is uncertain, and may have varied from age to age. Eusebius and Jerome define it only as on the Lake (*OS*). Epiphanius (*Haer.* ii. 51 11) merely says it was not far from Capernaum. Willibald's dat. (722 A.D.), which place it on his journey between Capernaum and Chorazin, suit the E. bank of the Jordan (in spite of what Robinson says) even if Chorazin (*q.v.*) be Kerāzeh, but Gergesa (Khersa) may be meant.

In all probability Bethsaida remained locally distinct from Julias after the erection of the latter by Philip. The custom of Jesus was not to enter such purely Greek towns as Julias must have been; yet, according to Mt. 11 21, he did many 'wonderful works' in Bethsaida. Julias had fourteen villages round about it (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 4). Schumacher suggests for Bethsaida some ruins on the Lake called el-'Araj, which were joined with et-Tell (Julias) by a Roman road (*ZDPV* 9 19).

G. A. S.

BETHSAMOS (ΒΑΙΘΑΣΜΩΘ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 18 AV; RV[mg.] AZMAVETH (*q.v.*, i.).

BETH-SHEAN (בֵּית שְׁאָן, § 90, cp *Ba-y-tj-Ša-'ā-ry*, *i.e.*, בֵּית שִׁיאָל, WMM *As. u. Eur.* 153; ΒΑΙΘΣΑΑΝ [BAL.]), or **Beth-shan** (בֵּית שָׁן, in *pause* בֵּית שָׁן; ΒΗΘΣΑΝ [A], ΒΑΙΘ. [L]), or **Bethsan**

1. Position. (1 Macc. 5 52 12 41, Βεθσαν [A] *f.*), mod. *Beisan*, 320 ft. below the sea-level, was finely situated on a low table-land above the Jordan valley, at the mouth of the W. Jālud, which leads gently up from the Jordan to Zer'in (Jezreel). The Jordan itself is three miles off (cp ZARETHAN, § 1); but Beth-shean was unusually well supplied with water, being intersected by two streams. Amid the extensive ruins rises the *tell* of the ancient fortress, 'a natural mound, artificially strengthened by scarping the sides' (*PEF Mem.* 2 108).

The illustration given in the Memoirs of the Survey will enable the reader to realise the grandeur of the prospect from this [illegible]. 'The eye sweeps from four to five miles of the plain of Esdraelon, and follows the Kishon westward to Jenin, [illegible] the hills [illegible] the eastern hills [illegible] the Jordan' (Conder, [illegible]).

This 'farthest-seeing, farthest-seen fortress' must have been hard for the Israelites to conquer; yet

2. History. till it was in their hands they were excluded from one of the main roads between western and eastern Palestine, and from the occupation of a coveted portion of the Jordan valley. That Beth-

shean was included in one of the prefectures of Solomon's kingdom is certain (1 K. 4 12, ὁ οἶκος δαν and βαισαν [A], οἶκος δαν and βαιθ [L]).[1] On the death of Saul, on the other hand, we find it in the hands of the Philistines (1 S. 31 10, βαιθαν [B], 12, -θσαμ [B], 2 S. 21 12, βαιθ [B]), and though Beth-shean may be one of the 'cities of the Jordan' (1 S. 31 7, corr. text) which the Israelites deserted after the battle of Gilboa, it is equally likely that it was still a Canaanitish city when captured by the Philistines. We know at any rate, that it retained its Canaanite population for some time after the Israelite occupation of Palestine (Judg. 1 27, βαιθηλ [B], βηθαν [L]; Josh. 17 11, καιθαν [B^vid], βαιθαν [B^mg], 16 βαιθαιαν [B]). It may possibly have been as late as the time of David that this great fortress fell into the hands of the Israelites. Standing on the road from Damascus to Egypt and also from Damascus by Shechem to Jerusalem and Hebron, it had a commercial as well as a military importance which would have attracted the notice of such a keen-sighted king as David.

From the Macedonian period onwards Beth-shean bore the strange Greek name Scythopolis (see Judg. 1 27, G A. ἡ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις; 2 Macc. 12 29 31, etc.), which probably records the fact (or belief) that some of the Scythian invaders of the seventh cent. B.C. (see SCYTHIANS) had settled here. In NT times it was one of the most important cities of the DECAPOLIS (q.v., § 2).

BETH-SHEMESH (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ, § 95 f.—*i.e.*, 'temple of the sun'—ΒΑΙΘCΑΜΥC [BAL]; gentilic בֵּית־הַשֶּׁמֶשִׁי, ὁ ἐν β. [BA], ὁ ἐκ β. [L], in 1 S. 6 14, 17 βαιθσαμισεωνης [BL], βεθθαμισεωνης [A]. EV **Beth shemite**). 1. Bethshemesh or IR-SHEMESH (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ, Josh. 19 41, ΠΟΛΙC CAMEC [AL], ΠΟΛΕΙC CAMMAYC [B]), a Levitical city (Josh. 21 16, ΒΕΘCΑΜΕC [A], ΤΗΝ CAMEC [L]; 1 Ch. 6 59 [44], ΒΑCΑΜΥC [B]) on the borders of Judah (Josh. 15 10, ΠΟΛΙΝ ΗΛΙΟΥ [BAL]) but assigned to Dan (Josh. 19 41), is the modern 'Ain Shems, 917 feet above sea level, on the south side of the broad and beautiful and still well-cultivated W. es-Sarâr, opposite Zorah and two m. from it: 'a noble site for a city; a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains' (Robinson). It is a point in the lowland on the road from Philistia (Ekron) to the hill-country of Judah (1 Sam. 6 9 12b 14 15 19 βεθθαμυς [A], 12a 20 βεθσα. [A]), and probably was an ancient sanctuary, since the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite was for some time during the Philistine domination the resting-place of the ark. In truth, it is difficult not to identify it with the Šama-šana of the Palestinian lists of Rameses II. (*KP*[2] 6 27; WMM *Asiat. u. Eur.* 166) and Rameses III.[2] (*KP*[2] 6 19), whose sanctuary may be presumed to be connected with the myth of SAMSON (*q.v.*). It was at Beth-shemesh that Amaziah of Judah was defeated and made prisoner by Jehoash, king of Israel (2 K. 14 11-13, 11 βηθσαμυς [A], 13 βεθ. [A]; 2 Ch. 25 1-23). According to the Chronicler it was one of the cities in the lowland of Judah taken by the Philistines from Ahaz, 'king of Israel' (2 Ch. 28 18). The place was still shown in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, who give its position as 10 R.m. E. of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis—a statement which suits the identification given above. There are many traces of ancient buildings.

2. An unidentified city within the territory of Naphtali, apparently in its northward portion (Josh. 19 38, θεσσαμις [B], θασμοις [A], βηθσαμις [L]). From Judg. 1 33 (βεθσαμις [A]) we learn that, along with Bethanath, its population continued to be chiefly Canaanite.

3. An unidentified city on the border of Issachar (Josh. 19 22, βαιθσαμας [A], βιθσαμις [L]), perhaps (22), if the latter lay in the extreme south of Naphtali.

[1] The double mention of Beth-shean probably arises from a corruption of the text.

[2] The latter was discovered by Sayce at Medînet Habû in 1892.

4. A city of Egypt, mentioned in Jer. 43 13 πόλεως [HQ(A)]: 'he shall break the obelisks of Beth-shemesh in the land of Egypt.' It is commonly supposed, by Griffith in Hastings' *DB*, that what is meant is Heliopolis, the city of the sun (see ON); but it is simply dittographed from מצבת in מצבות. We should read מצבת שמש, 'pillars of the sun' or obelisks (see *AT Unters.* 80 f., Che. *Intr. Is.* 103, n. 2).

BETH-SHITTAH (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה—*i.e.*, 'place of the acacias') is mentioned in Judg. 7 22 (ΒΗΘCΕΤΤΑ ΒΑCΕΤΤΑ [A], ΒΑΙΘΑCΕΤΤΑ [L]) as a point to which the panic-stricken Midianites fled before Gideon (who was on the way toward ZERERAH (see ZARETHAN, Σαρεθα), but has not been identified; probably it was down in the Jordan valley, at the mouth of a wady where acacias flourished. The identification with Shatta on the north side of the W. Jalud, 5 m. N. of Beisân and 6 m. E. of Zer'in (cp Rob., Conder, *PEFM*) has little to recommend it: it lies much too near the supposed scene of the surprise. More, perhaps, can be said for Beisân. Others compare el-Meshetta (Buhl, *MDPV*, 1895, pp. 81 *ff.*; Schumacher, *ZDPV*, 1904 writes *mešhaṭṭa*) 14 m. SSE. of Jogbehah. The whole narrative is, however, composite (see JUDGES, § 8), and the Heb. construction favours the assumption that Zererah does not belong to the same source as Beth-shittah. In J Midian flees east from Shechem to the other side of the Jordan, whereas from v. 24 it appears that in E's narrative they turn S. (to Zarethan) through the Jordan valley, where they are intercepted by the Ephraimites (cp. Moore, *Judg.* 212).

BETH-SURA (Η ΒΕΘCΟΥΡΑ [A]), 1 Macc. 4 61, 2 Macc. 11 5 RV **Bethsuron**. See BETH-ZUR.

BETH-TAPPUAH (בֵּית תַּפּוּחַ, § 103—*i.e.*, 'place of tappûḥ'; = APPLE), a town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 53, ΒΑΙΘΑΙΟΥ [B], ΒΕΘΘΑΠΦΟΥΕ [S], ΒΗΘΘΑΦ. [L]), having a traditional connection with the greater neighbour Hebron (1 Ch. 2 43, see TAPPUAH), and very possibly identical with the fortified town called TAPHON (*q.v.*) in 1 Macc. 9 50. If the similarity of names, the vicinity of Hebron, and the fruitfulness of the district prove anything, the modern *Teffah* is the ancient Beth-tappuah. The village so named is 3½ m. W. by N. from Hebron, and stands on a high hill, the slopes of which are planted with aged olive-trees; indeed, the whole of the *Wâdy Tuffâh* abounds in fruit trees of all kinds. Traces of old buildings remain, and there are two ancient wells (Rob. *LBK* 2 428; Guérin, *Judée*, 3 374). Several ancient sites named *Beth* have lost this prefix. Thus the בית נמרה of Nu. 32 36 is modern Nimrin.

The notices of Eus. and Jer. (*ON* 237 17-104 17; cp. 150 [illegible]) are of interest only as showing that there was another place on the confines of Palestine and Egypt bearing the same name. Whatever the fruit called tappûḥ was (see APPLE), it was as common in Palestine as quinces and apricots are now.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל, for בְּתוּאֵל, 'man of El'? [illegible] Methushael, and see CAINITES, § 7; hardly for [illegible] *bît ili*, 'house of a deity'; ΒΑΘΟΥΗΛ [ADEL])

1. B. Nahor; father of Laban and Rebekah (Gen. 22 23 *f.* 24 15 [J]). In Gen. 25 20 28 5 [P] he is called 'the Aramean,' as is also his son Laban in 31 20 24. See ARAM, § 3.

2. See BETHUL.

BETHUL (בְּתוּל), a Simeonite town (Josh. 19 4, ΒΟΥΛΑ [B], ΒΑΘΟΥΛ [AL]), called BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל, ΒΑΘΟΥΗΛ [B], -ΟΥΛ [A], -ΟΥΗΛ [L]) in 1 Ch. 4 30, and corrupt to CHESIL (כְּסִיל) in Josh. 15 30 (ΒΑΙΘΗΛ [B], ΧΑCΕΙΡ [A], CΕΙΕΙΛ [L]). The form בתואל may perhaps be closely [illegible] with Penuel; for elision of ל cp HAMUL. It is doubtless the BETHEL (בֵּיתאֵל, βαιθηλ [AL], βαιθουηλ—*i.e.*, Beth-zur [B])[1] of 1 S. 30 27, mentioned along with

[1] The situation of Beth-zur is less suitable (We., Dr.).

latter and other places in the Negeb; but the site has not yet been identified. There was probably a Bethel near Gaza.[1]

BETHULIA (Βετυλουα [BNA], [the preferable reading], but Βαιτουλουα [BN]. Βαιτυλουα [NA] are also found]; BETHULIA [Vg.]; [illegible], the centre of the action in the book of Judith (2 21 [N*] 16 [N]. Βαιτουλια 6 10 f. 14 7 ff). In the shorter version of the narrative its place is taken by Jerusalem, and there is little doubt that Bethulia (properly Betylua) represents בית־אל,[2] the house of God (see, Jerusalem (see JUDITH, ii). So already Reuss who, however, together with Welte, derived the name from בת־אל. Bertholdt's conjecture בתולת, 'virgin of Yahwé,' may be worth noticing.[3]

According to the representations of the book (cp 4 6 f.), Bethulia lay near Jezreel, upon a rock by a valley, commanding the passes to the S. (so Buhl, *Pal.* 201, n. 627). Various identifications have been suggested. Some have sought for it near the modern Kefr Kûd, formerly Capharcotna, NE. of the plain of Dothan (Hi., cp also Kneucker, other conjectures are the fortress Sânur (Grove in Smith's *DB*), Kh. Haridh el-Mellâh (Marta, quoted in *ZDPV* 12 117), Jenîn (Eus.), Beit Iflâ (Schultz), and plausibly no doubt (*A* and *P* often confounded), Mithilyeh or Misha (Conder; Socin, also inclines to this view, Bad.[2], 226). More recently, Torrey (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 20 160 ff. (1899) argues ably in favour of Shechem.

So large and important a place as Bethulia—with its rulers and elders (6 14 16), its streets and towers (7 22 12), and its siege, lasting for four-and-thirty days, by an immensely superior army (7 20)—cannot reasonably be identified with any small and insignificant locality. It remains to be added that the mention of Jerusalem and Bethulia as two distinct places (cp 4 6 15 8 f.) is probably to be assigned to a time when the identity of the ideal Bethulia with Jerusalem was forgotten.

S. A. C.

BETHZACHARIAS, AV (by misprint?) BATHZACHARIAS (Βεθζαχαρια [A], Βαιθ. [NV]; Jos. Βεθζ., Βητζ.), the scene of the defeat of Judas the Maccabee by Lysias, and of the death of his brother Eleazar (1 Macc. 6 32 f.). Its position is defined by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 9 4) as 70 stadia (N.) from Bethsur; it is thus represented by the modern *Beit-Sakaria* (described by Robinson[2] 3 283 f. and *PEF Mem.* 3 35 108).

BETHZATHA (Βηθζαθα), the reading adopted by Tr WH in Jn. 5 2, where TR has BETHESDA. For the evidence, see WH, ii. App. 76: perhaps the purest form would be Βηθζαιθά, 'the place of the olive' (cp PI 71 III).

BETH-ZUR (בית־צור, Βεθσουρ [AL], § 96, 'house of rock,' or, on the analogy of Beth-el, 'house of *Zur*' a divine name, Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 47, n. 1; Hommel *AHT* 319; see ZUR), a city in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned between Halhul and Gedor[4] (Josh 15 58, βαιθσουρ [B]; cp 1 Ch. 2 45, where Bethzur γεδσουρ [B], βηθσουρ [AL]—is the 'son' of Maon) is stated in 2 Ch. 11 7 (βαιθσουρα [B], την βαιθσ. [A] τὴν βαιθσουρ [L]) to have been fortified by Rehoboam. It was head of a district in Nehemiah's time (Neh 3 16, βησορ [BN], βηθσουρ [A]). Frequently an object of struggle in the Maccabean wars (ἡ βαιθσουρα, τὰ β. [NV], ἡ βεθσ., τα β. [N], 1 Macc. 4 29 61 67 [illegible] 9 52; 10 14 βαιθσουροις [V*]; 11 65 14 7 33).[5] it was in the time of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5 6) 'the strongest place in all Judæa,' and was still an inhabited village (βηθσωρα Bethsoro) in the days of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 104 27, 236 60). It is represented by *Ikt Sur* (*Burj Sur*) and occupies a position of strategic importance as commanding the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, 4½ m. S. from the latter city. 'The modern village has a ruined tower, and there are hewn stones scattered about, as also some fragments of columns and many foundations of buildings . . . It must have been a small place' (Robinson).

If the statements in 2 Macc. 11 5 (RV Bethsoura) are reliable there must have been a second Beth-zur in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Grimm suggests the modern village of Beit-Sâhur, half-an hour SE. from Jerusalem. Schick, with more probability, identifies it with the modern *Aizariyeh* (the Ar. form of Beth-zur) on the central height of the Mount of Olives (*PEFQ*, Ja 1898, p. 47, see *Camb. Bible* on 1 Macc. 4 29). See, however, BETHHARA.

BETOLIUS (Βετολιου [B]), 1 Esd 5 21 AV; RV **Betolion** = Ezra 2 28, BETHEL.

BETOMESTHAM, RV **Betomesthaim** in Judith 1 6, or **Betomasthem**, RV **Betomasthaim** in 15 4 (Βαιτομαισθαιμ [B], -ACHEN [N]. Βετομεσθαιμ [A], [illegible]; om. [illegible] Vg. in 4 6 and [illegible] Vg. syr. in 15 4) by 'over against Jezreel in face of the plain that is near Dothan.' H 'toward' (κατα πρόσωπον) can be taken as meaning 'eastward of the plain of Dothan, we are able to determine its position pretty nearly, but the exact site has not been identified.

BETONIM (בטנים, § 103 *i.e.*, 'pistachio nuts,' Βοτανει [B], -NIN [V], -NEIM [L]), in Gadite territory (Josh. 13 26), may perhaps be *Batanah*, 3 m. W. from es-Salt (Ramoth-gilead).

BETROTHAL. The Heb. verb is ארש 'ârash (ΜΝΗΣΤΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ), on which see MARRIAGE, § 1. In 2 S 3 14, RV rightly has 'betrothed' instead of AV 'espoused.' So also in Mt. 1 18 Lk 1 27. In Lev. 19 20 the verb is חרף, and seems to denote marriage by capture rather than marriage by purchase. In Ex. 21 8 f.† it is יעד, RV 'espouse.' There is some disorder in the text.

BEULAH (בְּעוּלָה, 'married'; ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ [BNAQ], Aq. ΕΣΥΗΜΕΝΗ, Symm. Theod. ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΕΝΗ), the symbolical name (Is. 62 4) by which Zion may fitly be called when her land is 'married' (בעולה; cp BAAL).

Two primitive and related ideas underlie the expression. The first is that the people of a land, as well as all other 'fruits' (Dt. 28 4), arise from the fertilising influence of the land's Baal or divine Husband (cp *RS*[2] 107 f.); the second, that a people which remains faithful to the land's divine Husband is sure of his protection. The former is merely hinted by means of the contrast of the two names 'Desolate' and 'Married' (Is 62 4); in Is. 54 1-6, on the other hand, it engrosses the mind of the prophetic writer. It is on the latter, as the context shows, that the writer of Is. 62 (who is not the author of Is. 54) wishes to concentrate our attention. Zion is at present despised (*v.* 7), and her harvests are plundered by the heathen (*vv.* 8 f.); but when her land is once more 'married,' she will be entitled to the protection of her God of the whole earth.

The sense of the passage has been obscured by an error in the vowel points. For בָּנַיִךְ, 'thy sons' (*v.* 5), read בֹּנַיִךְ 'he who buildeth thee up' (cp 54 11 f., Ps. 147 2). See Duh., Che. (*SBOT*), and on the other side Hi., who [illegible] however, for the statement [illegible] which he [illegible]

T. K. C.

BEZAANANNIM (בצענים) occurs in Josh. 19 33 RV[mg.] 'the oak of Bezaananim,' where EV has 'the oak in ZAANANNIM,' a view of the text which is generally abandoned. The 'oak (or sacred tree) of Bezaananim' is a landmark on the W. border of Naphtali, following Heleph, and preceding Adami-nekeb and Jabneel, and is usually identified with 'the oak of Bezaananim' (following the points), or of 'Bezaanim,' or 'of Bezaananim (Ḳ're) in Judg. 4 11, where RV has 'the

[1] Bethel (Βηθελία), a populous village of Gaza with very ancient and much-revered temples, is mentioned by Sozomen (v. 3 14, p. 202). [MS note of WRS.]

[2] For the form Betylua, cp the magical stones Bætylia, which derive their name from Beth-el; and on interchange of the forms Beth- and Beth-, see BETHEL.

[3] So Jerusalem is referred to as κόρη in Sibyll. 3 784-795 (APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 86 *ff.*). Cp DAUGHTER, 4.

[4] Possibly also in 1 S. 30 27 (see BETHEL, 2).

[5] In 2 Macc. 13 19 22 [illegible] has τ. βαιθσ. 11 5 Βεθσουρων [AL] [illegible] [V].

oak in Zaanannim,' and has inconsistently omitted to record the modern view of the text in the margin. 𝔊 reads in Josh. 19 33 *καὶ μωλα καὶ βεσεμιειν* [B], *κ. μηλων καὶ βεσεναιμ* [A], *κ. ωλαμ σεινανειμ* [L]; in Judg. 4 11 *ἕως δρυὸς πλοκατωνων* [B, so Theod.], *πρὸς δρῦν ἀναπαυσιν* [A], see Field's *Hexapla*.

The difficulty connected with the phrase is twofold. (1) In Josh. . . . this famous tree is placed on the border of Naphtali, but Judges 4 . . . 11 ad in the light of Jud. 1 33 5 24, makes the tree much nearer to the battle-field, which, according to Judg. 5 19 21, was by the stream Kishon. (2) The name is inexplicable, whether we read בצענים (Bezaanim) or בצעננים (Bezaananim). If, however, see 4 11 times in Judges (see KADESH), and once in Jud. 1 36 (see HAROSHETH), the name קדשים = קדש has been correctly restored, it is plausible to suppose that the incomprehensible name, pronounced sometimes Bezaanim or (better) Bezaanim, sometimes Bezaananim, may conceal the same old name, especially as in Judg. 4 11 the words 'which is by Kedesh' are added. It is extremely probable that both in the far north (see KADESH, 2) and in the territory of Issachar there was a place which bore the name of Kadshon (Kidshon); the people of either place could be called Kadshonim (Kidshonim). Nor need we hesitate to emend בצענים (the form which the best critics prefer) to בקדשים, a form which should be restored, as the present writer has sought to show, in Judg. 5 23 (see KADESH). It is easier to suppose that the 'oak' or sacred tree which forms the subject of this article was near the Kidshon (Kedesh) of Issachar than to follow the Priestly Writer in Joshua, who places it on the border of Naphtali. The error of the latter seems to have arisen from the statements in Judg. 4 6 7, which place the mustering of the Israelitish warriors at Kedesh-Naphtali. The error of the scribe who wrote בצענים was facilitated by an inappropriate recollection of the form בצעננים Kên-Zaanannim (Canaanites). Whether he also thought of the new Heb. בצעה, 'ditch, dike, pond' (cp בצע 'marsh,' Job 8 11 40 21), cannot be determined (cp Neub. *Géogr. Talm.* 225).

An identification of 'Bezaanim' with Khirbet Bessûm, E. of Tabor, on the plateau of the Sea of Galilee, was proposed by Conder in *PEFQ* '77, p. 25 (so *Tent Work*, 2 119); cp GASm. *HG* 396, who considers it 'well supported.' But we must first of all be sure of the reading of the name. It is remarkable that tradition still affirmed that the 'oak of . . .' which was a fixed element in the story, was 'by Kedesh.' Of course, אשר אצל קדש is not required when we read בקדשים, 'to the sacred tree of the Kidshonim.'

T. K. C.

BEZAI (בצי), § 52; Hilprecht has found the Jewish name Basa on a tablet from Nippur (*PEFQ*, Jan. 1898, p. 55). The tribe Bezai, a family in the great post-exile list (see EZRA, ii., §§ 9, 36), Ezra 2 17 (BACOY [B], CC. [A], BACCI [L]) Neh. 7 20 (BCCEI [BN], BACI [A], CCH [L]), 1 Esd. 5 16 BASSA, RV BASSAI (BACCAI [B], CCA [A], CCCI [L]); represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 18 [19] (BHCCI [BA], BHOCI [N], BECCI [L]).

BEZALEEL, RV **Bezaleel** (בצלאל), §§ 22, 29, 'in the shadow of God', cp BESODIAH; βεσελεηλ [BAL]). The form is improbable. Sil Bel, 'Bel is a shelter,' the name of a king of Gaza in Sennacherib's time (*KAT*[3] 162), even if correctly represented, is not parallel. Read אשבעלן, 'God is my . . .' and cp the Phœn. names הצבעל, אשבעלן. The number of the artificial religious names of later times has been exaggerated.

1. b. Uri b. Hur (the tribe of Judah, a Calebite 1 Ch. 2 20), a skilled workman in gold, silver, and brass, who together with Aholiab executed the work of the tabernacle (Ex. 31 1 – 3 10 36 1 *f.* 37 1 – 38 22, all P). He is mentioned in 2 Ch. 1 5 as having made the brazen altar.

2. One of the b'ne Pahath-Moab in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 30 (βεσελεηλ, βεσσ. [N], βεσσελεηλ [L] = 1 Esd. 9 31, SESTHEL (σεσθηλ [

T. K

BEZEK (בזק), cp § 100, 'gravel'? cp Syr.; B [BAL], בזק . . . 1. A place at which Saul mus the force he had raised for the relief of Jabesh-g 1 S. 11 8 (τὰ βεζεκ ἐν σιγνα [F], εν βεζεκ [A], Ba ραβα [L]). Eusebius (*ON*[2] 237 *f.*) locates two n in many villages of this name 17 R. m from Nea on the road to Scythopolis; beyond doubt Khirbet 14 Fm; m from Nabulus and nearly opposite the end of Wady Yabis, with which Ishtori Parchi 13 22) identified it. See *PEF Mem* 2 . . 237.

2. A place at which Judah and Simeon, in inva the S. of Palestine, encountered and routed Canaanites under Adoni-bezek; Judg. 1 4 *f.* (B [A]; om. B* in v. 5). Many scholars, from Eus downwards, identify this with No. 1, but this is admissible.

Judah and Simeon set out from the neighbourhood of G (Judg. 1 16 *f.* 21) to invade the region in which they afterw settled; the end of the story of Adoni-bezek conducts h Jerusalem, which was probably his own city (Adoni-zedek, of Jerusalem; see ADONI-BEZEK and ADONI-ZEDEK). lies wholly out of this sphere of action and in a quite diffe direction.

The Bezek of Judg. 1 must be sought much fur south. Conder would find it at Bezkeh, 6 m. S. Lydda (*PEFM m.* 3 2), but this view is . . . probable. In view of the change which the name of Kang has suffered, it may be questioned whether name of the place has been correctly preserved.

G. F. M

BEZER (בצר), § 105, 'fortress'; BOCOP [BAL]), levitical city and city of refuge, Dt. 4 43 Josh. 20 8 21 (om. MT; BOCWP [L]), 1 Ch. 6 58 [73] the Ex. 7 8 AB בצרה, cf. Jer. 48 24 (𝔊 βοσορ) is described in Josh. 20 as lying in the wilderness on the Amorite's Mishor, Tableland, and is usually identified with the modern *Kesur el-Bezeir* (or *Bezeir*), about 2 m. SW. of Dibon, and about the same distance N. of Aroer. King Mesha of Moab in his inscription (*l.* 27) says: 'I built Bezer, for ruins had it become.' With this place some have identified BOSOR (*q. v.*, 2).

BEZER (בצר; COBAA [B], BACAP [AL]), in genealogy of ASHER [§ 4 (ii.)], 1 Ch. 7 37†.

BEZETH (BHZEΘ [A], BHΘZAIΘ [N], BAIΘZHΘ [V], BHPZHΘω [Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 2]; but BHΘZHΘω, . . . BHPZHΘω, xii. 11 1; Schlatter, *ZDPV* 19 224 *f.*), a place near Jerusalem where Bacchides encamped, and, having slain some deserters and prisoners, threw them into a great pit which was there (1 Macc. 7 19). The reading of 𝔊[N] and Syr. in this passage (ܒܝܬ ܙܝܬܐ [ed. . . .]) points to an original Beth-zaith (house of the olive). Hence it is possible that Bezeth may be the Heb. Beth-ha-zaitha ('place of olives'), the name given to the N. end of the plateau, on the S. part of which lay Jerusalem. See BETH-HA-ZAITHA, JERUSALEM, OLIVES, MOUNT OF.

BIATAS (φιαθας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 43 AV = Neh. 8 7, PELAIAH, 2.

BICHRI (בכרי, § 61; BOYOPCI [BA], BEΔΔAΔI [L]), in Sheba b. Bichri, 2 S. 20 1 *f.*), a gentile from Bichri [*q. v.*]. The plural **Bichrites** (הבכרים) is postulated by 𝔊[BA] (*καὶ πάντες ἐν Χαλαμ*) in 2 S. 20 14 in place of BIKRITES [*q. v.*]. See SHEBA, n. (1), BENJAMIN, § 7.

BIDKAR (בדקר; BAΔEK [L], -KA [B], -KAP [B[a]A], BAΛEKAP [B[a]mg.]), Jehu's adjutant (שלישו), 2 K. 9 25. The name is noteworthy, because the half-supporters of the theory that ב at the beginning of proper names sometimes stands for 'son of' assert that Pesh. here has *bar-* (hence 'בדקר = בר, 'son of piercing' – a suitable name for a warrior; cp Landsknecht; cp Ass. *bindikiri* [Del. *AL*[3]

1 *JQR*, 10 567 *f.* ('98).

2172], and see BENDEKER). For other examples, all doubtful, see Ges. *Thes.* col. 349; Konig, *Lehrgeb.* 2 448; and against this Ols. *Heb. Gr.* 613. Halevy (*Rev. Bibl.* iii., *REJ*, Jan.-June 1885) thinks ב in all these words = [מ]אד. For [illegible] theory we can hardly cite the one or [illegible] in Phoenician, probably accidental (*CIS* i. [illegible] 3923). [illegible] Βαδεα impov a reading [illegible] 'B. chief [illegible] his [illegible] captains'? W. R. S.

BIER (מִטָּה, [illegible] 28 3 [illegible], (c. ρος). Lk. 7 14. See DEAD, § 1.

BIGTHA (בִּגְתָא; ΒΩΡΑΖΗ [BNL*], [ΟΑΡΕ] ΒΩΑ [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10). Marq. (*Fund.* 71) finds its Gr. equivalent in ζηβαθαθα [A], for βαζηθαθα, whence he restores בגתא (misread יבוחא [illegible]). O. Pers. *bagadata*, 'given by God'; cp BAGOAS, and see ESTHER, ii. § 3.

BIGTHAN (בִּגְתָן, etymology doubtful), ΒΑΓΑΘΑΝ [N^c.mg sup.]; BNAL om.; Jos ΒΑΓΑΘΟΟΙ 1 Ch. 2 [illegible], or **Bigthana**, Esth. 6 2 (בִּגְתָנָא; Θ as in 2 21; Jos ΓΑΒΑΤΑΙΟΙ), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus, who, in Esth. 12 1, is called GABATHA (γαβαθα BNAL²]). See ESTHER, ii. § 3.

BIGVAI (בִּגְוַי, rather BAGOI, *i.e.*, BAGOAS [*q.v.*]; ΒΑΓΟΥΑ [A], -ΟΥΙΑ [L]).

1. A leader (see EZRA, ii § 7) in the [illegible] post-exilic list (Ch., ii. § 9), Ezra 2 [illegible] (βαγοι [B], βαγουαι [L]) Neh. 7 7 (βαγοι [BN], βαγουαι [A]) 1 Esd. 5 8, AV REHUM (βορολειου [BA], βαγουαι [L]); signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 16 [17] (βαγοι [B], -οει [NA], -λαιου [L]).

Family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii §§ 9, 8 c), Ezra 2 14 (βαγοι [B], βαγουαι [A], -ουαι [L]) Neh. 7 19 (βαγοι [BNA]) - 1 Esd. 5 14, BAGOI (βοσαι [B], βαγοι [A], -ουα. [L]).

2. Family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 [i.]), Ezra 8 14 (βαγο [B], γαβουαι [A], γαβουια [L]) - 1 Esd. 8 40 BAGO (βαγαι [B], βαγο [A]). Cp HIGGAI.

BIKATH-AVEN (בִּקְעַת־אָוֶן), Am. 1 5 AV^mg See AVEN, 3.

BILDAD (בִלְדַד, § 43, ΒΑΛΔΑΔ [BNAC], -ΔΑΣ [A]), the Shuhite (see SHUAH), one of Job's friends (Job 2 11 and elsewhere). The name either means 'Bel has loved' (cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 42 479 ['88]), or is a softened form of Bir-dad, which appears to lie at the root of BEDAD (so Del. *Par.* 298). See ELIDAD, and cp DOD.

BILEAM (בִּלְעָם, § 77), 1 Ch. 6 70 [55]. See IBLEAM.

BILGAH (בִּלְגָה, 'cheerfulness'?)

1. Head of the fifteenth course of priests, 1 Ch 24 14 (βελγα [A], -δδ [L]). Θ has εμμηρ, which must represent Immer, the head of the sixteenth course. (γελβα, the name of the head of the fourteenth in Θ [MT יחזקאל], is merely a transposed form of Bilgah in a different place in the list.)

2. A priest (βαλγας [N^c.mg], βελ. [L]; om. BNA) in Zerubbabel's band (Ezra, ii § 62), Neh. 12 5; in v. 18 (βαλγα [N^c.mg], βελγας [L]; om. BNA) a 'father's house.' Cp also BILGAI.

BILGAI (בִלְגַי [AL], -ΑΓΑ[C]ΙΑ [BN]), a priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. §§ 6, 7), Neh. 10 8 [9]. No doubt the same as BILGAH.

BILHAH (בִּלְהָה; ΒΑΛΛΑ [BADEL], but 1 Ch. 7 13 ΒΑΛΑΜ [B], -ΛΑΑΜ [L]).

1. The 'mother' of the tribes Dan and Naphtali, according to J; also represented as the maid of Rachel (mother of the house of Joseph) and concubine of Jacob and his eldest son Reuben.

We have not, unfortunately, the means of determining how far we are warranted in regarding these as representing traditions of fact, and how far they may be imaginative incidents of the story. Was Bilhah, *e.g.*, a tribe (Canaanitish? Aramaean?), elements of which were taken up into some of the clans of the house of Joseph (the first Israel) in the earliest days after their arrival in W. Palestine before they crystallized into the three well-known branches (Manasseh-Machir, Ephraim, Benjamin)? Or does the name, which occurs nowhere outside of Genesis (and the equivalent 1 Ch. 7 13), simply indicate that not only Dan but once also Naphtali tried unsuccessfully to settle somewhere in the Highlands of Ephraim before finally settling itself to the extreme north? Or, once more, is this time only of Dan, the inclusion of Naphtali being then due simply to its geographical nearness to Dan in its later seat, and to its worthiness to stand by the side of the noble Rachel tribes (Judg. 5 18)? Again, is the Reuben story (Gen. 35 22 1 Ch. 5 1) to be brought into connection with the other traces of the extension of the house of Joseph (cp Reuben's interest in the fortunes of Joseph Gen. 37 22 29; E.) beyond Jordan (MACHIR, EPHRAIM, WOOD OF), or is it to be explained, as Stade (*Gesch.* 1 110) explains it, as a memorial of the primitive society that survived E. of the Jordan when there had been a change in W. Palestine? Or are we to give serious consideration to a combination (G. H. B. Wright) with the story of BOHAN (cp BIHAH, 2), the stone of Reuben (Josh. 15 6 18 17), an alleged tradition that Reubenite clans had once been driven to be found W. of the Jordan in Plat. Land (Gen. 35 22)? That there really was contact between Benjamin and the Rachel tribes from W. is a matter of course. Ono and Lod immediately became Benjamite (cp BENJAMIN, § 3; We *Le Comp.* 12 n 1). It was Rachel, however, not Bilhah, that died when Benoni was born.

2. In Simeon (1 Ch. 4 29). See BAALAH, 2.

H. W. H.

BILHAN (בִּלְהָן, § 77, cp BILHAH, ΒΑΛΑΑΝ [BA]).

1. A H[illegible] (*q.v.*), Gen. 36 27 (βαλααμ [D^mg L]); 1 Ch. 1 42 (-αμ [BL]).

In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ [illegible]) 1 Ch. 7 10 (ΒΑΛΑΑΜ [L]).

BILSHAN (בִּלְשָׁן, § 83, perhaps Bab. *Pelšan*; but more probably we should read Bel-sar, a mutilated form of Bel-sar-uzer, *i.e.*, Bab. Bel-šar-usur; cp Θ^LV in 1 Esd.). A name in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), borne by one of the ten (Ezra), or eleven (Neh., 1 Esd.), persons who accompanied Zerubbabel from Babylon (see EZRA, ii. § 8 c). Ezra 2 2 (βασφαμ [B], βαλασαμ [A], -λασαν [L]) Neh. 7 7 (βασφαν [N], βασσαν [V], βαλσ [E]) 1 Esd. 5 8 BELSARUS (βελεσαρου [BA], βαλσαρ [L]). If Bel-sar is correct, may not this be the Sharezer of Zech 7 2 (see SHAREZER, 2)? This makes quite a modern (if accepted) may have important bearings on criticism. T. K. C.

BIMHAL (בִּמְהָל), in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 [ii.]), 1 Ch. 7 33 (ΙΜΑΒΑΗΑ [B], ΒΑΜΑΗΑ [A], ΒΑΑΜΑΘ [L]).

BINDING AND LOOSING (Mt. 16 19 18 18†). The explanation given under MAGIC (§ 3 [4]) may account for the origin of the Jewish phrase 'binding (אסר) and loosing' (היתר); but in usage 'to bind' and 'to loose' mean simply 'to forbid' and 'to permit' by an indisputable authority, the words of authoritative prohibition and permission being considered to be as effectual as the spell of an enchanter (cp אסר, Targ. Ps. 58 5 [6]). The wise men or rabbis had, in virtue of their ordination, the power of deciding disputes relating to the Law. A practice which was permitted by them was said to be 'loosed' (היתר), and one which was forbidden was called 'bound' (אסור). Such pronouncements were made by the different schools; hence it was said, 'The school of Shammai binds; the school of Hillel looses.' The [illegible], however, they [illegible] from the Sanhedrin, and there is a Talmudic statement that there were three decisions made by the lower 'house of judgment' to which the upper 'house of judgment' (or the heavenly one) gave its supreme sanction (*Makoth*, 23 [illegible]). Jesus adopted a current mode of speech when he said to the disciples that whatsoever they bound or loosed on earth [illegible] (including the new Law) should be bound or loosed in heaven (Mt. 18 18). Probably, too, it is a less authentic tradition

which makes Jesus give the same promise to Peter individually (Mt. 16 19). Nowhere is it recorded that the great Teacher made Peter the president (נָשִׂיא) of his council of wise men. The words which immediately precede Mt. 16 19 b are self-evidently taken by the editor from another context to represent Peter, not as an expounder of the new transfigured Law, but as a practical administrator (cp Is. 22 22). It is in favour of the view here adopted (viz., that the words on 'binding' and 'loosing' were addressed to the disciples in general and not to Peter individually) that in Jn. 20 23 the power to remit and to retain is granted to the disciples collectively, not to any one of them individually. Though the use of κρατεῖν in that passage has no exact Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent, the saying is not a new one, but a paraphrase of Mt. 18 18.

T. K. C.

BINEA (בִּנְעָא), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [β]), 1 Ch. 8 37 (BAANA [B], BAAN. [AL]) = 9 43 (BAANA [BNL], BAN. [A]).

BINNUI (בִּנּוּי), 'a building up'; on form cp NAMES, § 5).

1. Family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 3 c), Neh. 7 15 (βαουι [BRA], -ναιου [L]) — 10 2 Ezr. 10 29, BANI [β 5 ... 2] (βαιου [B], -ουι [A], -ναια [L]) — 1 Esd. 5 12, BANI (βαιει [BA], -ναια [L]).

2. A Levite, temp. Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 12 [1 k]), Ezra 8 33 (ἀπὸ υἱῶν βαννοια [B], υἱος βαναια [AL]) — 1 Esd. 8 63 SABBAN, RV SABANNUS (σαβαννου [BA], υἱος βαναιου [L]), and probably Neh. 12 24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοι [BRA], κ. οἱ υ. αὐτου [L]); so Smend, *Die Listen*, etc. Most probably the same as

3. A Levite in the list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f), EZRA, ii. §§ 1 (1 l), 15 (7). Neh. 3 24 (βαυι [BRA], -ναϊ [L]); significantly to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), 10 9 [10] (βαναιου [BRAL], αβ. [R ...]), possibly the same as the Levite Binnui in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6 b) 12 8 (βαουι [BRA], καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L]). In Neh. 3 18, BAVAI (בַּוַּי, βεδει [B], βεζερ [R], βαυι [A], βοιαι [L]) seems a textual ...

4. and 5. One of the line Pahath-moab, Ezra 10 30 (θαουει [BR], βαουηλ [AL]) — 1 Esd. 9 31, BANI ... (βαλαους [B], -ουος [A], βαουι [L]) and ... of the line Bani (Ezra 10 34); βαουι [BRA], βαιει [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 34, ELIALI; both in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end).

BIRD. References to birds generally are very frequent in OT and NT.

The following terms (translated in EV 'bird' or 'fowl') are used to denote the members of the family *Aves* collectively:

1. Kinds referred to. עוֹף, *'ôph*, Eccles. 10 20 Is. 16 2 Hos. 9 11; צִפּוֹר, *ṣippôr*, Gen. 7 14 Lev. 14 6 *ff.* 51 *ff.*; בַּעַל כָּנָף, *ba'al kānāph*, Prov. 1 17; and [of birds of prey] עַיִט, *'ayiṭ*, Gen. 15 11 Is. 18 6 46 11 Jer. 12 9 Ezek. 39 4 Job 28 7 (אַיָּה, *'ayyah*); πετεινά and τὰ πετεινά, Mt. 8 20 13 32 Lk. 9 58 Rom. 1 23 Jas. 3 7; τὰ πτηνα, 1 Cor. 15 39, and [of birds of prey] ὄρνεον, Rev. 18 2 19 17 21.

Birds of the smaller kinds are not so often distinguished as the larger; but special reference is made to several species, both large and small. Mention seems to be made for example, of the BITTERN, Buzzard (see GLEDE), Blue Thrush (see SPARROW), CORMORANT, CRANE, DOVE, Egyptian Vulture (see GIER EAGLE), Griffon (see EAGLE), HAWK, HERON, HOOPOE, Sacred Ibis (see SWAN), KITE, NIGHT HAWK (?), OSPREY, OSSIFRAGE, OSTRICH, OWL, Pigeon (see DOVE), PARTRIDGE, PEACOCK, PELICAN, QUAIL, RAVEN, STORK, SWALLOW, Tern (see CUCKOW), Black Vulture (see VULTURE), and the domestic fowl (see COCK), details and discussions concerning all of which will be found in the special articles. SPARROW occurs occasionally in the EV as a translation of the word (צִפּוֹר) which denoted any small passerine bird.

That feathered animals (בַּעַל כָּנָף) abounded in Palestine is clear from the many references to them in OT and NT and lapse of time has produced no change in this respect (see PALESTINE).

2. Use. Naturally the eggs and the birds themselves were used for food (Ex. 16 12 *f.* Nu. 11 32 Job 6 6 Neh. 5 18 Ps. 78 27 Lk. 11 12 Acts 10 12 11 6; see FOWLS, §§ 4, 6, and cp

FOOD, § 8); the Torah divides them into clean and clean (Lev. 11 13 Dt. 14 20; see CLEAN and UNCLE § 9). Many contrivances for capturing birds wer common use (Ps. 91 3 124 7 Prov. 1 17 6 5 7 23 An Eccles. 9 12 Jer. 5 27 Hos. 7 12 9 8 Ecclus. 11 30). Torah protects them against cruelty (Dt. 226 Sometimes the captives were tamed and treated as (Job 41 5 [40 29], Bar. 3 17 Ecclus. 27 19 Jas. 3 7). C in cases of extreme poverty does the Torah allow b to be used for sacrifice (see SACRIFICE). Natura common small birds, on account of their abundan were of little value; they were probably so numerous to prove a nuisance (Mt. 10 29 31 Lk. 12 6 *f.*; cp *L and Book*, 43). To what extent—if any—birds w studied for omens in Israel as in Babylonia (see BA LONIA, § 32, MAGIC, BABYLONIAN, § 3) it is difficult determine (see Lev. 19 26 Dt. 18 10 2 K. 21 6 2 Ch. 3 1 K. 4 33 [5 13], and cp DIVINATION, § 2, *beg.*, a Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1 250 *ff.* ET).

Allusions to their habits in metaphors, similes, a proverbial expressions prove how prominent they w

3. Literary and popular allusions. in the life and thought of the people (AGRICULTURE, § 15, and see LOWT *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of t Hebrews*, Lect. vii. vol. i. ET 1787 They were evidently observed with the keenest intere as being links between earth and heaven, and regarde with a certain awe (Job 12 7 28 21 35 11 Eccles. 10 20). was noticed how they cared for and protected their youn (Dt. 32 11 Ex. 19 4 Is. 31 5 Mt. 23 37); how and whe they made their nests (Ps. 104 12 17 Ezek. 31 6)—some times (according to a pleasing but very doubtful inter pretation) in the very temple itself[1] (Ps. 84 3 [4]); w what sad plight they wandered about when cast out the nest (Prov. 27 8 Is. 16 2 Ps. 102 7 [8]); how swift they flew away when scared (Hos. 9 11 Ps. 11 1); how eagerly they returned to their nest (Hos. 11 11); how free from care they were (Mt. 6 26); how regularly they migrated (Jer. 8 7 Prov. 26 2); how voracious they were (Gen. 40 17 Mt. 13 4 Mk. 4 4 Lk. 8 5); how they descended from the clouds in a bevy (Ecclus. 43 17), and with what delight they gathered in a leafy tree (Dan. 4 9 [12] Ecclus. 27 9 Mt. 13 32 Lk. 13 19); how sweetly they warbled (Eccles. 12 4 Wisd. 17 18 Cant. 2 12 [see, however, VINE Ps. 104 12); how God recognises and protects them (P 50 11 Lk. 12 24); and how they praise and reverenc him (Ps. 148 10 Ezek. 38 20). Further, Israel's enem is often pictured as a rapacious bird that sights its pre afar off and swoops down upon it (Is. 46 11 Jer. 12 9 Dt. 28 49 Rev. 19 17 21). Thus, 'to destroy' is to give a man's flesh to the birds of the air for meat (Gen. 40 19 Dt. 28 26 1 S. 17 44 46 1 K. 14 11 16 4 21 24 Ps. 79 2 Jer. 7 16 4 19 7 34 20 Ezek. 29 5). A place is desolate when its only inhabitants are the birds of the air (Jer. Ezek. 31 13 32 4 Is. 18 6), and an utter desolation when even these too have perished (Jer. 4 25 12 4 Hos. 4 3 Zeph. 1 The saying in Mt. 8 20, where Jesus contrasts himse with the birds which have nests, has not yet been made perfectly clear (but see SON OF MAN).

BIRSHA (בְּרִשְׁע, scarcely 'with [or, in] wickedness': the name is corrupt; cp BERA), king of Gomorrah who

[1] Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 160, and Che.'s note, *Psalms* 84 ... common view of the meaning is untenable on all grounds exegetical, historical, metrical. 1. No natural exegesis ... given, if אֶת כִּי, 'thine altars,' has any relation to the birds. The sanctuary of the temple proper would certainly have ... the winged visitors; Jos. *BJ* v. 5 6 speaks of pointed spikes the top of the (Herodian) temple to prevent birds from ... even on the outside. This seems to have been generally ... looked. 2. The psalm consists of long verses (lines) divided ... a caesura into two unequal parts. 'Thine altars, my King ... my God,' is too much to be in the second and shorter part of one of these verses. See Che., *Psalms*,[2] and cp Baethgen, ... who attempts an exegetical compromise.

[2] Read thus, 'Do I count my heritage a carcase torn by hyænas (הַמִרְטָת עָלַי; Θ σκήλαιον ὑαίνης = מערת ע)? Are vultures round about it?'

league against CHEDORLAOMER (§ 2), Gen. 14 2 (ΒΑΡCΑ [ADEL]; ΒΑΛΑΙΑC, Jos. *Ant.* i. 9 1).

BIRTHDAY (יום הולדת, ΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΕΝΕCΕΩC [ADE], Γ. Η. [L], Gen. 40 20; ΓΕΝΕCΙΑ [Ti. WH], Mt. 14 6 Mk. 6 21). The only express mention of the celebration of the anniversary of birth in OT or NT is in connection with kings: Pharaoh's birthday (Gen. 40 20), when the 'chief butler' was restored to his office and the 'chief baker' hanged; Antiochus Epiphanes' birthday (2 Macc. 6 7); [1] and Herod's birthday (Mt. 14 6 Mk. 6 21), when Herodias's dancing was the occasion of the execution of John the Baptist. When it is said in Job 1 4 that Job's sons 'were wont to go and feast in the house of each one upon his day,' 'his day' denotes a weekly and not an annual feast; and in Hos. 7 5 'the day of our king' may refer to the anniversary of his succession quite as well as to a birthday. However, this silence on the subject is no warrant for us to conclude that the Israelites did not follow the general custom of observing birthdays, especially those of kings (see for Egypt, *RP*[1] 4 77, and for Persia, Herod. 9 110). The curses invoked by Job (3 1-12) and Jeremiah (20 14-18) on the days of their birth imply that under happier conditions these days would have been remembered in more cheerful fashion.

Doubts have been raised as to whether Herod's γενέσια meant his birthday or the anniversary of his accession. The Mishna (*Aboda Zara*, 1 3) mentions as heathen festivals, calends, saturnalia, κρατήσεις, kings' days of γενέσια (יום גיניסיא), and the day of birth and the day of death. It is probable that the last two mean the actual days and not the anniversaries; the κρατήσεις would naturally be the anniversaries of accessions and the יום גיניסיא the birthday. So Talm. Jer. *Aboda Zara*, 1 39c takes יום ג' as יום הלידה (birthday), but Bab. *Aboda Zara*, 10a understands יום ג' as anniversary of accession. Γενεσια is used as birthday in late Greek (in classical Greek it is anniversary of death) and never as anniversary of accession: thus the sense of birthday seems well established. Cp Schürer, *Hist.* 2 26, and the Talm. Lexx. of Levy and Jastrow on גיניסיא; also Gratz, *MGWJ* 20 230 [71]. See also LORD'S DAY, § 2.

W. H. B.

BIRTHRIGHT (בְּכוֹרָה, Gen. 25 31; ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΙΑ, Heb. 12 16); see FIRSTBORN, LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14. On the story of Esau and Jacob see ESAU, § 2.

BIRZAITH (בִּרְזַיִת, Kr.), AV **Birzavith** (בִּרְזָוִת, Kt.; ΒΗΖΑΙΘ [B], ΒΕΡΖΑΙΕ [A], ΒΑΡΖΕΘ [L], in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 31†. The name (? באר זית, 'well of the olive tree') seems to suggest a locality.

BISHLAM (בִּשְׁלָם; ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ [BA], ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΡΕΟΥΜ ΒΕΛΤΕΕΜ [L]), Ezra 4 7, for which 1 Esd. 2 16 has BELEMUS (ΒΗΛΕΜΟC [BA] or ΒΕΕΛCΙΜΟC [L]), the name of a Persian officer of unknown origin, who joined with others in writing a letter of complaint against the Jews. 𝔊[BA] takes the name as descriptive of the tranquil state of the writers of the letter (ἐν εἰρήνῃ); but Bishlam is clearly a proper name. It either means 'in peace,' cp BEZALEEL, BIRSHA, or, more probably, like those names, it is a corruption. The true name may be Babylonian. It may perhaps be recovered if we start from one or the other of the forms presented in the MSS of 1 Esd., where the proper names are sometimes more accurately preserved. Ball (*Var. Abscr.* ad loc.), adopting βήλεμος, supposes a corruption of Bab. Bel-ibus—*i.e.*, 'Bel made.' It would seem, however, that the βεελσιμος of 𝔊[L] must be more original, and this form may have arisen from Bel-šum-iškun—*i.e.*, 'Bel made a name' (Nestle, *Marg.* 23, 29).

T. K. C.

[1] EV 'the day of the king's birth every month': so 𝔊 and Pesh.; Vg. om. κατὰ μῆνα. Grimm suggested that 'every month' is from 1 Macc. 1 59; but it is probably genuine (see LORD'S DAY, § 2).

BISHOP (ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC). The word is of rare occurrence in the NT.[1]

The elders of the church, summoned from Ephesus to Miletus to receive Paul's farewell charge (Acts 20 17), are thus addressed: 'Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath set you

1. Occurrence of name in NT. as overseers (ὑμᾶς . . . ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους) to feed (or rule: ποιμαίνειν) the church of God' (*v.* 28). It is not clear from this passage whether the word is used as a definite title, or merely as a description implying that ἐπισκοπή, oversight or superintendence, was a function of the presbyterate. In the address of the Epistle to the Philippians, however, we have 'bishops and deacons' formally mentioned; it is difficult, in view of the later usage of the words, to suppose that this is merely a general description of 'those who rule and those who serve.' In 1 Tim. 3 1 *ff.* the bishop and the deacon are again brought together. The qualifications of a bishop are enumerated: δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον *κ.τ.λ.*, where the article is commonly regarded as generic, or at least as not implying that there was only one bishop in the Ephesian church. In Tit. 1 5 *ff.*, in connection with the duty of appointing presbyters in the towns of Crete, a similar description of a bishop's qualifications is given (δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον *κ.τ.λ.*); but no reference is made to deacons. The only other occurrence of the word is in 1 Pet. 2 25, where it is applied to Christ himself, 'the shepherd and bishop of your souls.' It is not necessary to interpret these titles as metaphors drawn from the Christian ministry.

We note, then, that the word is found in all cases on Greek ground, and it would seem as if those who in the Palestinian churches were called 'presbyters' were in the Greek churches spoken of at first as 'bishops' and then indifferently as 'presbyters' or as 'bishops.' This view, however, assumes that ἐπίσκοπος was already at this time in use as a title of office; and the assumption requires a careful examination. It will be best to begin such an examination with what is admittedly the latest portion of the NT evidence.

1 Tim. 3 1 *ff.* 'If a man seeketh ἐπισκοπή he desireth a good work. The bishop, therefore, must be without

2. (*a*) Pastoral Epistles. reproach,' etc. (εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ, δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίλημπτον εἶναι *κ.τ.λ.*). The whole conception of the function of an ἐπίσκοπος, as it is here described, suggests that the authority which he wields is independent, not merely that of a member of a governing board. To begin with, ἐπισκοπή does not give any idea of assessors: it is distinctly personal. It is a position of independent importance and control, such as a man may naturally desire. Secondly, the epithet 'given to hospitality' (φιλόξενος) suggests a personal responsibility; the Church's duty of showing hospitality to Christians from other parts seems naturally to centre in some one person; we could scarcely have had 'Presbyters must be given to hospitality' (δεῖ οὖν πρεσβυτέρους φιλοξένους εἶναι). In like manner, 'apt to teach' (διδακτικός) would scarcely be a qualification for a member of the presbyteral body as such; and the same may be said of the epithets μὴ πάροινος, μὴ πλήκτης, 'not passionate or ungoverned in temper.' The control of his own house, again, gives the thought of independent jurisdiction in the case to which it is made a parallel—'how shall he act as ἐπιμελητής of the church of God?'

The singular noun with the article may, according to Greek usage, be taken generically; but we must observe that (1) when the writer passes on to give a similar list of qualifications for a deacon the plural is used: 'Deacons in like manner . . . Women in like manner . . . Let deacons be husbands of one wife' (διακόνους ὡσαύτως . . . γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως . . . διάκονοι ἔστωσαν μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρες (in the last case the use of the singular with the generic article would have avoided an awkward phrase); (2) in Tit. 1 7, we have an exact parallel, δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον *κ.τ.λ.*, where we might easily have had δεῖ γὰρ ἐπισκόποις *κ.τ.λ.*; (3) the usage of the article in the Pastoral Epistles is a further reason for hesitating to explain it here as generic, for the article is very sparingly employed, and there

[1] [Analogous to ממונה, superintendent in the synagogue or elsewhere. See Jastrow's *Dict.*]

seems no example at all parallel to these in any of the three Epistles.

The difficulty is to some extent met by insisting on the use of ἐπίσκοπος as a descriptive epithet rather than as a formal title; 'He who exercises ἐπισκοπή.' In so far as his status in the Church is dwelt on, such a man would be spoken of most naturally as 'one of the elders'; but here the subject in hand is the function to be exercised by him individually. That function is ἐπισκοπή: in the exercise of it he is ἐπίσκοπος. The watchful oversight which is regarded as 'an excellent work' is not an eminent position, but a responsible activity. He who is to exercise it needs to have certain special qualifications. We feel the contrast when we come to διακόνους ὡσαύτως, which introduces in an ordinary way the members of a large and subordinate class.

The passage in Acts 20 is, as we have seen, quite indeterminate. If ἐπίσκοπος can be shown to be a title in use at the time in question, we may render the words, 'hath set you as bishops.' Otherwise we should perhaps render them, 'hath set you for oversight.' The phrase in the Epistle to the Philippians, if taken quite by itself, would, in the light of later history, be naturally rendered 'with the bishops and deacons' (σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις), notwithstanding the absence of the definite article. If, however, ἐπίσκοπος be not yet found as a title, a less definite interpretation may be allowed. The decision between the two views must depend on a further consideration which shall include the use of the term διάκονος at this period [see DEACON, § 6], and the use of ἐπίσκοπος outside the NT, in other than Christian contexts, and in the earliest Christian writings.

3. (b) Other NT writings.

In the use of ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπισκοπεῖν, in other than Christian contexts, a great width of meaning is noticeable, due, no doubt, to the original signification which fitted the words for application to any person who exercised an office of superintendence. The commissioners who superintended Athenian colonies, various other commissioners or inspectors, magistrates who regulated the sale of provisions, and, apparently, financial officers of a temple or of a guild (Lightf. *Phil* 95; Hatch, *Organisation of Early Christian Churches*, 37 *f.*)—all these are spoken of as ἐπίσκοποι, or are said ἐπισκοπεῖν. Nor was this the only term which had a similar largeness of reference: quite parallel is the usage of ἐπιμελεῖν and ἐπιμελητής (Hatch, see above).

4. Non-Christian usage.

In the LXX the word ἐπίσκοπος is equally wide in the persons and offices which it embraces. Taskmasters, captains or presidents, and commissioners, are in turn so entitled; and as a synonym in the last of these cases we find also ἐπίσταται (Lightf.; see above).

All this evidence points to the fact that ἐπίσκοπος and ἐπισκοπεῖν were words which naturally offered themselves as descriptions of any persons charged with responsible oversight, and were the more available in that they had no predominant association with any one class of officers in particular. The words were, as far as possible, colourless, much as our words 'preside' and 'president' are to-day.

Hatch's position, adopted by Harnack, in reference to ἐπίσκοποι is as follows:—The most important corporate function of the earliest Christian communities was that of providing for their poor and sick members. They were, in fact, benevolent societies, and as such they had parallels all around them in the heathen world, in the countless clubs and guilds which combined social purposes with certain religious practices. The finance officers of these heathen societies were called ἐπίσκοποι. Now, the duties which the Christian ἐπίσκοπος had to perform are described as intimately connected with the care of the poor, with hospitality to travelling brethren, and with the management of the common fund which was devoted to and similar purposes. It is probable, therefore, both the title and the functions of the Christian ἐπισ are directly derived from his heathen counterpart.

5. Hatch's theory.

The best examination of this theory is that by ing (*Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 2

6. Criticism of it.

After pointing out the very general si cation of the word ἐπίσκοπος in literature—a signification which en it to be applied to any person in authority for there was no fixed title already, and so to be used great freedom by the LXX as a rendering for va officers mentioned in the OT—he takes up the evid of the inscriptions on which Hatch's theory mainly They fall chronologically into two classes. The class is pre-Christian: one inscription of the Maceo period in the island of Thera, which contains a d ordering certain ἐπίσκοποι to receive moneys and them; and two inscriptions of the second century in the island of Rhodes, relating to municipal off not further defined. Those of the second class be to the second and the third century A.D., and are f in a district E. of the Jordan. They are ten, refer to municipal officers. In one case the officers charged with some responsibility for the moneys temple. In this district they seem to have forme kind of municipal board, chosen from various t or divisions of the community. Further, in a L inscription of the fourth century certain *episcopi* regu prices in the market.

This appears to be the whole of the evidence on wh the statement that ἐπίσκοποι were the finance-offic clubs and guilds is found to rest. In Lo ning's opi it points exactly in the opposite direction.

As to the other part of the argument,—viz., that Christian ἐπίσκοπος is, as a matter of fact, a fina officer,—that is no peculiarity of function linking it especially to the title. To the presbyters at Jerus gifts are brought; and presbyters are warned not exercise their office 'for filthy lucre' (EV; αἰσχροκερδῶ 1 Pet. 5 2); moreover, in Polycarp's letter to the P pians (chap. 11) presbyters are charged with duti wards the poor and are warned against covetous The word ἐπίσκοπος in itself suggests a far wide sponsibility than the mere charge of finance: it im superintendence of persons as well as of things.

Loening even goes so far as to suggest that the w ἐπίσκοπος was chosen just because it had no fix associations either in the Jewish or in the Greek wo and was, therefore, free to be used in a commu which stood in contrast to all other communities sur rounding it.

In the extreme scarcity of evidence, we may content to say that the theory that the Christi ἐπίσκοπος derived his title and functions from those the officers of the Greek guilds or of the Greek muni palities has not been established.

7. General conclusions.

We may say, then, that the NT evidence seems point to the existence in the apostolic age of two of administration—a class of rulers a class of humbler ministrants who under their orders. As far as the of these has a distinctive official title its members called Elders; but, since their function was sum up in the general responsibility of oversight (ἐπισκ they could be spoken of as 'overseers' (ἐπίσκοπ term which was already passing from a mere desc of function into a definite title. The men of the se class aided those of the first in the humbler part their ministration. They were naturally describe the general designation of 'servants' (διάκονοι), this term too is passing in the apostolic age in recognised title. On the whole, it seems simpl suppose that the latter stage has been reached in Pul and in the Pastoral Epistles; but the decision of t point is not a matter of serious importance.

In the later history, the second class retains its designation, which in some localities comes to be a title of considerable dignity. The first class, on the other hand, presently undergoes a subdivision: one member comes to stand out above his fellows, and, whilst all continue alike to be Elders, the title of ἐπίσκοπος, which in itself connotes an individual responsibility and importance, is not unnaturally appropriated as the designation of the one who has come to be the supreme officer of the community. The causes which led to a monarchical development are still wrapt in obscurity, but the appropriation of the name ἐπίσκοπος to the chief ruler is not hard to understand. We are fortunate in possessing a document of the last decade of the first century, by which we can, to some extent, test the position which we have taken up. The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians was occasioned by the ejection from their office of certain Elders of the church in Corinth. As the writer may quite well have had personal knowledge of one or more of the apostles, his evidence is of high importance, not only for determining the existing organisation of the church in Corinth (and probably in Rome as well) in his time, but also as indicating the belief that this organisation was instituted by the apostles themselves.

8. Clement of Rome.

First let us consider the use of the designations in question in the most important passage

(§ 42.) 'The apostles . . . appointed their first fruits (cp 1 Cor. 16 15), having tested them by the Spirit, to be overseers and servants (εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους) of them who should believe.' The words have clearly become titles, and their use as such is justified as being not new, but foretold in Is. 60 17. It is curious that διακόνους in this citation is an insertion of Clement's, and is not found in the LXX. He is clearly quoting from memory, and his memory has played him false. (§ 44) 'The apostles foresaw that there would be strife about the title (or 'office') of oversight (περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς). . . . They appointed the aforesaid and provided for succession to them. It is a sin to turn such, if they have discharged their ministry blamelessly, out of their ἐπισκοπή. 'Blessed,' he goes on at once, 'are *the Elders* who have gone before,' and are safe from such treatment. In § 47 we have the offence described as a revolt 'against the Elders'; in § 54 we read 'Let the flock of Christ be at peace along with the appointed Elders'; and in § 57, 'Do ye who began this sedition submit yourselves to the Elders.'

It is plain, then, that the persons whom the apostles '*appointed as* ἐπίσκοποι,' and as their successors, are spoken of also as 'the appointed Elders.' These Elders are not to be rashly ejected from their λειτουργία or ἐπισκοπή.

The difficulty which Clement's epistle presents in the matter of these designations belongs to the earlier chapters, before he has come to speak definitely of the Corinthian disorders: he seems to use the term 'elders' as though he referred not to an office, but only to a grade of persons dignified by that name in contrast to the young (οἱ νέοι).

In the first of the passages in question (§ 1) he praises their former orderliness, 'submitting yourselves to your rulers (or 'elders,' τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν), and paying the due honour to the elders that were among you: and on the young ye enjoined modesty and gravity; and on the women' certain appropriate duties. Similarly, in § 21 we have, 'let us reverence our rulers (τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν), and let us honour our elders, let us instruct the young . . . let us guide our women aright.' Here we seem to have a contrast between 'rulers' and 'elders': and it has been held (*e.g.*, by Harnack) that the 'rulers' are a class of persons whose authority came from their possessing the χάρισμα of teaching (cp Heb. 13 7 24), whilst the Elders are an undefined grade of senior members of the Church to whom honour is due on account of age and length of discipleship. But the word νέοι, occurring in both passages (not νεωτεροι, as elsewhere is offered), is an important clue, which has not been sufficiently attended to. Clement is in fact alluding to a passage of Isaiah, which he cites with some additions in § 3: 'so,' he says, 'of old the mean rose up against the honourable, the young against the elder (οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους),' Is. 3 5. It would be possible to interpret 'the rulers' as the civil rulers to whom Clement several times applied the term ἡγουμένοι (§ 37); but on the whole it seems most natural to suppose that at first he is carefully avoiding definite references to the Corinthian revolt, and only preparing the way for its direct rebuke. Thus he speaks in the most general terms of 'the rulers,' and passes rapidly away from the word 'elders,' just introducing it as a hint beforehand, but dwelling on the footing which was still strongly felt in the word and contrasting it with οἱ νέοι in a sense which the OT passage which is in his mind.

No argument, therefore, can safely be based on the rhetorical use of the word 'elders' in the opening part of the letter. No doubt the Elders were older men; and no doubt the revolt came from some of the younger men: this was a part of its heinousness, and the covert allusion would be understood by those to whom the letter was addressed.

The development of the monarchical episcopate lies outside the limits of the NT, but even within the Canon we find indications of a tendency which the later history enables us to interpret as moving in this direction.

9. Later development.

We have noticed that all passages which describe the functions and responsibilities of Elders speak of them as a class and in the plural number; whilst, on the other hand, where the duties of oversight (ἐπισκοπή) are pourtrayed, the ἐπίσκοπος is spoken of as a single person, charged with responsibility—and this in one place in sharp contrast to the διάκονοι, and in the other immediately after Elders have been mentioned in the plural number. From this we may gather that, in a far as a member of the ruling class was thought of as ἐπίσκοπος, it was natural to consider him by himself as exercising an independent control and holding a position of eminent authority.

As far as terminology, then, is concerned, the way was prepared for the distinction that presently came into force.

10. 'Episcopos' easily individualised.

The word ἐπίσκοπος suggests an individual, just as the word πρεσβύτερος suggests the member of a ruling class, or the word διάκονος the member of a serving class. The class of rulers, however, did not need two designations, and when the course of development led to a supreme officer it was easy and natural to appropriate to him the word ἐπίσκοπος, while his inferior colleagues were simply termed πρεσβύτεροι.

But this consideration does not really give us any guidance as to the causes of the change from government by a body of co-ordinate ἐπίσκοποι or πρεσβύτεροι to government by a single ἐπίσκοπος with a consultative college of πρεσβύτεροι, among whom he is *primus inter pares*. The apostolic age, however, presents us with several foreshadowings of the monarchical rule which presently became universal. In the church in Jerusalem the position of James, the Lord's brother, was one of real if undefined authority, and, though not marked by any special title, it closely resembles that of the bishop of the second century. We have the statement of Hegesippus that on the death of James his cousin Symeon was appointed by general consent to fill his place (Eus. *HE* iii. 11). Here, then, was a monarchical type of government, naturally evolved and continuously recognised; and such an example could not fail, as time went on, to exercise an influence on other communities.

11. Change foreshadowed in NT.

In the Greek world the churches of Paul's foundation were from the first controlled by the strong hand of their founder. It is true that he urged them to corporate action of their own in the exercise of jurisdiction and discipline; but he himself commanded them with an authority beyond all challenge, and his commands were obeyed. In certain cases he transferred this his authority to delegates, such as Timothy and Titus, but only, it would seem, for a period, and in order to cope with special needs. Still, in doing this, he had given a practical proof of the advantage gained by the presence in a community of one who could rule with supreme authority: and this temporary sway would doubtless help in determining the tendency of subsequent development.

These examples, however, would have been powerless

by themselves to produce so great a change, had there not been elements in the life of the communities which made for the concentration of authority in particular hands. It is often said that such an element is discoverable in the working of the presbyteral college itself. Any board which meets for the transaction of business must needs have a president. The holder of this position would naturally acquire a large share of the authority of the board itself; in time he would tend to become a supreme officer over the whole community. This suggestion is open to two serious criticisms. On the one hand, there is no ground for thinking that in parallel cases at that period such a development from oligarchical to monarchical rule came about. Presidents of this kind were often elected for a month or for a year, and in any case did not acquire an independent authority. Moreover, the term 'presbyteral college' may be challenged, if it is intended to suggest that the practical administration of the Church was carried on by means of formal meetings of the Elders as such. We have no evidence of any kind that they regularly met in this way. It is probable that they had special seats in the assembly of the community; but that they met by themselves for the transaction of business and required a chairman is a hypothesis for which no evidence has yet been given.

13. Bishop not chairman.

It is only when we turn our attention away from the administration and fix it on the common worship of the church, that we begin to get any rays of light on this problem. If we knew better the history of the eucharist, it is not unlikely that the history of the episcopate would cease to be so perplexing. In the disorders which disgraced the Lord's Supper in Corinth, and in Paul's regulations for checking them, we hear nothing at all of any kind of presidency or leadership. In the same church before the end of the century we find elders spoken of as the leaders of the eucharistic worship and as 'offering the gifts.'

13. Rather leader in worship.

The picture which, fifty years later, Justin draws of the eucharist in Rome, shows us a single officer, spoken of simply as 'the president (ὁ προεστὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν), receiving and offering the eucharistic elements, and making the eucharistic prayer, to which the whole congregation responds with the AMEN (§ 3). Likewise, after the reading of the Gospels or the Prophets 'the president' makes an exhortation based upon what has been read. He is, moreover, the depositary of the collection made in behalf of the poor, and has a general responsibility for widows and orphans, for the sick and needy, for prisoners, and for travelling brethren from other communities (*Ap.* i. 65-67). This president is clearly the bishop, though Justin's language does not help us to decide whether he was at that time known in Rome by the title ἐπίσκοπος or not. If he was, it by no means follows that Justin would have said so. He is writing for heathen readers, and he avoids technical terms; or, if he finds it convenient to use them, he explains them. Thus, in speaking of the deacons, he describes them as 'those who with us are called διάκονοι' (οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι); and his usual term for the Gospels is 'the memoirs of the apostles,' to which in one place he adds 'which are called gospels' (ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια). We can argue nothing from the absence of the designation 'bishop': had he cared to introduce it, he would no doubt have done so by the phrase 'he who with us is called ἐπίσκοπος' (ὁ καλούμενος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπίσκοπος). But the person is there, if the name is not; and we see that important collateral functions belong to the officer who presides at the eucharistic service. He appears as at once the instructor and the almoner of the whole community.

14. Justin's account.

It is a long step, however, from Clement to Justin, and it is of some importance to us that we should have evidence

of a like development in other parts of the C[illegible] Two passages may be cited which point in th[illegible] direction for the eastern side of the [illegible] terranean. 1. In the *Didachè* (chap[illegible] the prophets are spoken of as ho[illegible] position of special importance in reference to the euc[illegible] they are not bound by the prescribed formulæ of t[illegible] givings, but may 'give thanks as they will,' [illegible] implies that, if present, they naturally take a pro[illegible] part in the service. They may order an *agape* [illegible] held (ὁρίζειν τράπεζαν); and to them the first fru[illegible] to be given, 'for they are your chief-priests' (chap[illegible] The same document declares, however, that the m[illegible] (λειτουργία) of the prophets and teachers was li[illegible] exercised by the bishops and deacons (chap. 15). [illegible] safe to suppose that if no prophet were prese[illegible] conduct of the service would be in the hands [illegible] permanent local ministry, although in this case [illegible] would be no exemption from the duty of usin[illegible] prescribed formulæ.

15. Eastern Church.

2. The Ignatian Epistles, as is well known, p[illegible] the completed development of the three order[illegible] certain Asiatic churches at a comparatively early p[illegible] It is noteworthy that the one bishop is expressly [illegible] nected with the one eucharist (for references [illegible] EUCHARIST). No eucharist is to be held w[illegible] the bishop, or some person deputed by him to co[illegible] it. There is 'One bishop, one altar, one euch[illegible] (εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἓν θυσιαστήριον, μία εὐχαριστία).

We may feel confident, then, that in the develop[illegible] of the eucharistic service we have an element pe[illegible] the most important element—of the development o[illegible] monarchical episcopate.

As soon as this monarchical rule had been establi[illegible] in a church various sacred parallels which would [illegible] taken as confirmatory of the divine ord[illegible] the institution, would be observed. [illegible] bishop and his presbyters might be [illegible] pared with Christ and his apostles. Or again, the t[illegible] orders of the Christian Church—bishop, presb[illegible] and deacons—would find a ready analogy in the [illegible] priest, priests, and Levites of the Jewish ritual. [illegible] parallels would serve to confirm the validity of [illegible] institution, and would facilitate its adoption in [illegible] localities.

16. Final stage.

Meanwhile, the extraordinary ministry of aps[illegible] and prophets had passed or was rapidly passing [illegible] Some of the functions which they had exercised w[illegible] essential in the Church; and these devolved as a heri[illegible] upon the permanent ministry. The prestige which [illegible] attached to their exercise passed over in the m[illegible] the chief officers of the community, who thus ca[illegible] be regarded, with a large measure of truth, as [illegible] successors of the apostles, wielding apostolic auth[illegible] as the rulers of the Church and the defenders of [illegible] Christian faith.

J. V. [illegible]

BISON (דִּישֹׁן, *dīšōn*), Dt. 14 5† AV[mg.]; RV PYGARG (*q.v.*).

BIT (בִּתּוֹ), Ps. 32 9 EV. See BRIDLE, 3

BITHIAH (בִּתְיָה; ΓΕΛΙΑ [B], ΒΕΘΘΙΑ [A], ΦΑ[illegible] ΘΟΥΙΑ [L]), 'daughter of Pharaoh,' and wife of Me[illegible] ben Ezrah, in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 18). [illegible] the assumption that 'Pharaoh' (פַּרְעֹה) is correctly [illegible] Bithiah (which might be explained 'daughter [illegible] worshipper of Yahwé' [Olsh. § 277 *b*]) might [illegible] Hebraised form of an Egyptian name such as Bint-A[illegible] 'daughter of Anta' ('Anath), to indicate that the [illegible] of the name had entered the Israelitish community.

This, however, does not accord with the view [illegible] in the vowels of the name of Bithiah's husband. M[illegible] apparently means 'rebellion,' and suggests a war[illegible] against the wickedness of taking foreign wives [illegible] Ezra 9 1, and cp 2 Ch. 24 26). It would be [illegible] with this that Mered's wife should bear the honourable

name 'daughter of Yahwè': we should expect to find the old heathen name retained. Perhaps, then, Bithiah is not the right name; 𝔊ᴮ's γελια suggests to Kittel בעליה, and 𝔊ᴬ's φαθθουια may conceivably be based on בתחיה, which in turn may have sprung from בתיה, producing a description of Mered's non-Jewish wife as 'a young Egyptian princess' (Mered's other wife 'the Jewess' [יהודיה YEHUDIJAH (v. 18)] is not named). However, the corruption is antecedent to 𝔊, and the whole story (half-told, half-implied, by the text as it now stands) is imaginary. The idea of the double marriage of Mered had not occurred to the original compiler; the true text conveys no warning against mixed marriages. Four at least out of the five names, Mered, Bithiah, Pharaoh, Jehudijah, and Hodiah, are corrupt; perhaps indeed all five are. Mered, or, more strictly, M-R-D, has probably come from M-R-TH, which is an incorrect form of R-M-TH—*i.e.*, Ramoth—or rather of Jarmuth (see MERED). 'Bithiah' is not improbably a corruption of 'Bealiah' (בעליה, 1 Ch. 12 5 [Gi. Ba. 6]). Pharaoh should rather be פרעה, a clan name (cp PIRATHON). Ha-Jehudijah (RV[mg.]) and Hodiah are plainly the same name (in v. 19 read אשתי, 'his wife'). Accepting this view, we have two accounts of the family of Mered. It is not quite certain, however, that the person miscalled Mered is represented as having two wives. Hodiah may have been deliberately substituted for Bealiah, from a dislike to the first element in that name.

We are now rid of the only case in the OT of a name compounded with Jah (יה)—of such names there are 157—being borne by a foreigner (cp Gray, *HPN* 158). Next, another mistake has to be noted. It is plain that 1 Ch. 4 17 as it stands is not right. The remedy is (with Berth. and Kitt.) to transpose v. 18*b* to the middle of v. 17, inserting of course ואלה after יתר. This gives us, as the children of Bithiah or Bealiah, Miriam (?), Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Eshtemoa. Eshtemoa also occurs (together with Keilah) in the list of the children of Hodiah (v. 19), while Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah are connected with Mered through Hodiah's double, Ha-Jehudijah—an important notice (see MERED). It is perhaps sad to have lost what was supposed to be an early testimony to the presence of an Egyptian element at and about Eshtemoa, as contrasted with the more purely Jewish character of Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah; but we gain an attestation of the traditional importance of Jarmuth. It may be added that in Jewish legend Bithiah becomes the foster-mother of Moses (*Vayyikra, R.*, par. 1). T. K. C.

BITHRON (הַבִּתְרוֹן, ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΤΕΙΝΟΥΣΑΝ [BAL], ܒܝܬ ܚܘܪܘܢ, *BETH-HORON*) '*the groove*' or 'cleft' *par excellence* situated between the Jordan and Mahanaim (2 S. 2 29†), and possibly to be identified with the *W. 'Ajlūn*, along which, though at a later time, ran a Roman road from 'Ajlūn to Mahanaim (Buhl, *Pal.* 121); see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF. For the sense of Bithron cp 𝔊's rendering of בתר in Cant. 2 17 (*ὄρη κοιλωμάτων* (like *κοιλάς* in 𝔊 for עמק). The reading Bithron is not certain, and the Vss. give little help,[1] although Vg. (cp also Aq.'s *βεθωρων*) suggests that there was another Beth-horon E. of Jordan (see HORONAIM). Thenius's conjecture, BETH-HARAM, is improbable.

BITHYNIA (ΒΙΘΥΝΙΑ [Ti. WH]), the district round the central Sangarius (*Sakarīa*) in the NW. corner of Asia Minor, extending from the mouth of the Rhyndacus (*Edrenos Chai*) eastwards to that of the Sangarius.

1. Geography. The boundary between Bithynia and the province of Asia coincided, not, as might have been expected, with the line of the Rhyndacus, but with that of the range of the Mysian Olympus (*Keshish Dagh*) lying N. of the river (Pliny, *HN* 5 142). The eastern frontier is often made to coincide with the Billai [illegible] with the Parthenios, or even to extend beyond the latter river in spite of Strabo's statement that the *mouth* of the Sa[illegible] marked the boundary (542, τὴν Βιθυνίαν ὁριζει πρὸς ταις ἐκβολαις). Inland, it ran out far E. of the river; but the line is indeterminate. According to Pliny (*HN* 5 140), the Hieros or Siberis separated Bithynia from the province Galatia; but the boundary fell some 12 m. E. of that stream (Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of A.* 195), whence it ran W. between the Sangarius and its tributa y, the Tembris.

The will of Nicomedes III., the last of its kings, left Bithynia to the Romans in 74 B.C.; but it was not until 64 B.C., when the situation of Pontus had been finally expelled from Asia, that Pompeius could undertake the organisation of the province (cp Plin. *Epp. ad Trai.* 79). With it was now combined the whole of the kingdom of Pontus, with the exception of those districts towards the E., as well as those in the interior (Paphlagonia), which were assigned to native dynasts in recognition of their services to Rome (Str. 541. See Niese in *Hermes*, 13 39, and *Rhein. Mus.* 38 567 [83]). Āmisos, which lay immediately E. of the Halys (*Kizil Irmak*), was the most easterly community of that part of Pontus which was combined with the old kingdom of Nicomēdes to form the Roman province.

This dual origin of the province was recognised in its official title, *Pontus et Bithynia* (s[illegible]ally in inscriptions [illegible] Lat. and Gr.; cp Appian, *Mithr.* 1 [illegible], *CIG* 1632 1547, *CIL* [illegible]). The reverse order is perhaps upon the whole later, en[illegible] by the gradual growth in importance of the western s[illegible]. Either name, apparently, might be used to denote the [illegible] province (cp Tac. *Ann.* 12 21 with Dio Cas. 60 33; *CIG* [illegible], *Bull. Hell.* 11 212). In administration also the two [illegible] retained a certain degree of formal independence, each have [illegible] its own metropolis and Diet (*conventus*).

In the distribution of provinces by Augustus in 27 B.C. Pontus-Bithynia remained senatorial—*i.e.*, its governors, who were of Prætorian rank, bore the title 'proconsul' (Str. 840, Tac. *Ann.* 1 74 16 18). The official residence was Nicomedeia. Under the ineffective supervision of the Senate the province gradually became disorganised: its finances fell into disorder, and unregulated *collegia* gave birth to turbulence and faction. In order to carry out the necessary reforms, the younger Pliny was sent into the province in 112 A.D. His importance arises from his official contact with Christianity (*Epp. ad Trai.* 96 and 97. See Hardy, *Pliny's Correspondence*, 51 *f.*, Rams. *Church*, 196 *f.*, and cp CHRISTIAN, § 6 *f.*)

2. History.

In the early period of post-apostolic history Bithynia is illustrious; but it has little connection with the apostles themselves. The salutation of 1 Pet. 1 1, where Pontus and Bithynia are mentioned separately, bears witness to the rapid evangelisation of the province. Before 112 A.D. Christianity had made such progress in Bithynia that pagan ritual was interrupted and the temples in great part deserted (Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 96). We get a hint that there, as in Ephesus, trade interests were at the bottom of the attack then made upon the Christians. The *contagio istius superstitionis* (*superstitio prava immodica*), as Pliny calls the faith, would most easily enter the province by way of Āmisus, along the route leading from the Cilician Gates by Tyāna and Cæsarea Mazāca in Cappadocia. Ramsay (*Church*, 225) conjectures from Pliny's letter that its introduction must fall about 65-75 A.D.

Āmisus is now *Samsūn*. Even in Strabo's time it was gradually displacing Sinōpē (*Sinub*) as the great harbour on the north coast. The route from Cæsarea Mazāca northwards via Aquæ Saravenæ, Euagina, and Amāseia, to Āmisus, is even to-day 'the only road practicable for arabas, and must always have been a great trade-route' (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of A.M.* 26 3).

3. Post-Apostolic.

The interpretation of the word Bithynia in Acts 16 7 is connected with the question concerning the Galatian churches (see GALATIA). On the N. Galatian theory, the object of Paul's vain attempt to enter Bithynia must have been to reach either Āmisus or Amastris; for a design of preaching in the barbarous interior is improbable. The direct route to Amastris went, it is true, by way of Ancyra in Galatia;

4. Acts 16 7.

[1] 𝔊 is unintelligible and, to judge from its similarity to the Heb. (cp We. Dr. *ad loc.*), has arisen perhaps from a transliteration.

but on the other hand no such route could have brought the apostle 'over against Mysia' (so RV; κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν). Further, both in Roman and in ordinary usage Amastris, and still more Amisus, was a city of Pontus, not of Bithynia; and only the word Pontus could have been allowable as a single term to express the dual province to which it belonged (as is clear from Str. 541 compared with 543, in speaking of Heraclea). The expression 'to go into Bithynia' can only be taken to imply W. Bithynia—*i.e.*, the district round Nicæa and Nicomedeia, where the wealth and administrative machinery of the province were centred. Dorylaion (*Eski-shehr*), only a few miles S. of the Bithynian frontier, was the point to which all the roads from the south converged; Paul and his companions must have been somewhere in this neighbourhood when they were suddenly diverted westwards (Acts 16 7). W. J. W.

BITTER HERBS, BITTERNESS (מְרֹרִים; πικρία, πικρίς.[1] *lactuca agrestes*, Ex. 12 8 Nu. 9 11; πικρία, *amaritudines*, Lam. 3 15; in Mishna also in sing.) are twice mentioned along with מַצּוֹת as the accompaniment of the paschal feast. Probably such herbs—whether separately or mixed—as lettuce (*Lactuca Scariola*, var. *sativa*), chicory (*Cichorium Intybus*), and endive (*Cichorium Endivia*) are meant. Doubtless they originally came into use simply as a relish or salad,[2] though the prescription of them in the Law may have to do with the atoning significance of the Passover; their association with the sufferings of the people in Egypt is probably a later view (Nowack, *HA* 2 173). See, further, PASSOVER.

'Bitter herbs,' rather than 'bitterness' (G, EV), seems to be the proper rendering in Lam. 3 15, where מרורים answers to לעגה, 'wormwood,' in the parallel clause.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BITTERN, RV **Porcupine** (קִפּוֹד, ἐχῖνος,[3] *ericius*; Is. 14 23 34 11 Zeph. 2 14†). The identity of this animal (Heb. *kippōd*) is far from certain: opinions of great variety have been held.

1. Philology.

The ancient versions unanimously render 'Hedgehog' (or 'Porcupine'—the two were since Isidore and this is in general supported by Jewish tradition, though Rashi thinks that in Is. 34 11 Zeph. 2 14 a bird is meant, and D. Kimhi interprets 'Tortoise'[4] in all three passages (see their commentaries *in loc.*). Of modern Bibles Wycliffe's has in all three places 'Urchin,' and so Luther (followed as usual by the Dutch, 'Igel.' Junius and Tremellius in their Latin OT render *aurita* ('duck-eagle'); Coverdale, followed by the Great Bible, has 'Otter' in Is. 14 23 and 'Stork' in Is. 34 11 Zeph. 2 14, while the Geneva Bible has in Isaiah 'Hedgehog' (14 23 mg. or 'tortoise'), and in Zephaniah 'Owl' (mg. or 'hedgehog'). The French Protestant version seems alone to have anticipated AV in the rendering 'butor' (mg. ou 'bievre'). The Roman Catholic Bibles follow the Vulgate.[5]

The etymology of the Hebrew word is not, however, uncertain.

It is derived from a verb which in Assyrian means 'to plot,' transitively (Sargon, *KIB* 2 66 *f.*), and in Arabic (1) 'to inflict a blow on the neck of another'; (2) 'to have a thick or loose neck.' The original sense is perhaps better seen in Syriac, where the same verb means 'to gather into a heap or ball (trans. or intrans.); the sense of drawing together also underlies the Assyrian use (cp 'intrigue,' *intricare*). The verb occurs but once in OT Hebrew (in Piel form), Is. 38 12—'I have *rolled up* (or possibly 'shortened,' see Dillmann *ad loc.*) like a weaver my life,'—a simile referring to the treatment of the finished web:[1] the use of the noun קִפָּדָה in Ezek. 7 25 accords well with this derivation.

Kippōd is equivalent in form to Aram. *kuppadh*, Ar. *kunfudh*;[2] and that these are the words for 'hog' in their respective languages is made clear (*e.g.*) by Damiri's account (*Hayāt al-Hayawān*, edition, ii. 210) and for Aram. by the Syr. *Physiologus* (Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, 4 42 *f.*).[3] The ancient versions, קִיפֹּדָא, in late Heb. and Aram. prove the post-biblical Jewish usage (see Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 100).

Whilst the philological evidence is thus entirely in favour of the rendering 'hedgehog' or 'porcupine,' zoology must be admitted that, there are considerable difficulties. animal is always spoken of in connection with tion, and once in relation to pools of water; whilst both these conditions would be natural habitat of the Bittern, they have no particular tion with either the Hedgehog or the Porcupine. Again, in Is. 34 11, the קפוד is mentioned among and in Zeph. 2 14 it is prophesied that the Pelican the *kippōd* shall lodge together in the capitals of Nineveh, while 'a voice' (if the text may be trusted) shall sing in the windows. The answers made Bochart to these objections—that the Porcupine Hedgehog was regarded as an unfriendly, desert animal on account of its formidable equipment; we can find parallels to the mention of a beast and birds in such enumerations as Lucian's 'large oxen horses, and eagles, and bears, and lions'; and the capitals on which the animal is to sit may be the fallen columns—are ingenious, but perhaps not satisfying. It has been suggested that the trans. 'bittern' may be reconciled with the etymology considering the fact that this bird has the power *drawing in* its long neck so that its head almost upon its breast.[4] Still, it is not easy to set aside argument derived from the meaning of the word and cognate languages.

The Bittern, *Botaurus stellaris*, is found in many and reedy places throughout Europe, Asia (including India), and Africa. Canon Tristram records its occurrence in the marshes of Hūleh. It is a nocturnal of considerable size, and is remarkable for its booming note. Formerly a common bird in suitable localities in Britain, it is now but a winter visitor. is grouped with the Herons in the family Ardeidæ. (Cp also CORMORANT and PELICAN.)

For Is. 34 11 (יַנְשׁוּף; RVmg. 'bittern') see OWL, § 2 (4).

N. M.—A. E.

BITTERNESS, WATER OF (מֵי הַמָּרִים), Nu. RV, AV 'bitter water.' See JEALOUSY, ORDEAL.

BITUMEN, the proper rendering (1) of חֵמָר,[1] RVmg. recognises (ἀσφάλτος; *bitumen*; EV

[1] πικρίς is, according to Dioscorides (2 159), the wild variety of σέρις (chicory or endive); Pliny (xix. 8 38) mentions it as the bitterest sort of *lactuca* (see the reff. in Di. on Ex. 12 8, and in Nowack, *HA* 2 173): *Picris echioides* is probably intended by both. It does not of course follow that the meaning of מרורים is identical with that of πικρίδες.

[2] Vegetable food with meat is a dietetic necessity, and would naturally be eaten raw until it was discovered that certain kinds were best cooked. It is a matter for curious inquiry why so many salad herbs were bitter, at any rate in their feral form. Dandelion is a striking example.

[3] Also used to render קָפוֹז, Is. 13 22, and קָפוֹז, Is. 34 15.

[4] Which he wrongly supposes to be the meaning of Ar. *kunfuth*.

[5] Explanations of these various renderings will be found in Fuller's *Miscellanea Sacra*, 1 18; Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, 3 36.

[1] This evidence seems enough to show that the origin. l sense was 'to contract' or 'cause contraction by striking,' i.e. 'cut'; and that those were misled who, like Fuller and many all the older scholars, explained the name of the animal from the latter sense. In post-biblical Hebrew and W. Aramaic sense of cutting is fairly common; but this may be explained partly perhaps from a misinterpretation of קִפּוֹד in Is. 38 and partly from association with Gr. κόπτω and its derivatives cp Syr. *Kupdā* (N.S. *kūpṭā*), 'a piece of flesh'—late Gr. κοπάδιον.

[2] So Æthiopic *kenfez*. It seems more probable that the Arabic word is a loan-word from Aramaic, than that the latter borrowed. Fränkel, however (*Aram. Fremdw.* xiv.), holds the latter is the case.

[3] Cp. for Syriac, the other references cited by P. Smith, *Kuppādhā* appears to be used for the 'owl' in *Kal. w. D.* (367).

[4] Cp Brehm's *Thierleben* (Leipsic, '79) 6 388. 'When (the Bittern) rests and is at ease, it holds the body erect somewhat forward position and draws in its long neck to an extent that its head rests upon its neck.'

[5] Ar. *homar*. Perhaps with reference to the reddish occasionally observed? (Diosc. 1 90).

shime') in Gen. 11 3 14 10 Ex. 2 3†; but also (2) of כֹּפֶר, which, like its Aram. cognate, is an Ass. loan-word (EV PITCH) in Gen. 6 14†, where its occurrence furnishes one of the proofs of the Babylonian origin of the Deluge-Story (see DELUGE, § 13). In the Bab Deluge-Story six '*kirs*' of *kupru* (כפר, 'bitumen') and three of *iddu*[1] (naphtha: Jensen) are poured upon the outer and inner sides of the ship, respectively. *Iddu*, 'naphtha,' is the word used in the legendary account of the infancy of Sargon I. (3 R. 458*a*; *KB*[ob] 5 261:—'she placed me in a basket of reeds, with *iddu* my door she shut'). In the similar story of Moses the words חֵמָר, 'bitumen,' and זֶפֶת, PITCH (*q.v.*), are combined (Ex. 2 3 ἄσφαλτος πισσα [B*A*[1]], but ἀσφαλτοπισσα [B*A*F]). The origin of bitumen, or asphalt, and naphtha need not delay us long. Together with petroleum and mineral tar, they form a series of substances which are the result of certain changes in organised matter. These substances merge into each other by insensible degrees, and it is impossible to say at what point mineral tar ends and asphalt begins.

Naphtha, which is the first of the series, is in some places found flowing out of the earth as a clear, limpid, and colourless liquid. As such it is a mixture of hydrocarbons, some of which are very volatile and evaporate on exposure; it takes up oxygen from the air, becomes brown and thick, and in this state it is called petroleum. A continuation of the same process of evaporation and oxidation gradually transforms the material into mineral tar, and still later into sound glossy asphalt.

Asphaltic deposits are widely diffused throughout the world, more especially in tropical and sub-tropical regions—for example in the basin of the DEAD SEA (... , § 9). The asphalt of the Dead Sea (which was very well known to the ancients) is not at present of commercial importance; but the sources of the supply of ancient Babylon, the bitumen springs of Hit (the Is of Herod. 1 179), are still used. At this very old city on the Euphrates the shipwrights adhere to the ancient fashion of boat-building. Tamarisk and mulberry branches form the substratum, which is covered with mats and thickly besmeared with bitumen (cp Ex. 2 3).[2] Bitumen was much used in architecture (see Gen. 11 3). Unburned brick protected by a plaster of bitumen proved the most indestructible of materials (see ASSYRIA, § 6, BABYLONIA, § 15, and cp Peters, *Nippur*, 2 162). Bitumen was used in ancient times as a fuel (Verg. *Ecl.* 8 83), for medicinal purposes (Jos. *BJ* iv. 8 4) and for embalming (see EMBALMING).

BIZJOTHJAH, RV **Biziothiah** (בִּזְיוֹתְיָה), among the cities of Judah in the Negeb (Josh. 15 28). 𝔊[BA] (*καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν κ. αἱ ἐπαύλεις αὐ.* [L om.]) enables us to restore thus—וּבְנֹתֶיהָ ('and her villages'). See We, *CH* 132, and Hollenberg, *Alex. Uebers. d. B. Jos.* ('76), 14.

BIZTHA (בִּזְתָא [Bä., Ginsb. for common בִּגְתָא], MAZAN [BN*LB], BAZ. [N[c.a]], -ZEA [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10). If any reliance could be put on the reading of the Vss., one might, with Marq. (*Fund.* 71), compare *μαζαν* with O. Pers. *mazdāna*—*i.e.* מזדן, or *βαζαν*, with *βαζανης*, the name of a eunuch of Darius III.

BLACK (חום, שָׁחֹר, קָדַר, חָשֵׁךְ) and **BLACKISH** (קֹדֶר) Job 6 16; see COLOURS, § 8. **BLACKNESS**; for Prov. 7 9 RV and Joel 2 6 Nah. 2 10, see COLOURS, § 17; for Job 3 5 *ib.* § 8 n., for Is. 50 3 *ib.* § 8.

BLAINS (אַבַּעְבֻּעֹת). Ex. 9 9 *f.*†. See BOIL, § 3.

BLASPHEMY (נְאָצָה 2 K. 19 3 Is. 37 3; נְאָצוֹת Neh. 9 18 26; נָאָץ Ezek. 35 12; BLASPHEMIA Tob. 1 18 1 Macc. 2 6 Mt. 12 31 26 65). The word

1. The word. so translated is derived from a root (נאץ) meaning literally 'to scorn or reject' (see 2 S. 12 14 Ps. 74 10 18 Is. 52 5). In Hebrew, therefore, it can naturally be used to describe an attitude of hostility towards God or man, things holy or things profane (Jer. 23 17 Is. 60 14 1 S. 2 17).

[1] Perhaps connected with בוץ, 'burning, fiery' (Haupt).

[2] See the illustration called 'A Noachian Boatyard at Hit,' Peters, *Nippur*, 2 162.

[illegible] (cp the verb 'to blame,' Romanic *blasmare*, *blasphemare*, and see Murray, s.v.), however, [illegible] the EV as a rendering also of the following [illegible] 1 K. 21 10 f., AV (RV 'curse') RVmg 'renounce' [illegible] 13); גדף 2 K. 19 6 22 EV = Is. 37 6 23 EV, 1 K. [illegible] EV N[illegible] 15 30 RV (AV 'reproach'), Ps. 44 16 [17] EV: (מאיר בגד) בגד 1 [illegible] 24 11 (' שם) v. 16 EV, and the Gk. βλασφημεῖν Mt. [illegible] (not VV 12 14 Mt. 27 39 Mk. 3 28 (followed by to ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ [illegible] Rev. [illegible], 1 Pet. 4 14.

In 1 Macc. 7 38 'blasphemies' is the rendering of *βλασφημιαι*; in *v.* 41 'to blaspheme' represents the related verb *βλασφημεῖν*; the object of the blasphemies is the temple. It is important to determine the sense of *βλασφημεῖν* accurately, because the sense of 'to blaspheme' in EV follows this exactly. In a word, the conception of 'blasphemy' in current English is narrower than it was in that which underlied in this supposed pattern of English speech, which included modes of reviling or calumniating God or man (see 𝔊 on 2 K. 19 6 [Heb. גדפי] 19 4 [Heb. חרפת] and Is. 52 5 [Heb. מנאץ uncertain text], and cp Acts 13 45 18 6 Jude 9 with Lk. 5 21 Jn. 10 36).

2. OT sentiment. Among the Hebrews (whose view, it is needless to say, profoundly affected our own common law) blasphemy or the expression of unjust, derogatory opinions regarding God or his government of the world was made a capital offence (Lev. 24 11; cp 1 K. 21 13, and see Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 6); the blasphemer must be 'cut off' from his people (Lev. 24 15 P; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 13). It was forbidden to use the name of God lightly (לשוא Dt. 5 11), whether to ask a blessing or to invoke a curse (cp Ex. 20 7, and see BLESSING AND CURSING, § 1, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* 2 122 *ff.* [ET]). Whenever Israel is brought to shame God's name is scoffed at by the heathen (Ps. 74 10 18). At a later date it was held to be a mark of profanity even to pronounce the real name of the God of Israel (see EXODUS, 24 11 and cp NAMES, § 1). Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8 6) and the Rabbis interpret Ex. 22 28 as a prohibition of blaspheming 'strange gods'; but the interpretation, however much in the interests of the Jews themselves, implies a misunderstanding of the use of אלהים (see Schultz, 2 17).

3. NT. It was on a charge of blasphemy—claiming to be the Christ, the Son of God—that Jesus was found worthy of death (Mk. 14 61-64 Mt. 26 65; cp Jn. 10 33), and for blasphemous words against 'the holy place and the law' Stephen was condemned to be stoned (Acts 6 13 7 50 *ff.*). See STEPHEN. By blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in Mk. 3 29, Mt. 12 32, was meant originally a definite offence of the scribes and Pharisees, who had ascribed Jesus' cures of demoniacs to a power derived from the prince of the demons. This was blasphemy against the divine power which had come upon Jesus at his baptism (Mk. 1 10 Mt. 3 16 Lk. 3 22). In Mt. 12 32, however, a later interpretation is given, which implies that the disciples of Jesus had thoroughly absorbed the idea of the indwelling Spirit. The Holy Spirit is put in antithesis to the 'Son of Man.' One who fails to pierce below the humble exterior of Jesus may be forgiven. One who not merely rejects, but openly disparages, that great gift which 'the Heavenly Father will give to those who ask him' (Lk. 11 13) cannot be forgiven: the inward impediment in the man himself is too strong. The idea of the original distinction was suggested by that in the Law (Num. 15 27-31). A parallel to it will be found in the Mishna (Sanhedr. 10 1)—'He who says that the Law is not from Heaven has no part in the world to come (עולם הבא). The later interpretation, however, has no parallel, and is a

[1] The rendering of בזה is very doubtful; but it is quite possible that in passages like Job 15 1 K. 21 22 a later editor substituted בזה for קלל or נאץ. In Ps. 10 3 we may even have side by side the correction בזה and the original reading נאץ.

product of the Spirit of Christ workin . in the hearts of the first disciples.

BLASTING (יֵרָקוֹן, 𝔊BAFL ΑΝΕΜΟΦΘΟΡΙΑ [Dt. 28 22 2 Ch. 6 28], ΕΝΠΥΡΙΣΜΟΣ [1 K. 8 37]; 𝔊BAQ ΠΥΡΩΣΙΣ [Am. 4 9]; 𝔊 QF, ΑΦΟΡΙΑ, 𝔊A ΑΦΘΟ. 𝔊 ΑΨΟ. [Hag. 2 17]) is, as we learn from Gen. 41, a term specially applied to the blighting effect of wind upon corn. The root in Arabic means blackness; and the Heb. word thus describes a blackening (almost burning) process which is regarded as due to a severe wind —a sense which is expressed by the various renderings of 𝔊. The word is in each passage coupled with יֵרָקוֹן 'mildew.' Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether wind is in itself sufficient to account for such a blackening. In the British Islands wheat when young assumes a yellow colour from cold, a well-known physiological effect. Under a burning drying wind, it might turn brown, but scarcely *black*. Further, it must be noted that in Gen. 41 6 the corn was in ear; it had made its growth, but the ears were *thin* *i.e.*, diseased. It seems probable, then, that the effect conceived in the dream was that produced by 'corn smut,' *Ustilago Carbo*; and that this is the real meaning of שִׁדָּפוֹן. 'Mildew' is the other common disease of corn, *Puccinia graminis*.

S. M.—W. T.-D.

BLASTUS (ΒΛΑΣΤΟΣ [Ti. WH], the chamberlain (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος, *praefectus cubiculi*) of King Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12 20).

BLESSINGS and CURSINGS (בְּרָכָה, to bless—a denominative from בֶּרֶךְ, the knee, with the lower part of the leg; perhaps 'to cause to make progress,'—and אָרַר, to curse [cp Ass. *arāru* (1) 'to curse,' *arāru* (2) 'to bind'], and their derivatives בְּרָכָה, מְאֵרָה, in parallelism, chiefly in poetic and legal sources of JED and later imitations; cp Gen. 27 29 Dt. 11 26 Josh. 8 34 etc.).

𝔊 represents בָּרַךְ by εὐλογεῖν, בְּרָכָה by εὐλογία (also NT words). In Hebrew for 'cursing' we find also (*a*) קָלַל, קְלָלָה (prop. to belittle?) frequently. (*b*) אָלָה, verb and noun, cp שְׁבוּעָה אָלָה 'oath of cursing' Nu. 5 21 (RVmg 'adjuration'), rendered 'execration,' Jer. 42 18 44 22, and RV only Jer. 29 18; its derivative אָלָה occurs in Lam. 3 65†. (*c*) חֲרָמִים, see BAN. (*d*) קָבַב only in the Balaam stories (Nu. 22 11 23 8 24 10) and possibly to be connected with נָקַב (prop. 'to pierce') rendered in Lev. 24 11 16 'blaspheme.' From the Jewish tradition which explained it to mean 'pronounce, speak aloud' arose the deep-rooted belief that the divine name was not to be uttered under any circumstance (see NAMES, § 109 n.). IDOLATRY, § 8. (*e*) שְׁבוּעָה, Is. 65 15, EV 'curse,' properly 'oath' as in RVmg; see OATH and cp COVENANT, § 5.

The NT words are (*a*) ἀναθεματίζω Mk. 14 71 (in 𝔊 for חרם, חרם); καταθεμα[τίζω], Mt. 26 74 Rev. 22 3; see BAN. (*b*) καταρά[ομαι] Rom. 12 14 Jam. 3 9 (in 𝔊 for קלל, ארר), also κατάρα Gal. 3 10 13 and κατάθεμα (RVmg. 'anything accursed') Rev. 22 3, cp also ἐπικατάρατος 'under a curse,' Gal. 3 10. (*c*) κακολογεῖν Mt. 15 4 Mk. 7 10, RV 'speak evil of' (in 𝔊 for קלל); see OATH.

In the primitive sense of the word, a blessing or a curse was a spell, pronounced by 'holy' persons, and containing a divine name, or divine names, which drew down the divine favour or disfavour (*i.e.*, prosperity or adversity), as the case might require, on certain other persons. It was a consequence of the hardness of life that curses were more frequently in demand than blessings. Thus (*a*) the breaking out of hostilities between states naturally led to the solemn utterance of formulæ of cursing against the enemy. These invocations would be uttered at the opening of a campaign, and especially when the warriors were on the point of advancing against the foe. Goliath, we are told, 'cursed David by his gods' (1 S. 17 43). The battle-shout certainly had a religious character; and, if it did not always devote the enemy to destruction, at any rate it invoked a blessing on the national side. Cp Ps. 68 1-3 and the story of BALAAM [*q.v.*].[1] (*b*) The laws too had

[1] Nu. 22 6 shows that Balak, according to the narrator, was about to fight with the Israelites.

sometimes an increased sanction through the formulæ attached. Thus *AH* iv. mentions a respecting the maintenance of boundaries, w enforced by a curse on any one who should vio To this category of curses belong those in Dt. 28

It is true that a series of blessings is attache series of cursings. Moses, from his close connecti the Deity, had a special power of blessing and c After him the priests had a similar power, who exerted in the interests of the faithful commun URIM AND THUMMIM, § 6). The uplifted hands priest drew down (as it were) a blessing on Isr. Lev. 9 22 Nu. 6 23-27) and a curse on Israel's en So potent, indeed, were the blessings and the cu the reputed founder of Israel that they could be lie on the two sacred mountains which enclo original centre of the people—the valley of Shec ready to descend, as the case might be, with rewa punishments (Dt. 11 29).[1]

Within the family it was the father who (accord primitive ideas not unconnected with the wor ancestors) had the mystic privilege of determin weal or woe of his children (Gen. 9 25 *ff.*), and especially when his days were manifestly numbere ESAU, § 2, ISAAC, § 5, JACOB). Nor does it a that the early Israelites limited this power by moral siderations (see Gen. 27 35). Obviously, however, a limitation was a necessary consequence of a monotheism. The post-exilic writers declare that the offspring of the righteous can be blessed (Ps 3 and that the observance of God's laws ensures his f without the aid of priests or enchanters. Fear then, said the later sages to their pupils, if thine en curses thee: 'the curse causeless shall not come' (P 26 2).

Still, even in post-exilic time we sometimes fi strange half-consciousness that curses *had* an inh power. It was worth while to curse a bad m to ensure his full punishment—such is the idea of 109—a strange survival of primitive superstition.

In the discourses of Jesus we find blessings curses. They are, however, simply authoritative dec tions of the eternal connection between right-doing happiness, wrong-doing and misery (*e.g.*, in the cas Judas).

Parallels to the Israelitish view of blessings cursings outside of the Semitic peoples hardly need b quoted. The objective existence of both, but espe of curses, was strongly felt by the Assyrians Babylonians, as the magical texts show. The Arab beliefs on the subject are also very suggestive, Goldziher has pointed out. See MAGIC, § 2 n., on the 'curse-bringing water' (Nu. 5 18 *ff.*) see JEALOU WATER OF.

T. K. C.

BLINDNESS (סַנְוֵרִים, Gen. 19 11 2 K. 6 18; עִוָּרוֹן Dt. 28 28 Zech. 12 4). See EYE, DISEASES, and MEDICINE.

BLOOD. For blood in law and ritual, see SACRIFI PASSOVER; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1 *ff.*; COVENANT, § KINSHIP, § 1 *f.*; and FOOD, § 9. For 'avenger of blood' (גֹּאֵל הַדָּם; Dt. 19 6), see GOEL. For 'issue of blood' (ῥύσις αἵματος Mk. 5 25), see DISEASE, MEDICINE.

BLOOD, Field of (ΑΓΡΟΣ ΑΙΜΑΤΟΣ), Mt. 27 8. S ACELDAMA.

BLUE (תְּכֵלֶת), Ex. 25 4, etc., a variety of Purpl See COLOURS, §§ 13, 15.

'Blue' is employed in EV of Esth. 1 6 to distinguish kinds of stones. Thus for שֵׁשׁ we have AV 'blue marble,' W

[1] The blessing and the curse referred to were those to the fulfilment and the non-fulfilment of the comma Law. They were 'laid before' Israel by Moses, and to be 'laid' by them on their arrival in the promised probably by solemn proclamation, on Mounts Gerizim and respectively. In Dt. 27 12 *f.* we have a later writer's interpreta tion of this command. See Kue. *ThT*, 1878, pp. 297 *ff.*

'marble,' RV 'white marble'; and for בְּסֶפֶת [illegible] of blue colour,' RV 'black marble.' See, however, Ma[illegible] ... ρ Cornoos, § 1[illegible]

For 'blueness' in Prov. 20 30 AV (רִבְּבוֹת פָּצַע, 'blueness of a wound') RV has, better, 'stripes that wound.'

BOANERGES (Βοανηργες [T. Treg. WH following ℵABC, etc.], Βοανηρ. [A*], TR Βοανερ.) a name given, according to Mk. 3 17,[1] to James [1] and John the sons of Zebedee. The reading of ℵ, etc., points to *βοανη ργες* as the accepted analysis of the name, and the evangelist explains it by *υἱοὶ βροντῆς*, 'sons of thunder.' Each element, however, presents some difficulty.

1. The difficulty in taking Boanes to be בְּנֵי, *bĕnê*, 'sons of,' is to account for *oa* = *sh'nê*.

Attempts to explain it as a phonetic 'corruption' have been unsatisfactory. There does not appear to be any historical foundation[2] for Bretschneider's explanation of *oa* as a [illegible] pronunciation of a provincial (Galilean) *a*, or for Hugh [illegible] statement[3] (*Works*, 620) that the Jews pr[illegible] *oa*.

It is more plausible to regard the corruption as textual since *sh'nê* > *a* is natural enough (cp *βαιη βαρα*, Josh. 18 45 [A]), and *sh'nê* > *o* is not unknown (cp *e.g.* *ιεροβοαμ*), *oa* might be a conflate reading.[5] Dalman (*Gram.* 122 n. 2)[6] proposed the transposition of an *o* which originally stood after *ρ* (see below). He now prefers to regard either *o* or *a* as a gloss (*Worte Jesu*, 39, n. 4). In some such way the [illegible] vowel must have arisen; it is strange that the MSS[7] have not preserved any trace of variation in the first syllable.

The orthography, therefore, cannot be explained quite satisfactorily. We may be reasonably certain, however, about the signification.

2. This cannot be said of the second element in the word. The evangelist (or a scholiast) understood *ργες* to mean *βροντή*, 'thunder'; but we do not know what Semitic word it was supposed to represent, nor can we [illegible] whether the interpretation was an original hypothesis [illegible] a really current belief.

(α) In the Syriac versions (Pesh. and Sin.) *ργες* appears as רגש. That may, however, be nothing more than a transliteration. Only in Arabic does רגש mean 'thunder.' If it occurs in the OT at all[8] it probably means 'throng.' In Aram. it means 'tumult,' 'rushing,' etc. If *ργες* is רגש, therefore, it can hardly mean 'thunder.'[9]

Jerome, indeed, conscious of this, declares (*Comm. ad Dan.* 17) that the true reading is (*emendatius legitur*) *benerem* (var. *c*[illegible]*nerem*, *banarehem*) *i.e.*, sons of *re'em*, רְאֵם (cp Ex 15 15 Pseudo-Jon.) and this reading he quietly assumes in his *Lib. de nomin. Heb.* under 'John.' That he ignores it in the Comm. on Mk., however, probably shows that it is a mere hypothetical emendation,[10] not a variant reading (cp BARTIMÆUS, § 2). Apparently, therefore, we must adhere to *ργες*.

(β) The second letter of *ργες*, however, might represent not ג but ע, as in *ρεγμα* = רַעְמָא; but רעש is no nearer *βροντή* than רגש. Besides, ע becomes γ, as a rule, only when it is represented in Arabic by ġ, not by ʿ; but although there is in Ar. a word *raġasa*, the phonetic equivalent of which in Hebrew would be רגש, *ra'aśa* (not *raġasa*) agrees most closely with רעש in meaning, and a רעש = *ra'aśa* would not *as a rule* appear as *ργες*.

The common word for 'thunder' in Hebrew and Aramaic would not conflict with this phonetic principle; the nearest word in Arabic to Hebrew *ra'am* is *raġama*. Drusius (*Ad voces NT Comm. prior* 39 [1616]) therefore and Glassius (*Philol. Sacra*, [1625]) revived the theory of Jerome that *ργες* should be *ργεμ*, regarding the *s* as merely a Greek termination substituted for a final consonant, dropped as, *e.g.*, in Gehenna. No doubt -ες would be rather a strange termination for a man's name; but Boanerges is not a man's name; it is the name of two men. Indeed Suidas gives the name as *βοανεργεις* (as if the plural of *βοανεργης*). Pa[illegible], on the other hand (*Idiotismi nov. testamenti*, [illegible]), tried to improve on Drusius by suggesting that a mistake had occurred in a Semitic text; רגש was [illegible] רעש. It is difficult to see how this could be. A [illegible] text containing the name בְּנֵי רַעַשׁ would not need to give explanation of the name (cp col. 4[illegible] n. 1). On the [illegible] a Greek translator could not have given the supposed translation if he had meant [illegible]

(γ) There remains the possibility that *ργ* (see *e.g.* ABAZ, [illegible]). Kautzsch (*Z.*) suggests that *ργες* may represent רוּגָז (רִיגָז), 'anger' (cp Dan 3 13 and, as used of thunder, the A[illegible] *ὀργὴ ἐν οὐρανῷ*); and this solution is adopted by Dalman (*Z.*), who further accounts for the translation *βροντη* (by comparing Job 37 2, קוֹל רִגְזוֹ, used of thunder[7]).

The historical origin of the name not being known (cp JAMES, 1. § 1), we cannot determine the second Semitic element with certainty. There is no evidence that 'Boanerges' can ever have meant strictly 'sons of thunder.' On the other hand, what is said in the Gospels of the sons of Zebedee gives a certain appropriateness to such a title as בְּנֵי רַעַשׁ, taken in the sense of 'angry,' 'soon angered' (or the like).

H. W. H.

BOAR (חֲזִיר, ΣΥΣ), Ps. 80 13 [14]. See SWINE (end).

BOAZ. 1. (בֹּעַז) hardly, 'quickness' [BDB *Lex.*]; Ass. *buzzu* or *bazzu* means a wild boar or the like; but see JACHIN AND BOAZ, Βοοζ [BA], -ωοζ A and L in Ru. 2 15 4 8 1 Ch 2 11 *f.*) of Bethlehem, kinsman of Naomi and husband of RUTH [*q.v.*]. According to the post-exilic genealogy, Ru. 4 18 *ff.* (cp 1 Ch. 2 11 *ff.*), he was the son of SALMON or SALMAH, and the ancestor of DAVID (§ 1, n. 2). See RUTH, BETHLEHEM.

2. The name of one of the two pillars set up before Solomon's temple (1 K. 7 21 = 2 Ch. 3 17). See JACHIN AND BOAZ.

BOCCAS (Βοκκα [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = Ezr 7 4, BUKKI, 1.

BOCHERU (בְּכֹרוּ, § 61; for the ending -u, cp JETHRO and see GIBEAH, 4 [illegible]), 1 Azrikam, Saul's descendant (1 Ch. 8 38 = 9 44). ⊕BAL, however, punctuated and read — doubtless correctly — 'Azrikam his firstborn' (πρωτοτοκος αὐτοῦ = בְּכֹרוֹ).

⊕L makes up the six sons of Azel by enumerating σ(α)ρια in the fifth place, besides αζαριας in the third.

BOCHIM (בָּכִים, § 103, 'weepers,' κλαυθμων [BAL]), the name of a place near Gilgal, where the b'ne Israel sacrificed after the visit of the angel of Yahwé (Judg. 2 1*a* הַבֹּכִים; 5*a* κλαυθμωνες [B]), and also probably of a place in Judah (Mic. 1 10 emended text; see below). The name of the former place is interpreted 'Weepers'; but the passage which refers to this (*vv.* 1*b*-5*a*) is an insertion (see JUDGES, § 4) based upon 1*a*, where we may expect to find the older and more generally used name of the place. Here, however, ⊕ combining two readings gives *ἐπὶ τὸν κλαυθμῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ βαιθηλ* (on the corrupt *καὶ [ἐπὶ] τὸν οἶκον ισραηλ*, see Moore *ad loc.*), and the latter, which suits the context well, is accepted as correct by most critics (Bu. *Ri. Sam.* 20 *ff.*, We., Mey., Kue., Bu., Kitt.). We must therefore correct Bochim in 1*a* to 'Bethel.' The explanation of 'Bochim' in *v.* 5*a* suggests a doubt as to the correctness of the present form, which may have been changed to agree with a more than half sportive derivation from בכה, 'to weep.' The correct pronunciation must have been Bĕkā'îm (בְּקָעִים, בְּקָעִים)—*i.e.*, 'Baca-trees' (see MULBERRY). These trees were probably abundant near Bethel, and it is possible that the 'Tree of Weeping' (ALLON BACUTH) grew near them. The play on the name would, at any rate, be familiar to the ancient Israelites, and may have led to a variety in the pronunciation of the name (cp Mareshah, Moresheth).

[1] There is no hint of such a name anywhere else in the NT (cp, however, Lk. 6 14 [D]); but too much must not be made of that. Glassius pointed out that Boanerges is professedly a name shared by two men (more conveniently called 'the sons of Zebedee'), one of whom met an early death (Acts 12).

[2] Cp the strong language of Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram.* 9.

[3] *NT Lex.*, *s.v.*

[4] Adopted by Lightf. (*Hor. Heb. ad loc.*), who instances Μοασαδα (Strabo, 764) for מְצָדָא.

[5] So (practically) Glassius (d. 1656).

[6] So now Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*.

[7] See below (β).

[8] MT has רגש in Ps. 55 15 and רגשה in 64 3 (cp רגשו in 2 1); but in each case it has been questioned whether the text is correct. See Che. *Ps.* 62.

[9] There is no reason to suppose that in the passage cited by Lightfoot (*Megillah* B. 29*a*, mid.) the word means 'thunder.'

[10] A corruption of רעש into רגש (see β) would be easy.

[1] Of course a gloss embodying a true tradition may have made its way into a translation of a Gaulic MS.

[2] J. F. K. Gurlitt had considered this word in his careful discussion in *St. Kr.* (1829, pp. 715-738).

[3] So now also Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 51 *f.*

There is an early testimony to the form Hochim in Mc Lea, if בכו אל־תבכו (LV 'weep not at all') may be emended into בבכים חבכו (Θ [LV] *πλαυσατε*), 'in Hochim (Bekaim) weep' (Edhorst, Wc., Now., Che., omitting the intrusive אל, 'not,' cp Che. *JQR*, July 1898). [illegible] Bekaim or Mt. Hor [illegible] difficulty. There may have been many places where Baca trees grew. The alternative correction, 'In Acco weep not' (Reland, Hitzig, etc.) is [illegible] Wellhausen [illegible] Mt. Hor [illegible] Hochim [illegible] Bekaim [illegible] Smith, [illegible] Moreover [illegible] Hochim [illegible] Bekaim [illegible] Hor [illegible] Hochim [illegible] Bekaim [illegible] Hor [illegible] Hochim [illegible] Bekaim [illegible] Hor

That the sanitary precautions did utterly break down under Mohammedan conquest, and that bubo plague did become for fourteen centuries the standing pestilence of Egypt, we know as matter of fact. We know also that it was from Pelusium that the great plague of Justinian's reign (542 A.D.) started to overrun the whole known world. It is probable, further, that the pestilence in Lower Egypt at the time of the massacre of Christians in the episcopate of Cyprian included bubo plague. The valuable testimony preserved by Oribasius as to Egyptian, Libyan, and Syrian pestilential buboes, as early as 400 B.C., has been already cited. If beyond that date we are left to conjecture, there is still a high probability that the plague was known in Egypt at a much earlier date.

This historical bubo plague of Egypt answers best to the sixth plague. The boil breaks out in the manner of the plague bubo, which may be single or multiple. Its situations are the armpits, groins, and the sides of the neck; and it consists of one (or of a packet) of the natural lymphatic or absorbent glands of those regions enlarged to the size of a hen's (or even a turkey's) egg, often of a livid colour, hard, tense, painful, and attended with inflammatory swelling of the skin for some distance around it. Just as in Asiatic cholera and yellow fever there are 'explosive' attacks so suddenly fatal that the distinctive symptoms have hardly time to develop, so there may be death from plague without the bubo or the botch. Still, the latter is the distinctive mark of plague, the same in all countries and in all periods of history.

3. Nature of disease.

Other signs of plague were livid or red hemorrhagic spots of the skin (called 'the tokens' in English epidemics), [illegible] bunches (especially on the fleshy parts), and [illegible] (פרעבעורים), which were really smaller carbuncular formations or cores with a [illegible] tion of fluid on their summits. Besides the pain of the hard and tense buboes, there were often delirium, gentle or raving, vomiting, quivering of muscles (affecting gait and speech), and many other symptoms as it from [illegible]. About three days was perhaps the average duration of fatal cases.

Usually half the attacks were mortal. In the beginning of the epidemic there would be but few recoveries; at the end of it as many as four out of five might recover. Recovery was most likely when the buboes broke and ran; sometimes the suppuration, especially in the groin, would continue for months, the victims being able to go limping in the streets. In the history of plague in London, which is continuous from the Black Death of 1348 to 1666, the great epidemics came at intervals, and, in those for which we have the statistics, carried off from a fifth to a sixth of the population, including but few of the richer class. With a population of nearly half a million in 1665, the highest mortality from plague was 7165 in the week 12th-19th September. Sometimes for a succession of years the deaths from plague kept at a high annual level, especially during the summer and autumn months. During the whole three centuries of plague in London there were few years which did not have some deaths in the warmer months. From what is known of the mediæval history of plague in Cairo (from Arabic annals; cp von Kremer in *SHWAHW*, Phil. Hist. Class. Bd. xcvi.), and of its modern history (cp Pruner, *Krank. des Orients*), it appears to have come, as in London, in terrific outbursts at intervals of years, and to have been at a low level or apparently extinct in the years between.

4. Mortality.

The plague season in Egypt, within the period of exact records, has begun as early as September and as late as January, has reached its height in March and April, and has ended with great regularity, almost suddenly, about St. John's day (24th June), the height of the epidemic corresponding with the lowest level of the Nile. There has been no plague since 1844. The last great epidemic was that of 1835, described by Kinglake in 'Eothen.' C. C.

BOILS, PLAGUE (עֳפָלִים), Deut. 28 27 RV[mg]. See EMEROD.

BOILING PLACES (מִכְּשֹׁלוֹת), Ezek. 46 21, EV; and **BOILING HOUSES** (בֵּית הַמְּבַשְּׁלִים), v. 24, RV. See [illegible]

BOLLED (*i.e.*, 'swollen,' see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*; KV[mg] 'in flower'), נִבְעָל CΠΕΡΜΑΤΙΖΟΝ [BAL]. Ex. 9 31 (*f.*). The Hebrew word occurs only once, but is evidently (see Gen. *Thes.*, Levy, *Targ.* II. 14, *MHH* II *Lexi*) connected with נֵבֶץ, 'cup'; and the Mishnic usage (Ges. *l.c.*) is in favour of its referring to the flower-cup (perhaps as a closed bud, rather than [illegible] supposed) to the formation of the seed-pod (see, however, Tristram, *NHB*[9] 445).

BOLSTER (מְרַאֲשֹׁת), 1 S. 19 13 *f.* See BED, § 4 (*c*).

BONDAGE (עֲבֹדָה, ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ), Ex. 1 14, Rom. 8 15, etc., and **BONDMAN** (עֶבֶד, ΔΟΥΛΟΣ), Dt. 15 15, Isai. 6 10, etc. See SLAVERY.

BONNET. For מִגְבָּעָה, *migbā'ah*, Ex. 28 40, etc. (AV 'headtire'), see MITRE, § 1 (1); for פְּאֵר, *pē'er*, Is. 3 20 (RV 'headtire'), Ezek. 44 18 (RV 'tire'), see TURBAN, § 2.

BOOK (סֵפֶר, Gen. 5 1 etc.; ΒΙΒΛΟΣ, Lk. 3 4 etc., ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ, Lk. 4 17 etc.). See WRITING, § 3, end; HISTORICAL LIT., §§ 4, 5, 16; CANON, §§ 1-4, *a*.

BOOK OF LIFE ([Η]ΒΙΒΛΟΣ [ΤΗΣ] ΖΩΗΣ), Philp. 4 3, Rev. 3 5. Cp Ex. 32 32, Is. 4 3, and see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14.

BOOT (מָגָף), Is. 9 5 [4] *f.*, RV[mg]. See SHOES, § 3.

BOOTHS (סֻכּוֹת), Lev. 23 42 *f.* See TABERNACLE, PAVILION, 1, SUCCOTH, and cp TENT, § 1, and CATTLE, §§ 1, 5.

BOOTY (בַּז, etc.), Jer. 49 32, etc. See SPOIL.

BOOZ (Βοεζ [Ti. WH], Mt. 1 5, Βοοζ [Tr. WH], Lk. 3 32). RV has BOAZ.

BOR-ASHAN (בּוֹר־אָשָׁן), ΒΩΡΑΣΑΝ [A], ΒΗΡΣΑΒΕΕ [BL]; Vg *lacu Asin*; Pesh. *bir'ešān*), the true MT reading (Gr. Bu.) in 1 S. 30 19, where many printed edd. have כּוֹרְאָשָׁן (AV CHOR-ASHAN, RV CHOR-ASHAN). Probably the same as ASHAN (*q.v.*).

BORDER. For מִכְנָרֹת, *miknārōth* (*a*) in 1 K. 27 26 (στεφάνη), 37 12 14 (𝔊 om.), in Ps. description of altar, see ALTAR, § 10; (*b*) in 1 K. 7 28 *f.*, 31 *f.*, 35 *f.*, 2 K. 16 17 (description of the laver bases (συνκλείσμα; in 7 28 συνκλείστου in 7 31 σύγκλεισμα [A], in 7 31 *f.* διαπηγα [A]; om. BL]; EVmg. 'pools'), see LAVER, § 1; for כָּנָף, *kānaph* (κράσπεδον) in Nu. 15 38 (RVmg. 'corner' [of garment]), see FRINGES; for κράσπεδον, Mt. 9 20 14 36 RV, see FRINGES.

BORITH (*BORITH*), 4 Esd. 1 2. See BUKKI, 1.

BORROW (שָׁאַל, Ex. 3 22; ΔΑΝΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ, Mt. 5 42), and **LEND** (הִלְוָה, Ex. 22 24 [25]; ΔΑΝΙΖΕΙΝ, Lk. 6 34). See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16, TRADE AND COMMERCE.

BOSCATH (בָּצְקַת), 2 K. 22 1 AV; RV BOZKATH.

BOSOR (Βοσορ [Ti.]), 2 Pet. 2 15 AV, RV BEOR (*q.v.*, 2).

BOSOR (Βοσσορ [A], -οσο. [KV*], -σσωρ [V*], and in *v.* 36 -οσο. [A; cp Is. 34 6 63 1, in 𝔊 b], a town of Galaaditis, taken by Judas the Maccabee in 164 B.C. (1 Macc. 5 26 36), is identified by some with BEZER (*q.v.*, 1.) in Moab. Galaaditis, however, was the name of the country N. of Moab (G ASm. *HG* 549, n. 5), and the campaign in which Judas took Bosor was waged in the latitude of the Yarmūk. If Bosora (*q.v.*) be the present Busrā, Bosor may be the present *Busr-el-Harīri*, in the SE. corner of the Lejā, which the Arabian geographer Yākūt in 1225 A.D. (1621) still calls only Busr [*sic*]. The passage in which it is mentioned is obscure; *vv.* 26 *f.* are probably corrupt. (Cp We.

HG[3] 212, n. 1). Herod the Great, in order to keep the Leja in his power (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 12), fortified a village called Bathyra, and this may have been the same as Bosor (cp GASm. *HG* 618). G. A. S.

BOSORA (Βοσορα [A], -ορο. [N], -ορρα [V]; cp Ⓖ 1 Ch. 1 44), 1 Macc. 5 26; Jos. Βοσορα [*Ant.* xii. 8 3]), in Gilead, held by some to be the Bozrah in Moab spoken of in Jer 48 24, must have lain farther N. (see BOSOR, ii). Hence many (Ewald; *PEF* Map; etc.) more plausibly take it to have been Bostra, the capital of the Roman province of Arabia, modern *Busra*, 22 m. SE. of Edrei (cp Porter, *Five years*[2], 12; Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, 53, 58; Rey, *Dans le Haouran Atlas*; Buhl, *Pal.* 251). See, however, Bathyra under BOSOR, ii. G. A. S.

BOSS (בֹּב), text doubtful), Job 15 26. See SHIELD.

BOTCH (שְׁחִין), Dt. 28 27 35 AV; RV BOIL (*q.v.*, § 2 *f.*).

BOTTLE. The statement that 'what we call bottles were unknown to the Hebrews' (Riehm, *HWB*[2], art. 'Flasche') needs qualification. It has long been known that the Egyptians manufactured glass from an early period. The Phœnicians and the Assyrians were well acquainted with glass (see the relative volumes of Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc.), that manufactured by the former being of special repute in antiquity (see GLASS). It is impossible, therefore, that among the imports from Phœnicia, glass bottles should have had no place. They must always, however, have been a luxury of the rich (cp Job 28 17 [RV]).

The 'bottles' of Scripture fall into two very different classes: (1) leather skins for holding and carrying water, wine, and other liquids, and (2) earthenware jars for the same and other purposes.

For the Hebrews in the nomadic stage of civilisation, as for the Bedouin of the present day, the skins of beasts of their flocks supplied the readiest and most efficient means of storing and transporting the necessary supply of water in the camp and on the march. This method was found so simple and so satisfactory that it was retained in a more settled state of society, and, indeed, has prevailed throughout the East until the present day. The writers of classical antiquity, from Homer downwards, contain many references to this use of the skins of domestic animals. The skins used by the Hebrews for this purpose, as in modern Syria and Arabia, were chiefly skins of the goat and of the sheep. When a smaller size than ordinary was required, the skin of a lamb or of a kid sufficed; for larger quantities there was the skin of the ox,[1] and, perhaps, of the camel (Herod. 39). Among the Hebrews the pig-skin was, of course, excluded.

1. Skins as bottles.

The method of preparation varied in complexity and efficiency according as the peasant prepared his own skins (cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 227) or employed a professional tanner. The head and the lower part of the legs are cut off (such is the method at the present day), and the animal is skinned from the neck downwards, somewhat as one removes a tight-fitting glove, care being taken that no incision is made in the skin of the carcase. When the tanning process is completed (cp Tristram, *AHB*[6] 92, Robinson, *BR*[1] 2 440), all other apertures having previously been closed, the neck is fitted with a leather thong, by means of which the skin is opened and closed (cp LEATHER).

In the OT we find such skin bottles designated by a variety of names.

Such are (*a*) חֵמֶת, *ḥêmeth* (ἀσκός [ADL]), the water-skin (probably of a kid) which Abraham put upon Hagar's shoulder (Gen. 21 14 *ff.*). The Bedouin name is *girby*, *i.e.*, *kirbatun* (Doughty, *op. cit. index*). In Hos 7 5 (RV 'heat'), and in Hab. 2 15 (RV 'venom,' mg 'fury'), the RV more advisedly finds another word of similar sound (חֵמָה). (*b*) נֹאד, *nôdh*, like the *semily* (*samîlatun*) of the modern Bedouin, is the milk-skin of the nomad Jael (Judg. 4 19; cp Doughty *op. cit. passim*). It

[1] According to Lane (*Mod. Eg.*) an ox-hide holds three or four times as much as a goat-skin (*ḳirba*).

also occurs frequently as a wine-skin—Josh. 9 4 13 1 S. 16 20 As a water-skin it is used metaphorically in Ps. 56 8 [Ⓗ 9] (Ⓖ tears into thy bottle'), where there is no reference to the later 'tear-bottles,' so called, and where the text is d (see Ⓖ). The exact sense of Ps. 119 83, where the poet himself to a 'bottle (RVmg. 'wine skin') in the smo doubtful (see the comm. *in loc.*). (*c*) נֵבֶל, *nêbêl*, and נְבֵל, also frequently of the ordinary wine-skin (ἀσκός [BAL] 10 3, etc. (*d*) אוֹב, *'ôbh*, has the same signification in Job where we read of 'new bottles . . . ready to burst.' (*e*) renders 'skins with new (wine),' which gives us a parallel to the familiar saying in the NT (Mt. 9 17 Mk. Lk. 5 37 *f.*) 'Neither do men put new wine into old skins,' etc., where the RV has rightly discarded the mis ing rendering 'bottles.' In Judith 10 5 we have the word ἀσκοπυτίνη [BA], RV 'a leathern bottle' of wine.

Vessels of earthenware also are mentioned in the as receptacles for wine. Such was (*a*) the בַּרְבֻּר

2. Earthenware bottles.

19 1 10 (Ⓖ βαρβαρ, βικός), made by potter, perhaps with a narrow which caused a gurgling sound (βαβαλατων) when the jar was being emptied. It also used to hold honey, 1 K. 14 3 ἰσταμνος [AL], B], EV CRUSE (*q.v.*, 2]). (*b*) The name נֵבֶל was given to wine-jars or *ampullæ* of earthenware, a clear from Is. 30 14 (EV '[potters'] vessel'; AVmg 'b of potters'), and Lam 4 2 (EV 'pitcher'). In these passages Ⓖ has ἄγγιον. We have no indica of the size or even of the shape of the earthen (see POTTERY; also CRUSE).

A. R. S. K.

BOW (קֶשֶׁת), Gen. 27 3, **Bowstrings** (מֵיתָרִים), 21 12, RV. See WEAPONS.

BOWL. The various Hebrew and Greek words be dealt with in the articles mentioned below.

1. גָּבִיעַ, *gabîa'*, Ex. 25 31. See CUP, MEALS, § 12.

2. גֻּלָּה, *gullâh*, the bowl or reservoir of a lamp, Zech. 4 2 (λαμπάδιον); see CANDLESTICK, § 2. Used in a simile in Ec 12 6 (τὸ ἄνθεμιον). The globe-shaped bowls or capitals twin pillars of JACHIN AND BOAZ (1 K 7 41 *f.*, τὰ στρεπτα though גְּדִלִים? see FRINGES]; 2 Ch. 4 12 *f.*, AV 'pomm γολαθ [BA], βάσεις [L]). See PILLAR.

3. כַּפּוֹר, *kappôr*, 1 Ch. 28 17, etc., RV. See BASON, 2.

4. מִזְרָק, *mizrâḳ*, Ex. 27 3. See BASON, 3.

5. מְנַקִּיּוֹת, *menakkîyôth*, κυαθος [BAFL], used in tem ritual especially upon the table of shew-bread, Ex. 25 29 37 Nu. 4 7 Jer. 52 19 (where AV 'cups').

6. כַּף, *kaph*, 1 K. 7 50; see BASON, 4.

7. סַפָּל, *sappel*, a larger bowl or bason, probably of w Jud. 5 25 6 38 (λεκάνη [BAL]; in 5 25 λαβ. [AL]); cp Pal. 8 [illegible].

8. σκαφη, Bel, 33, a vessel for holding food (in Acts 27 16 a boat).

9. φιάλη, Rev. 5 8 15 7, etc. (AV 'vial'). In OT it represe כּוֹס; see BASON, 3; MEALS, § 12, and cp generally BASO CUP, GOBLET, POTTERY.

BOX, synonymous in AV with jar or cruse, not case of wood or metal.[1]

1. פַּךְ, *pakh* (2 K. 9 1 3; RV and in 1 S. 10 1, AV 'vial'; Ⓖ φακος). Shape and material are both uncertain.

2. For the 'alabaster box' (ἡ ἀλαβαστρος) of Mk. 14 AV (RV 'alabaster cruse'), see CRUSE, 4, ALABASTER.

3. In RVmg. of Jn. 12 6 13 29, where EV has BAG, 'b suggested as an alternative rendering of γλωσσοκομον, w originally and etymologically signified a case in which the m pipes (γλῶσσαι) of wind instruments were kept. It assumed a more general significance and denoted any sim shaped box or case. Ⓖ[BAL] employs it to indicate the (אָרוֹן) set up by Josiah in the Temple (2 Ch. 24 8 *ff.*), w Josephus uses it of the 'coffer' (אָרוֹן 1 S. 6 8 *ff.* EV; see C or small chest, in which the Philistine princes deposit golden mice. In the Mishna it is used to signify a books (גְּלוֹסְקָמָא in Lexx.) and even a coffin (cp the pa of *loculus*); in the latter sense also in Aquila (Gen Joseph's mummy-case; see COFFIN). Thus it would that the preferable rendering in John (*l.c.*) is that of RV

A. R. S. K.

BOX TREE, BOX, RVmg. 'cypress'; once (1 Esd 276; Ⓖ οἴκοις ἀσώδεις) RV **Boxwood** (תְּאַשּׁוּר,

[1] For this EV employs 'chest.'

κέδρος[1] Is. 41 19 60 13) is by several modern scholars identified as the 'sherbin' (Ar. and Syr.), a kind of juniper, = Ass. *šurmānu* (see below). RV^mg. and *SBOT*, however, give 'cypress'; the sherbin resembles the cypress in its habit and general appearance (Tristram). Cp note 4, below.

The Hebrew word was formerly explained as derived from the root אשר (akin to ישר, Ar. *yasara*, to be straight (Ges. *Thes.*), and so as denoting a tall straight tree; but such different views have recently been put forward as to the affinities and meaning of the root that it is unsafe to form any inference from this etymology.[2] Hoffmann,[3] indeed, rejecting the traditional vocalisation of תאשור, suggests that it is philologically akin to Assyr. *šurmenu* (Del. *Par.* 107), Aram. *ša'warnā* or *šurbina*.[4] If this were made out we should be tolerably certain that תאשור is the *sherbin* or a similar tree; but the philological step is difficult. Cheyne (*Is.*, *SBOT* [Heb.] 129) 'can hardly doubt that the obscure מסכך in Is. 40 20 is a corruption of שרבן' *i.e.*, sherbin.' If so, תאשור would seem to be distinct from the sherbin.

The interesting mention of this tree in Ezek. 27 6 (RV 'box-wood') is concealed in AV by a false division of the word in MT;[5] the second clause most probably means 'thy deck they have made of ivory inlaid in *šaššur*-wood from Cyprus' (see CHITTIM).

It is clear from Is. 60 13 that תאשור was a familiar tree in the forest growth of Lebanon; and this favours the identification with the box (*Buxus longifolia*), which grows there as a small tree about 20 ft. high (Tristram, *NHB*, 339). In support of this Rosenmüller (*Mineral. and Bot. of Bible* [ET], 301 *f.*) aptly compares Verg. *Æn.* 10 137 ('quale per artem inclusum buxo . . . lucet ebur') with Ezek. 27 6.[6] Others (Ges.[19], Bu.[21]) have thought that the latter reference rather points to a *pine* tree, so often used in antiquity for ship building; but תאשור is at least distinct from ברוש (fir) and תִּדְהָר (pine ?), along with which it is twice mentioned in Is. 40-66.

The *sherbin*, according to Tristram (*l.c.*) is *Juniperus phœnicia*, but in the Survey of W. Palestine he expressly says of this *J. oxycedrus*; nor does it, according to the authorities, grow on Lebanon. It seems more probable that the *sherbin* is *Juniperus excelsus*, which is known to grow on Lebanon.

On the whole there seems no sufficient reason for abandoning the tradition that תאשור is the box.

N. M. -W. T. T.-D.

BOZEZ (בּוֹצֵץ; Βαζεζ [B], -θ [L]), and **Seneh** (סֶנֶה; CENNAAP [BL]), two rocky points, one on the N. the other on the S. side of the Michmash gorge (1 S. 14 4 *f.*). See MICHMASH.

BOZKATH, and 2 K. 22 1 AV BOSCATH (בָּצְקַת; BDB *Lex.* quotes Ar. *baskat*[un], an elevated region covered with volcanic stones). One of the towns of the lowland of Judah mentioned between Lachish and Eglon, but as

[1] ℭ's rendering of Is. 41 19 is so defective that it is impossible to tell which Greek word represents תאשור; but in 60 13 it is κέδρος [BℵAQ]. Aq. and Thc. simply transliterate (θασσουρ); Sym. has πεύκη in chap. 41 and πεύκη in chap. 60 (unless πυξός is out of its order). Peshi. also is defective in Is. 41 19, giving for תרשיר תדהר ותאשור simply 'goodly cypresses' (*šarwaine*), while in Is. 60 13 תאשור is rendered 'cypresses.' Targ. has in both places אשכרעין, 'box trees' (so the Jewish commentators); Vg. renders *buxus* in 41 19, but *pinus* in 60 13.

[2] See especially No. in *ZDMG* 40 723 ['86]; Hommel, *ZA* 4 [92], Lag. *Übers.* 143. Nöl. connects all Heb. derivatives of אשר with the single root (meaning 'to go' or 'step') which appears in Ar. *'ithr* and Syr. *athra*; Hommel still maintains a second root, akin to ישר Ar. *yasara*; while Lagarde explains אשרי (Ps. 1 1 etc.) by invoking a third Ar. root *ašara*.

[3] P. 27 of his tract 'Über einige phenik. Inschriften' (in *Abhandl. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött.* vol. 36).

[4] Low (*Ex.* 72) holds that the two Syr. words do not mean quite the same tree: that the former is *Juniperus oxycedrus*; the latter (fem. in form *šurbinta*) is the ordinary cypress *Cupressus sempervirens*; but he does not make out a clear case. Bossier (*Flora Orientalis*, 5 705) has under *Cupressus sempervirens*: 'Syria borealis in montanis ibi Syr. *šurbina* vocat.' This looks as if it might be philologically akin to *šurwaine* and *šarwaine*.

[5] For בתאשרים read בתאשורים.

[6] According to Sir Joseph Hooker the wood of *Buxus longifolia* is still prized in Damascus for making domestic utensils and inlaid wood.

yet unidentified (Josh. 15 39; βασηδωθ [B], -σεχαθ [L], μασχαθ [A]). A certain Adaiah (1) of Bozkath was the grandfather of King Josiah (2 K. 22 1; -σουρωθ [BAL]).

BOZRAH (בָּצְרָה, § 106; BOCOPPA [BAD] in Gen. Ch. 1, BOCOP [BℵAQ] in Is. 34).

Elsewhere ℭ translates: ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς [BℵAQ], Jer. 49 13; ὀχυρώματα αὐτῆς [BℵAQ] 22; τειχέων αὐτῆς [BAQ], Am. 2 12; ἐν θλίψει [BAQ], Mi. 2 12.

1. A capital of the land of Edom (Am. 1 12 Is. 34 6 63 1;[1] βοσορα [Q^mg.], Jer. 49 13 22), also mentioned in Gen. 36 33 (βοσορρα [L], om. F) 1 Ch. 1 44 (βοσορ, [L]) as the city of Jobab b. Zerah, king of Edom, and less certainly, though still probably, under the name MIBZAR (*q.v.*) in Gen. 36 42. All these passages may be exilic or even post-exilic; but it is hardly safe to infer that Bozrah was not known to the Jews before the Exile; indeed, Gen. 36 33 may be ultimately derived from a pre-exilic document. Bozrah is the *Busor* (βοσορ) of *OS*[2] 232 58 102 18, described as 'in the mountains of Idumæa.' It seems to be the modern *Buseire*, in the district of Jebal (Gebalene), northward from Petra, and 2½ hours SSW. from 'Tafileh, called 'Ed-Deir'ah' to distinguish it from the more famous Bozrah in the Hauran. So Buhl, *Edomiter*, 37; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 11 18 *f.*

2. (Jer. 48 24.) See MOAB, ii.

J. K. C.

BRACELETS. Bracelets were worn to protect the exposed parts of the arm and hand against physical injury, and as amulets against the malign influences which were believed to affect the organs of action (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 453). They served also as ornaments. They were made of gold (Gen. 24 22 Nu. 31 50); but doubtless, like other ancient peoples, the Hebrews employed other less precious materials, as bone and enamelled earthenware. Signet rings were sometimes worn round the wrist (see RING). Bracelets were worn by men and women; the finer forms were among the insignia of royalty and the adornments of brides (for references see below).

Five words have to be considered.

Of these we may first of all reject two words, (1) חָח (Ex. 35 22), and (2) פָּתִיל (Gen. 38 18 25), which are wrongly rendered 'bracelet' in AV. See HOOK, 2; RING, § 1, and cp COAT.

1. צָמִיד, *šamīd* (Gen. 24 22, etc., Nu. 31 50 Ezek. 16 11 23 42 EV 'bracelets,' ℭ ψέλια); cp Ass. *šamādu*, to bind on; the same root appears in the Heb. צֶמֶד, yoke. Golden צמידים, weighing ten shekels, were given to Rebekah by Eleazar, who placed them on her hands. So in Ezek. 16 11, the bracelets are worn on both hands. In Nu. (*l.c.*), צְמִיד is conjoined with אֶצְעָדָה, and the Commentators mostly explain the former as an ornament for the wrist, the latter for the upper part of the arm. Targ. usually renders צ by שׁ רָא, 'chains.' The form of these bracelets varied, a favourite device being the serpent. On Egyptian bracelets see Wilk., *Anc. Egy.* 2 [illegible] Assyrian, Per. and Chald., *Art in Chaldæa*, 2 [illegible] 241.

4. שֶׁרֶה, *Šerah*, Is. 3 19 (AV 'bracelets,' RV^mg. 'chain.' Targ. שׁירוי יָדָא, 'chains of the hands'). Cp modern Arabic ornament *sharir* (Frank. 56). The root is שׁרר, to twist. Perhaps a [illegible] of spirals made of twisted gold is meant. In the Mishnah שרה is applied to chains and the necks of horses and also to bracelets worn by women.

5. אֶצְעָדָה, [illegible] 37. This word occurs in MT in Nu. 31 50 (AV 'ornament,' RV 'bracelets') and 2 S. 1 10 (EV 'bracelet'; ℭ in [illegible] ψέλια). Wellhausen's suggestion to read וַיִּצְעֲדָה, after Is. 3 [illegible], has been widely accepted; but Nestle (*Marginalien*, 1 [illegible]) holds MT. Stade supposes that Saul was despoiled by the Amalekites only of the several bracelets that he wore. Budde (p. 29 [illegible]) accepts Wellhausen's emendation (on the basis of Nu. 31 50) וַיַּעֲטֵרֶהָ, as also possible. That kings went into battle with various ornaments is well attested (see CROWN); this is further supported by 1 K. [illegible]. It may be that Saul's bracelet [illegible] his sign of (Kings, *Antique Gems*, 148). As with Saul, so with Jeroboam the crown and bracelet are associated as royal insignia if (with We.) צְעִידוֹת is read for יָעִיר, 2 K. 11 12 (WRS, *OTJC*[2] 311, n.).

[1] Text doubtful: see TEXT, § 64, and cp *SBOT* (Heb.), *ad loc.*

Kimhi, however, obtained much the same sense by connecting עדות with עדי, 'ornament.' The Targum on 2 S. 1 10 renders by טיטפתא, which is usually applied to the phylactery (Dt. 6 8). A phylactery was, however, also worn on the left arm. אד is apparently connected with עדה (occurring only in Is. 3 20), into which We.'s emendation reduces אצערה. If the arrangement in Is. 3 18-23 is suggested by the natural order of the parts of the body, עדה may be an ornament rather of the arm than of the leg. Barth, *NB* 151, compares Ar. '*adud*, 'arm,' which removes some of the difficulty presented by the usual derivation from עוד, to step or walk. See, however, ANKLETS.

I. A.

BRAMBLE has in EV three meanings.

1. אָטָד, '*atad* (βάμνος, *rhamnus*); Gen. 50 10 *f.* (EV ATAD as in ☪), Judg. 9 14 *f.*, EV 'brambles,' and Ps. 58 9 [10], EV 'thorns.' It is a genuine Semitic word, found also in W. Aramaic as אטדא or אטדא, in Syriac as *hatta*[1] (? *hattā*), in Arabic as *atad* (*ligna rhamni nigri*, Fr.), and in Assyrian as *eṭdu*, *eṭidtu* (Ges. Bu., *s.v.*). The root with which it appears to be connected (אטד) has in Arabic the sense of 'uttering a *rasping*, though not *loud*,[2] sound'; and the possibility of a connection with the sense of pricking or tearing like a thorn is apparent. There is general agreement that βάμνος was about equivalent to the modern botanical genus *Rhamnus*. Dioscorides[3] distinguished three sorts (cp. Fraas, *Syn. Plant. Flor. Class.*); while in modern times Tristram (*FFP* 264 *f.*) has enumerated sixteen species of *Rhamneæ* as found in Palestine.

Perhaps the most likely identification for אָטָד is with *Rhamnus palæstina* (Boiss.), which represents in Syria the *R. oleoides* of Greece and S. Europe.

2. חוֹחַ, *ḥôaḥ*, very frequent; EV usually 'thorn' or 'thistle,' AV once (Is. 34 13) 'bramble.' It denotes a plant of the thorn or perhaps of the thistle kind: see THORN.

3 βατος, which occurs seven times in ☪ (in six of these as the rendering of סִנֶּה) and five times in NT, is once (Lk. 6 44) rendered 'bramble bush,' elsewhere BUSH (*q.v.*, § 1 [1]).

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BRAN (ΤΑ ΠΙΤΥΡΑ [BAQ']). The 'burning of bran for incense' (*θυμῶσαι τ. π.*; to Mylitta?) is mentioned in Bar. 6 (Ep. Jer.) 41 [42]† as one of the incidents in the unchaste idolatrous worship of the women of Babylon. See INCENSE, § 8.

BRASEN SEA (יָם הַנְּחֹשֶׁת), 2 K. 25 13; see LAVER; SEA, BRAZEN.

BRASEN SERPENT (נְחַשׁ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת), 2 K. 18 4. See NEHUSHTAN, § 2.

BRASIER (אָח), Jer. 36 22 *f.* RV. See COAL, § 3.

BRASS, or **BRASEN**, EV's rendering of נְחֹשֶׁת, *nᵉḥōšeth* (Gen. 4 22 and often), נָחוּשׁ, *nāḥuš* (Job 6 12†), נְחוּשָׁה, *nᵉḥūšāh* (Lev. 26 19, etc.), נְחֹשׁ, *nᵉḥōš* (Dan. 2 32 etc.), χαλκος (Mt. 10 9, 1 Cor. 13 1, Rev. 18 12), and χαλκιον (Mk. 7 4).

EV invariably renders thus except in Ezra 8 27 AV (see COPPER), in 2 S. 22 35 AV, where נחשת, '*nehōšeth*, is rendered 'steel,' and in Jer. 15 12 AV has 'steel,' see IRON, § 2); cp 2 Tim. 4 14, where χαλκευς is 'coppersmith.' In Gen. 4 22 RVmg gives '*copper*,' and so elsewhere' as a note on 'brass.' In Ezek. 1 7 נחשת קלל is rightly rendered 'burnished brass' (☪ εξαστραπτων χαλκος; Tg. below), as also is χαλκολιβανος in Rev. 1 15 2 18. In Ezra 8 27 נחשה is qualified by the epithet מצהב (RV 'bright'), which we should probably point מְצַהֲבוּ = מצלהב, 'glittering' (in Tg. Ezek. 1 7 for קלל, 'polished'). טוֹבָה, which follows (AV 'fine'), arises out of dittography, and should not be rendered (Che.).

That copper is meant is shown by the words, 'out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass' (Dt 8 9); cp the chapter in Holland's *Pliny* (1601), headed 'Mines of *Brass*.' See COPPER and cp EGYPT, § 36 end.

[1] This the Syriac lexicographers render into Arabic as '*ausaj*, which means a 'thorny shrub' (this is the meaning of our word); cp *tin'a*, see Skeat, *s.v.*).

[2] From the *absence of loudness* in the sound is derived the sense of Heb. אט, properly a 'whisper,' and thence 'softness,' 'stillness.' See also DIVISATION, § 4, iv.

[3] It should be noticed that the *Auctarium ad Dioscoridem* confirms the identification of אָטָד and βάμνος by the gloss Ῥάμνος Ἄφροι ('Africans'—*i.e.*, probably Carthaginians) Ἀταδίν.

BREAD. From the earliest times of which we any record, bread was the principal article of

1. Preparation. among the Hebrews, a fact whic plains the use of קֶמַח both for brea for food in general. The pri custom of making the ears of wheat and barley palatable by the simple process of roasting (קָלִי, 'pa corn'; 1 S. 17 17, etc.) was still common in histo times. For the preparation of bread, however, ears must be crushed or ground so as to adm being kneaded into a paste. In early times the was produced by crushing the ears between two st (see illustrations of these primitive 'corn-grin found in Palestine in Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, a process common in Egypt under the Old Empire later (see Erman's *Egypt*, 190), and still practise the East. The mortar and pestle were a later deve ment. The preparation of flour by pounding the in a mortar (מַדְקָה, Nu. 11 8) is a familiar scene Egyptian monuments. The flour obtained by these cesses must have been of a coarser grain (גָּרִיס) than procured by the use of the handmill (רֵחַיִם; see MI A still finer quality than the ordinary קֶמַח was nam סֹלֶת (see FOOD, § 3 [*b*]).

In the earliest times bread was entirely unleaven The requisite quantity of flour or barley-meal, wh varied, naturally, according to the size of the househo was placed in a shallow wooden basin (מִשְׁאֶרֶת; Ex. 7 —earthenware, for obvious reasons, is little used nomads—well mixed with water and kneaded. S was no doubt added when procurable (cp Lev. 2 13 When the kneading was completed, the dough (בָּצֵק) w ready for the firing. Cakes thus prepared were nam מַצּוֹת, 'unleavened cakes,' and these still form t usual bread of the Bedouin. In a more advanc stage of society, the bread was made in this way on in cases of emergency (Gen. 19 3), or for purposes ritual, as at the Passover. The ordinary bread of t Hebrews was made lighter by fermentation. A sm piece of to-day's 'batch' was laid aside, and when th time for the next baking arrived this piece of leav (שְׂאֹר) was broken down into the water in the מִשְׁאֶרֶת, th flour was mixed therewith, and the whole thoroug kneaded and allowed to stand 'till the whole w leavened.'

The next stage is the process of firing, or renderin the dough more digestible by th

2. Firing: kinds of cakes. application of heat. Three modes firing are found in the OT, as in th East at the present day.

(*a*) The simplest method is that still in use among the Bedouin. A fire of wood, or of wood mixed w camel's dung, is kindled on the sand, or on extempor sed hearthstones. When these have been well heated the embers are raked aside, and the flat pieces of dough laid on the hot stones and covered with the ashes just removed. After a few minutes, the ashes are again raked aside, the cakes turned, and the ashes replaced. In a few minutes more the cakes are ready (see Rob. *BR* 2 416 *f.*, Doughty, *Arab. Des.* 1 131 etc Such 'a cake baked on the coals' was termed עֻגַת רְצָפִים (1 K. 19 6; cp Gen. 18 6 Hos. 7 8, ☪ᴳᴬᴹ, ἐγκρυφίας, by the Vg. correctly rendered *panis subcinericius*, 'ash cakes').

(*b*) A second mode of firing bread is one much in vogue at the present day among Bedouin and fellah alike. A girdle or thin iron plate (מַרְחֶשֶׁת; Lev 2 5 Ezek. 4 3, ☪ᴳᴬᴹ τήγανον), slightly convex in shape, is laid over a small fire-pit, in which a fire has been kindled as before, and on this plate or girdle the cakes are fired. Its Syrian name is *saǵ* (Landberg, *Prov. et Dict. du Peuple Arabe*, 14). Cakes baked in this way

seem to have been called by the Hebrews חַבִּתִּים (1 Ch. 9 31).

(*c*) The most usual mode of firing, however, especially in towns, was no doubt by means of the oven (תַּנּוּר). The *tannūr*, then as now, was a large earthenware jar in the bottom of which the fire was placed. As represented on Egyptian monuments, the cakes were fired by being applied to the *outside* of the jar (Wilkinson 2 34; Erman, *Egypt*, 191). The usual method at the present day, however, is to allow the fire to burn down, and, while the embers are still glowing, to apply the cake to the *inside* of the jar. The dough is first pressed into flat round cakes (like a Scotch *bannock*); each of these in its turn is made to revolve by a rapid movement of the hands, till it has expanded to a diameter of about 18 inches, and become as thin as a sheet of thick paper. It is then laid on a cushion, by means of which it is applied to the wall of the *tannur*. These thin wafer-cakes are called in the OT רָקִיק (in Syria, *marḳūḳ*). The *tannūr* may be larger, and consist of a pit, wider at the bottom and narrowing towards the top, plastered with clay. The ovens used by the bakers of the street in Jerusalem named after them (Jer. 37 21) were probably of this sort. (For further details see FURNACE, 5).

The preparation of the daily supply of bread for the household was essentially the care of the women (Gen. 18 6 1 S. 28 24 etc.). In the wealthier households this duty would devolve on slaves, male and female (1 S. 8 13). In later times baking became a special trade in the cities (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9 2), and especially in Jerusalem (see above and cp the 'oven tower,' Neh. 3 11 12 38), where the large influx of pilgrims at the great festivals would promote the industry.

It is impossible now to identify the various species of cakes mentioned in the OT. If to those mentioned in the course of this article we add כִּכָּר the ordinary round cake or *bannock* (1 S. 2 36), and חַלָּה, the etymology of which points to its being pricked or perforated, like the modern passover cakes, we have exhausted the varieties that can be identified with any approach to certainty. See further BAKEMEATS, also FOOD, §§ 1-3.

A. R. S. K.

BREAKFAST (ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ [Ti. WH]). Lk. 11 38 RV^mg. See MEALS, § 2.

BREASTPLATE, COAT OF MAIL (שִׁרְיָן שִׁרְיוֹן 1 K. 22 34 Is. 59 17], שִׁרְיוֹן or סִרְיוֹן Jer. 46 4 51 3, Syr. ܫܪܝܢܐ). We find the *ṣiryōn* mentioned as part of the defensive armour of Goliath and David. That it was commonly worn by Israelite kings is evident from 1 K. 22 34 (2 Ch. 18 33). In the description of Goliath's armour in 1 S. 17 5 ('coat-of-mail' EV) the addition of the word קַשְׂקַשִּׂים to שִׁרְיָן gives a valuable clue: Goliath's coat of mail was covered with bronze scales.

This meaning is certified by Dt. 14 9 (Lev. 11 9), where קַשְׂקֶשֶׂת denotes the scales of a fish. Moreover, it is derived from a root, קשקש, that signifies rubbing or peeling off. Ar. *kaśśa* in conj. iv. expresses the peeling off of skin during recovery from disease.[1]

The weight of Goliath's armour, according to 1 S. 17 5, was 5000 shekels, which may be roughly computed as about 200 lbs. The close intercourse that there was between Egypt and Philistia[2] makes it not improbable that the heavy coat of mail worn by Goliath resembled the Egyptian cuirass worn by a royal personage, in which yellow, blue, red, and green metallic scales were tastefully arranged in symmetrical rows (Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, Abth. 1 50). Wilkinson has described the Egyptian cuirass as consisting of about 'eleven horizontal rows of metal plates well secured by bronze pins.' At 'the hollow of the throat a narrower range of plates was introduced. The breadth of each plate or scale was little more than an inch, twelve of them sufficing to cover the front of the body, and the sleeves, which were sometimes so short as to extend less than half-way to the elbow, consisted of two rows of similar plates.'

The Assyrian warriors in earlier times wore a heavy coat of mail covering the entire body with the exception of the arms. Occasionally the coat of mail did not reach farther than the knees. In later times the leading warriors were protected by jackets made of leather or of stout material, on which metal plates were sewn or rivetted (or they were provided with iron or bronze studs). Broad girdles were used for tying in the long coats of mail. Upon a bas-relief, from Nimrud, portrayed in Layard's work we see an Assyrian chariot in which the bowman is mail-clad even around his neck and ears. It is not improbable that Ahab wore a heavy coat of mail somewhat resembling the Assyrian (but shorter), as we know that he took every precaution for personal protection.

The statement that he was mortally wounded by an arrow which pierced 'between דְּבָקִים and the coat of mail' has been variously interpreted. 𝔊 L.A.L. ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θυμοῦ κ.τ.λ. does not yield any satisfactory sense. The use of דֶּבֶק in Is. 41 7 (𝔊 σύμβλημα), and the fundamental signification of the root, point to 'rivets' as a probable rendering, for it could yield an adequate sense in the context. Thenius and other authorities follow Luther in holding that what is meant here is an attachment or appendage to the coat of mail. The coat of mail protected the breast, whereas the appendage guarded the lower portion of the body, and the arrow penetrated through the interval that separated them (so Riehm, *HWB*). This seems to be the only intelligible explanation, and etymology warrants the rendering of the word דבקים by 'attachments' or 'appendages' (*i.e.*, to the cuirass).

Respecting the coats of mail or corslets with which Uzziah is said to have provided his troops (2 Ch. 26 14) we have not definite information or any sufficient clue to guide us. The corslets (AV 'brigandines') which Jeremiah (46 4) bids the cavalry of Pharaoh Necho put on may have consisted of some thick woven material covered with metal scales; but here, as in the case of Neh. 4 16 [10], we are left in much uncertainty. For Neh. 4 16 [10] a useful hint may be derived from Herod. 7 63, where we learn that the Syrian (or Assyrian) contingent of Xerxes' army wore λίνεοι θώρηκες, which were probably close-fitting sleeveless jackets of coarse felt. Probably the *tahrā* (תַּחְרָא), AV 'habergeon,' RV 'coat-of-mail,' of Ex. 28 32 (cp 39 23, both passages from P), was a corslet of this character.

Etymology here does not help us as the word is from the Aramaic root ܬܚܪܐ (*ethpeal* 'to fight') and therefore means simply 'fighting garb.' Targ. Onk. renders it שִׁרְיָן, 'breastplate.' 𝔊 (Ex. 28 28) is based on another text. Kimchi is on the right track when he says in his comment (cited by Dr., *ad loc.*): 'We are reminded of the λινοθώραξ of the Greeks (*Il.* 2 529 etc.) Egypt excelled in its manufacture.'

In the Greek period (300 B.C. and later) the ordinary heavy-armed soldiers wore coats of fine iron chain-mail (θώραξ ἁλυσιδωτός) i.e. series of links connected into a continuous chain (cf. Ep.).

It is significant that 𝔊 gives this interpretation in 1 S. 17 5, and we may conclude from 1 Macc. 6 35 that during the entire Greek period this was the kind of cuirass usually worn. What form of breastplate was pictured before Paul's imagination as a symbol for the righteousness of a Christian warrior (Eph. 6 14, cp Is. 59 17 and 1 Macc. 5 8)—whether a corslet of scale armour (column of Antoninus), or a cuirass of 'broad metal plates across the chest and long flexible bands

[1] In Job 41 26 [18] the word שִׁרְיָה (*ἅπ. λεγ.*) is taken by 𝔊, Vg., and Targum as = שִׁרְיָן, and modern comm., including Ew., have adopted this view. Some colour is given to this interpretation by v. 15 (Heb.), which describes the scales of Leviathan, which the coat of mail of the enemy might be held to resemble; but this is too slight as an argument. The immediate context suggests weapons of *offence*, and if 𝔊 is correct in translating the preceding *ἅπ. λεγ.* מָגֵן by δόρυ we have a fair presumption that Del. is right in comparing Ar. *sirwatun* or *sirwaten*, 'pointed dart' or 'arrow,' with the word שִׁרְיָה in this passage (so RV). Duhm follows Hoffm. and reads שִׂרְיָה 'javelin,' cp Syr. *śedhaithā*.

[2] Meyer, *GA*, 229 *ff.*, 238 *ff.*, 208.

(*laminæ*) of steel over the shoulders' (depicted on the column of Trajan)—can only be conjectured. Excellent woodcuts representing both may be found in Rich's *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiquities*. Compare also Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

O. C. W.

BREASTPLATE, Priestly (חֹשֶׁן; Ex. 28₄, ΠΕΡΙΣΤΗΘΙΟΝ [BAL]; elsewhere ΤΟ ΛΟΓΙΟΝ [BAF], ΤΟ ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ [L], 'oracle'; but twice [Ex. 25₆ (7) 35₈ (9)] 𝔊[BAL] has ΠΟΔΗΡΗϹ where MT has חֹשֶׁן) or **BREASTPLATE OF JUDGMENT** (חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט, Ex. 28₁₅; Λ. ΤΩΝ ΚΡΙϹΕΩΝ [BAL]; often in 𝔊), an object worn on the ephod of the High Priest. It seems to have been a square piece attached by its corners to the shoulder-straps of the ephod (see EPHOD, § 3) and of like material—probably a species of pocket whose outer side was adorned with precious stones. The etymology of the word is uncertain.

Di. rejects the probable derivation from the root *hasuna*, 'to be beautiful,' and would prefer to connect it with חֹשֶׁן, *sinus* or 'fold' in which something is carried; cp Ewald, *Alterth.* 300. On the stones in the breastplate, see PRECIOUS STONES, and cp URIM AND THUMMIM, and Nowack, *H.A* 2 119.

O. C. W.

BREECHES, in the proper usage of the word, denotes the divided garment reaching from the waist to just below the knees, equivalent to the Lat. *feminalia* and Gr. ΠΕΡΙϹΚΕΛΗ, as distinguished from *braccæ* (*bracca*) or ΑΝΑΞΥΡΙΔΕϹ, which reached to the ankles—the garment ordinarily denoted by the word 'hosen' at the time when the AV was made. The earliest form of the garment seems to have been simply a loin cloth (cp GIRDLE, 1). Generally, however, the long mantle worn in the East made a special covering for the legs unnecessary, and even the warriors who are depicted upon the monuments with their short tunics have the leg below the knee wholly bare with the exception of sandals. Noteworthy, on the other hand, are the lacings which protect the shins and knees of the follower of Aśur-bāni-pal (Per. and Chip., *Art in Chald.* ii. pl. x.); see further SHOES. Breeches, in fact, seem to be a distinctively Persian dress (see Herod. 1 71 7 61), and do not appear to have been known among the Israelites—at all events not before the exile.[1] Apart from the characteristic priestly כְּנָנִים (see below, 3), garments of this nature are mentioned only in Dan. 3 21 [EV]

1. סַרְבָּל, *sarbāl* (Dan. 3 21 27†), RV 'hosen,'[2] supported by a consensus of opinion (Theod., Aq., Sym. Pesh., Hi., Ew., Behrmann, etc.).

In this case the word is derived from Gr. σαράβαρα, σαράβαλλα (Lag. *Ges. Abh.* 207, Frä. *Aram. Lehnw.* 48), probably of Pers. origin (cp mod. Pers. *shalwār*). In Targ. and Talm., on the other hand, סְ (originally not connected with the above) denotes a 'mantle'; so Jewish exegetes (Aben-Ezra, etc.) and AV ('coats,' mg. 'mantles') in this passage.

For more than one reason the AV is probably better. 'Coats' or 'mantles' suits the climax in *vv.* 27, which describes the powerlessness of the fire over the Three, better than RV—their bodies were uninjured; nor was their hair singed; their mantles (flowing loose robes, easily inflammable) were unchanged, nor had the smell of fire passed on them.

2. פַּטִּישׁ, *pattîš*, in פַּטִּישִׁין (or rather פַּטְשִׁין [Bu. Gi.]), Dan 3 21, is an exceedingly obscure term for which are offered such diverse renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'tunics' (RV), 'turbans' (RV[mg])

'Turbans' may be safely dismissed as unphilological and improbable (see TURBAN); for the rest cp Syr. ܦܛܫܐ (*a*) Persian tunic (cp RV) (*b*) breeches, also a kind of leggings (cp AV); see Payne-Smith, *Thes.* The Jew.-Aram. פַּטְשִׁין occurs in only one passage independent of Dan. 3 21, and apparently denotes some-

[1] Much later, in the Roman period, *braccæ*, *femoralia*, and *fasciæ* all found their way into Judæa (Bruil, *Trachten d. Juden*, 85).

[2] Evidently retained in its older sense. The modern 'hosen' is applied to stockings.

thing worn upon the feet; but the text is probably corru Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* פְּשִׁיש), although Kohut (*Aruch Comp* *s.v.* פטש) argues for its authenticity. It is not improbab פטש is a gloss to סרבל; this is indirectly suggested philological evidence and the versions (𝔊[L] reads only *two* three terms), and is directly supported by quotations in Latin fathers. For a discussion of סרבל and פטש, see *Journ. Phil.* 26 307 *ff.* ('99).

3. The priestly linen breeches (כְּנָנִים [כנם to hide], περισκελῆ λινᾶ, *feminalia*, Pesh. translit περίζωμα) were to be worn along with the holy coat, the linen girdle, and the linen turban by on the Day of Atonement as he entered the holy within the curtain (Lev. 16₄ [P]). It is prob by an oversight that they are specially mentione Eccles. 45₈ along with the long robe and epho rather the *kuttōneth* and *me'il*; so Heb.) as part 'apparel of honour.' Ordinary priests also wore on sacrificial occasions (Ex. 28₄₂ 39₂₈ Lev. 6₁₀ [P]. Ezek. 44₁₈ [the b'nē Ẓadok]).

According to Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7 1) the μανιάκην [Niese] girdle (διάζωμα)[1] of fine twisted linen. It was the under of the priestly garments and possibly the most primitive. the older law of Ex. 20 26 (JE [according to Bacon, E]) see imply that the wearing of the garment was not orig compulsory for priest or layman. The change seems to be to a primitive conception of holiness. Clothes which had in contact with a holy place or function became taboo *ḥarām*), and therefore useless in ordinary life. The wa avoid this misfortune was to perform holy ceremonies n (just as the Bedouins made the sacred circuit of the Ka Mecca in a nude condition), or in holy vestments borrowed the priests (cp 2 K. 10 22). The law of Ex. 20 26 is appar aimed against the former custom (for which see further W *ATGJ*[2] 451 *f.*). See DRESS, PRIEST.

I. A.—S. A. C

BRETHREN OF JESUS (Mt. 12₄₇ Mk. 3₃₂ Lk. 8 See CLOPAS, § 3 *ff.*, JAMES, § 3, SIMON, 4.

BRICK (לְבֵנָה, derived by Ges. from √ לבן, 'to white,' as if bricks were originally made of a whi clay; but this is a forced etymology;

1. Of the Hebrews

πλίνθος).[2] The Hebrew word for b is not limited to sun-dried bricks. T is no doubt, however, that the Israelites, like m Eastern nations, used this kind almost exclusively Gen. 11 3 burning bricks is mentioned as a for custom, analogous to the use of asphalt (see BITUM for mortar, and we may safely disregard EV's render 'brickkiln' in 2 S. 12 31, Nah. 3 14.[3] Sun-dried bri of a very early period have been found in Palestin burnt bricks seem to date generally from the Rom period. It will be remembered that the houses of t mass of the Israelites were made of sun-dried clay HOUSE); it was of the same material that their br were composed.[4]

The true countries of brick-makers and brick-builders we Egypt[5] and Mesopotamia. In Egypt, not only all h also all palaces, many tombs (including several of the pyramids), and some temples, were constructed of N bricks.

The representations of brick-making which are to b found in Egyptian wall-pictures are very instru

2. Brick-making

They not only show the process with clearness, but also illustrate most v the serfdom of the Israelites on Egyp ground The most famous picture, for example sents foreigners—chiefly of a Semitic type—at w

[1] We are reminded of the manner in which the Ar. evolved from the simple *zaw*; see GIRDLE, 1.

[2] Some scholars consider πλίνθος, the Greek term f to have been borrowed by the Greeks from the Phœ the form *leḇinth*. [לְבֵנָה, Ass. *libittu*, seems to *labānu*, 'to throw down flat'; see LIBNAH, and cp De 93 *f.*]

[3] See the commentaries of Driver, H. P. Smith and L 2 S. *l.c.*, and on the whole passage see DAVID, § 11, in. Jer. 43 9 alters the unintelligible 'brickkiln' of AV into work.'

[4] Altars, also, were made of earth; cp the obscure (see SACRIFICE). On the law in Ex. 20 25 (E?) see A

[5] Cp the fact that the Eg. word for brick, *ḏ'bt*, Copt took root in Asia; cp Arabic *ṭūb* (whence Ethiopic *ṭūb*, Span. *adobe*).

superintended by Egyptian 'task masters' armed with sticks.

The analogy to the labour of Israel as described in Ex. 1 is so striking that many writers have ventured to regard the picture as referring to the circumstances with which that record deals. The scene, however, represents 'brick-making for the great magazine in Eastern Thebes' (Opet, mod. *Karnak*), and the explanatory legend states that the labourers are '*captives* brought by his majesty (Dhutmose or Thotmes III.) for works on the temple of Amon'; many (not the majority) of the workmen seem to be African captives.

The picture illustrates the whole process of brick-making

We see the labourers hoeing the ground with the wooden Egyptian hoe (see AGRICULTURE, fig. 3), carrying the black earth (Nile-mud deposited at the annual inundation) in baskets[1] to a clean (sandy?) place, moistening it with water taken from the pond, evidently at some distance from the Nile, and kneading it with their feet. The wooden moulding-frame is filled with material of the right consistency, and emptied on the ground; then the square heaps of mud, placed in rows side by side, are left to dry.[2]

These Egyptian bricks were usually twice the size of our modern ones. Many of them (from dynasty 18 onwards) were stamped with the name of a king, to show that they belonged to public buildings; sometimes the stamp shows the name of the building, and sometimes in addition to this the name of the officer charged with the construction of the building.[3] Stamps as well as moulds have been preserved to modern times, and bricks with the name of Rameses II., 'the Pharaoh of the oppression' (but see EGYPT, § 58 *ff.*), are shown in our museums. We often find chopped straw or reed mixed with the mud to make it more consistent and to prevent cracking during the drying. According to Ex. 5 18 the pharaoh showed his malice by doubling the work of the Israelites. Apparently we are to understand that, instead of furnishing straw from the royal domains and from the magazines of a fifth part of the other fields, he forced the oppressed strangers to gather the straw from the fields themselves. This, however, they could not well accomplish during their scanty leisure time; besides, the stalks were used (and are still used) as fodder, especially when not quite dry. Nor is it any easier to see how they could get old straw of the previous year (from the refuse heaps of farmyards, etc.?) in quantities sufficient for their 'tale of bricks.' For the rest, we frequently find not only foreign captives, but also the Egyptian serfs, referred to in Egyptian texts as making bricks under constraint.

3. Egyptian brick.

We now turn to the second brick-building country—Mesopotamia. Owing to the scarcity of stone in Babylonia proper, brick was the only building material, stone being reserved for the ornamentation of edifices, and the construction of certain parts, such as the threshold (see BABYLONIA, § 15). Whilst in Egypt rain is so scarce that buildings of sun-dried brick have a certain durability, the climate of Babylonia is less favourable. The Babylonians, accordingly, made their constructions more solid. They built walls of an enormous thickness: for example, the great enclosure of Babylon which Nebuchadrezzar erected with the clay dug from the ditch of the city (cp BABYLON, § 5). Moreover, their unfavourable climate forced the Babylonians, though wood was at least as scarce in their country as in Egypt, to use burnt bricks, especially for the outer layers of their thick walls. This led to a high development of the art of glazing and colouring bricks. We find large walls covered with elaborate paintings, whilst in Egypt such enamelled tiles were used much more rarely and always on a smaller scale. Crude bricks, however, sometimes of enormous size and always without straw, were the common material, especially in the earlier times. Hence we have brick stamps with, for example, the name of such old kings as Sargon of Agade and Naram-sin

4. Babylonian.

In Nineveh, sun-dried bricks seem to have been the building material in general use. On Ezek. 4 1, which mentions Ezekiel as portraying the siege of Jerusalem on clay-tiles, see Ezek. *SBOT* (Eng.), p. 98

W. M. M.

BRICKKILN (כַּלְבֹּן). 2 S. 12 31 Nah 3 14 and (RV **Brickwork**) Jer. 43 9. See above, § 1.

BRIDLE (כְּלָה) Is. 62 5. **Bridegroom** (חָתָן) Jer. 7 34. See MARRIAGE.

BRIDGE (ΓΕΦΥΡΟΥΝ [A]), 2 Macc. 12 13; AV; RV GEPHYRUN.

BRIDLE. The various Heb. and Gr. words will be found dealt with in the articles specified below.

1. מְרִסִים, *mercēm* (φυλακαι), Ps. 39 1 [2] RV, LV (AVmg. 'muzzle' (cp CATTLE). Most inappropriate; read מַרְסֵה, 'a guard' (Ps. 141 3 יְדֵי); cp Herz, Che.

2. מְצֻלּוֹת, *bells*, Zech. 14 20 AVmg., EV BELLS [2].

3. חֶתֶם, *metal*, 2 K. 19 28 (χαλινος) Is. 37 29 (χαλινός), Prov. 26 3 (κεντρον). EV is no doubt correct. Cp the place-name in 2 S. 8 1, METHEG-AMMAH.

4. לֶחִי, *rasen*, Is. 30 28 (𝔊 doubtful), Job 30 11 (χαλινός), Ps. 32 9 (κημός), Job 41 13 [5] EV (θώραξ). Perhaps 'bit' would be a better translation.

5. χαλινος Jas 3 3; RV, AV 'bit'; Rev. 14 20 EV (cp Eur. *Hecuba*, 492); cp HORSE, § 2.

BRIER. Six Hebrew words have to be considered.

1. בַּרְקָנִים,[1] *barkanim* (Judg. 8 7 16†), are mentioned along with 'thorns of the wilderness' as the instruments with which Gideon 'taught,' or rather 'threshed' (דוש; cp Moore's comm. *ad loc.*), the men of Succoth. The etymology of the Hebrew word being unknown and its occurrence so rare, it is scarcely worth while to speculate as to the kind of thorn intended.

We may notice that according to Boissier, 3 [illegible] (quoted by Cherson in Low, 4 [illegible]), *berkān* is in modern times [illegible] for *Phaeoxanthus scoparius*, Boiss. The parallelism with 'thorns of the wilderness' in both places is enough to refute the absurd idea invented by Michaelis and adopted by Gesenius that בַּרְקָנִים meant 'threshing-wains.' The method of torture alluded to is that of *carding* (see Moore).

2. שָׁמִיר, *šāmīr*, occurs eight times in Is. (5 6 7 23 24 25 9 18 [17] 10 17 27 4 32 13),[2] in seven of these along with שַׁיִת, a word of similar meaning. שָׁמִיר is a genuine Semitic word, and Celsius (2 183 cp Frankel, 89) pointed out its affinity with Ar. *samur*, some kind of thorny plant. The Hebrew word seems a general one for thorny plants, of which there are many kinds in Palestine (Tristram enumerates sixteen species of *Acanthus*, *LFP* 203 *ff.*). The ancient versions give no help towards a nearer determination of the species.

3. חֹרֶף, *hōreph* (κονυζα [Sym. κνίδη] Is. 55 13†), a wild thistle-plant, probably of the nettle kind, as its name is [illegible] frequently connected with חָרַף, 'to burn.'

𝔊 A. Theod. took it to be the 'flea-bane'; Sym. and Vg. the 'nettle'; Pesh. renders *ġāthrā*, probably 'savory.' Any of these will suit the passage well enough; under the new dispensation this plant was to give place to the myrtle.

4. סָרְבִים, *sorrābīm*, AVmg. 'rebels' (παροιστρηροι τε [Sym. ἰτιαοι, Th. δύσκολοι] Ezek. 26†), is not a plant name.

According to the testimony of all the ancient versions, the word is almost certainly to be read as the participle (סֹרְבִים) of a verb common in Aram., 'to gainsay falsely' or 'idly'; and the

[1] Does the phrase, 'his hands were freed from the basket' (Ps. 81 [6] RV; 'task basket,' De Witt), refer to these baskets? Cp Dt. *ad loc.*; but סִיר is open to grave suspicion (see Che. [illegible]).

[2] The Egyptian method of representing objects in perspective is likely to give the impression that the bricks are placed one above another.

[3] It has been inferred from this stamp that the government manufactured bricks for sale, and even that it had a brick-monopoly; but this is very improbable.

[1] 𝔊 merely transliterates; in [illegible] A. reads τραγακάνθας and Sym. τριβόλους (see [illegible]).

[2] In the other three places where שָׁמִיר occurs (Jer. 17 1; Ezek. 3 9; Zech. 7 12) it is rendered 'diamond' or 'adamant' (see ADAMANT, § 3).

following word, סלונים, is perhaps a mistake for סלים ('despising') or some such word, so that the clause would read 'though they gainsay and contemn thee' (see Co. *ad loc.*). There is no support anywhere for a word סָרָבִים meaning 'briers.'

5. סִלּוֹן, *sillôn* (σκόλοψ, Ezek. 28 24),[1] is connected with Jewish Aram. סילוא, Syr. *sahol*, Ar. *sulla*, Mand. סיליתא (Low, 150), all of which mean a 'thorn' or 'pricking point.'

6. חֶדֶק, *ḥêdeḳ* (ἄκανθαι,[2] Prov. 15 19 [where EV 'thorns'] Mic. 7 4†), is by Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.*(3) 149) connected with Ar. *ḥadîḳa*, an enclosed garden or orchard; he reads in Micah מִיּוֹם מְחֻדָּק יִשָּׁרֵם מִמְּסוּכָה ('ihr Bester ist aus der Dornhecke und ihr Gradester aus dem Gestrüpp'), thus producing a good parallelism. On the other hand, Löw (147), following Celsius (ii. 35 *ff.*), explains the word by reference to Ar. *ḥadaḳ*, which, according to Lane (*s.v.*), is *Solanum cordatum*. Tristram (*FFP*, 368) identifies it with *Solanum sanctum*, L. (sometimes called the apple of Sodom: see Bad.(3) 152). We may at all events gather from Prov. 15 19 that a thorny plant capable of forming a hedge is intended. For Heb. 6 8 AV [τρίβολοι], see THISTLE [4]. N. M.

BRIGANDINE (סְרִיֹן), Jer. 46 4, RV 'coats of mail'; see BREASTPLATE (i.).

BRIMSTONE (*i.e.*, *brenston*, 'burning stone'; גָּפְרִית, *gophrîth*; θεῖον;[3] SULPHUR).

The passages are Gen. 19 24 Dt. 29 23 [22] Job 18 15 Ps. 11 6 [7] Is. 30 33 34 9 Ezek. 38 22 Lk. 17 29 Rev. 9 17 *f.* 14 10 19 20 20 10 21 8†). *Gophrîth* is apparently connected with גֹּפֶר 'bitumen' (cp the Aram. and Ar. forms with initial *ḳ*), but surely not of Bactrian origin, as Lagarde[4] supposed.

Almost invariably the passages in which brimstone is mentioned relate to divine judgments; there is no direct statement of any use to which sulphur was put by the Hebrews. They cannot have known anything of the industrial uses of that mineral, which have so largely added to the wealth of the regions where it is most easily obtained (*e.g.*, Sicily). The only objects to which it was applied by the ancients, according to Plin. *H.N* 35 15, are the making of lamp wicks (*ellychnia*), the fumigation and cleansing of wool, certain medical remedies, and, lastly, religious purifications[5] (cp *Od.* 22 481 483; after the slaughter of the suitors).

It may be conjectured, however, that sulphur was used in the so-called TOPHETH (*q.v.*) of the Valley of Hinnom (cp Is. 30 33), and one conclusion may safely be drawn from the many descriptions in which brimstone is referred to—that the Israelites were not unacquainted with the volcanic phenomena known as 'solfatara' or those known as 'fire-wells' (as emanations of carburetted hydrogen, when they take fire, are frequently called). These 'fire-wells' occur in many of the districts where mud-volcanoes appear, in Europe, Asia, and N. America.[6] Reminiscences of phenomena of this kind apparently underlie certain parts of the account of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen. 19 and the other passages (see above) where the same narrative is directly or indirectly alluded to.

It is probable that the Hebrews, like the Greeks (see *Il.* 14 415 *Od.* 12 417) and the Romans (Plin. *H.N* 35 15),[7] associated the ozonic smell which often so perceptibly accompanies lightning discharges with the presence of sulphur. This may help to explain the passages which describe or allude to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah as having been brought about by a rain of fire and brimstone from heaven (Job 18 15? Gen. 19 24 Ps. 11 6 Ezek. 38 22 Lk. 17 29).

BROIDERED COAT, RV 'coat of chequer work' (כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ), Ex. 28 4. See EMBROIDERY, TUNIC, § 2.

BROIDERED WORK (רִקְמָה), Ezek. 16 10. EMBROIDERY, § 1.

BROOCHES (חֲחִים), Ex. 35 22 RV; AV 'bra[illegible] [see HOOK, 2]. See also BUCKLE, 1

BROOK. The Hebrew word usually thus re[illegible] is נַחַל, *naḥal* (χειμάρρους; cp in NT Jn 18 1), like the Ar. *wâdî*, denotes not only the flowing itself (cp נַחַל אֵיתָן, Am. 5 24), but also, like t[illegible] *wâdî*, the dried-up river bed[1] (cp the term נכזב 15 18). Hence Job likens his unstable bretht[illegible] a brook whose supply of water cannot be count[illegible] (Job 6 15).

In Is. 19 6, יְאֹרֵי מָצוֹר, *yᵉôrê mâṣôr*, 'the brooks of d[illegible] means rather 'streams of Egypt' (so RV). יאר, *yᵉôr*, which bears resemblance both to the Eg. *i.(t)ru*, 'river, the Ass. *ia'uru*, 'stream,' is applied usually to the Nile

אָפִיק, *ʾâphîḳ*, in אַפִּיקֵי מָיִם, *ʾaphîḳê mayim*, 'water-brook 42 2 [3] Joel 1 20 (πηγαί, ἀφέσεις ὑδάτων), is a poetica which, from its radical idea of holding or confining, properly a channel (cp Is. 8 7). It is otherwise rendered 'r 'river,' 'waters,' etc., and occurs in various involved fig meanings, in Job 12 21 (AV 'the mighty'), 40 18 (AV pieces'), 41 15 [7] (אַפִּיקֵי מָגִנִּים, AV 'scales').

מִיכַל, *mîkhal*, rendered 'brook' in 2 S. 17 20, is a word known etymological history (for Fr. Del.'s identification w Ass. *mêkaltu*, 'a canal,' cp Dr. *ad loc.* and *ZDMG* 40 724) word, if not corrupt (We. conjectures some such w[illegible] דָּרֶךְ) or out of its place, is quite unknown.[2]

For **Brook of Egypt** (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), Is. 27 12 RV, see R[illegible] RIVER OF. For **Brook of the Arabah** (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה), A[illegible] RV, see ARABAH, BROOK OF THE. S. A.

BROOM (רֹתֶם), 1 K. 19 4 RV^mg., AV JUNIPER.

BROTH (קָרְקָר), Judg. 6 19 *f.* Is. 65 4†. See COOK[illegible] § 3; SACRIFICE.

BROWN (חוּם), Gen. 30 32 *f.* AV; see COLOURS.

BUCKET (דְּלִי, cp Ar. *dalwun*, Ass. *dilûtu*), Is [illegible] (κάδος [BNaqr]); in Nu. 24 7 (σπέρμα [BAFL]), figuratively of Israel's prosperity. See AGRICULT[illegible] § 5.

BUCKLE. 1. According to some authorities th[illegible] (CΦΡΑΓΙΔΑC, *armillas*) of Ex. 35 22 was a buckle 'bracelets,' RV 'brooches'). See RING.

2. So, too, the אַצְעָדָה of 2 S. 1 10. See BRAC[illegible] (5).

3. πόρπη (1 Macc. 10 89 11 58 14 44) was a buckle, bestowed in one instance as an honou[illegible] distinction on Jonathan by king Alexander Balas, the use is to give to such as are the kindred of the k[illegible] (1 Macc. 10 89).

Such buckles or brooches formed the fastenings of t[illegible] garment on the breast or over the shoulder. They w[illegible] various shapes, the commonest being a flat circular ring w[illegible] pin passing through the centre (Rawlinson). The use of [illegible] buckles (like that of the purple rob[illegible]) was reserved to me[illegible] tinction (see passages cited, and cp Livy, 39 31); see C[illegible]

BUCKLER. For מָגֵן, *mâgên* (2 S. 22 31 AV), [illegible] *ṣinnah* (Ps. 35 2), סֹחֵרָה, *sôḥêrah* (Ps. 91 4) see SHIELD, רֹמַח, *rômaḥ* (1 Ch. 12 8) see SPEAR (so RV).

BUGEAN (ΒΟΥΓΑΙΟC [BNAL^E], *BUGAEUS*), Est. [illegible] AV. See AGAGITE.

BUKKI (בֻּקִּי, § 52; abbreviated from בֻּקִּיָּהוּ, ΒΟΚΧ[Ε]Ι [L]; see BUKKIAH).

1. Said to have been the fourth in descent from Aaron i[illegible] line of Eleazar: 1 Ch. 6 5 51 [5 31 6 36] (*v.* 5 Βωε [B], -ωκαι [illegible]

1 On סִלּוֹנִים, Ezek. 2 6 see above, 4.

2 The reading of ⊕ in Mic. 7 4 (ὡς σὴς ἐκτρώγων) presupposes a reading כְּחֹרֵק (Vollers in *ZATW* 4 10).

3 Probably from the same root as θύω, *fumus*, and wholly unconnected with θεός

4 *Beitr.* 74 27; *Semi.* 164 *f.*; *Sym.* 2 93 *f.*

Cp Ov. *Met.* 14 791 *f.*,

Lurida supponunt fœcundo sulfura fonti,
Incenduntque cavas fumante bitumine venas.

6 See Sir Archibald Geikie in *Ency. Brit.*(9) 10 251.

7 Fulmina, fulgura quoque sulpuris odorem habent, ac lux ipsa eorum sulpureum est.

1 נחל is accordingly sometimes rendered 'valley': cp, *e.g.*, [illegible] 2 36 2 Ch. 20 16 33 14 in RV.

2 The Targ. identifies מיכל with the Jordan. No help can be obtained from the Versions, unless the διεληλύθασι σπευδουσι[illegible] ⊕ be correct, in which case מיכל הים may be a corrupt[illegible] some such word as מסבים or מכרלים (elsewhere [illegible] also H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*

v. 31 -και [BAI]; Ezra 7 4 (Βοκκ[ε]ι [BA]—1 Esd. 8 2, BACCAS (Βοκκα [BA]). In 4 Esd. 1 5 the name appears as Boith (*Baiith*).

2. Danite; one of the chiefs chosen to divide Canaan (Βακκιρ [B], -ακκειρ [F], -κκειρ [L], Βοκκι [A]), Nu. 34 22 [P]. See BAKBUKIAH.

BUKKIAH (בֻּקִּיָּהוּ, perhaps connected with the Syr. verb ܒܨܝ, and, if pointed בֻּקִּיָּהוּ, signifying 'Yahwè has tested,' §§ 39, 52); one of the sons of Heman, 1 Ch. 25 4 (Βουκειας [B], Βοκκιας, κοκκ. [A], Βοκκιας [L], ܒܨܝܐ). See BAKBUKIAH.

BUL (בּוּל, perhaps 'rain-month,' from יָבוּל; cp in Ph. בל, *CIS* i. no. 31; its identification with the Palm. divine name בול (in עבדבול, etc.) is not certain; Βααλ [BA], Βουλ [L]), 1 K. 6 33. See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

BULL (פָּר). Jer. 52 10; פַּר, Gen. 32 15[16]; שׁוֹר, Job 21 10; אַבִּיר, Ps. 50 13, and ταυρος, Heb 9 13). See CATTLE, § 2. For the bull in mythological representations, see CALF, GOLDEN; CATTLE, § 14; CHERUB, § 7; and cp STARS, § 3 *a*. For the brazen bulls (2 K. 16 17), see SEA, BRAZEN. It is worth adding that bull-fights are often represented on wall-paintings in Egyptian tombs (see P. E. Newberry, *El Bershek*, pt. i., p. 28, n. 1).

BULLOCK (פַּר), Ex. 29 10. See CATTLE, § 2.

BULL, WILD (תּוֹא), Is. 51 20, AV; RV ANTELOPE [*q.v.*].

BULRUSH (אֲגָמֹן), Is. 58 5 (RV 'rush'), and BULRUSHES (גֹּמֶא), Ex. 2 3 Is. 18 2 (RV in the latter 'papyrus'), both words elsewhere RUSHES (*q.v.*).

BULWARK. For חֵיל, *ḥēl* (AV occasionally, RV usually 'rampart'), see FORTRESS, § 5; for פִּנָּה, *pinnah*, 2 Ch. 26 15 (RV 'battlements,' mg. 'corner towers'), see BATTLEMENT and FORTRESS, § 5; for מָצוֹד, *māṣōd* (Eccl. 9 14), and מָצוֹר, *māṣōr* (Dt. 20 20), see WAR.

BUNAH (בּוּנָה 'intelligence': cp in Palm. בונא, Vog. *Syr. Cen.*, no. 3), a Jerahmeelite (Βαναια [B], Βαανα [A], αμινα [L]), 1 Ch. 2 25.

BUNDLE (צְרוֹר), Gen. 42 35 of money; Ct. 1 13 of myrrh; 1 S. 25 29 of life. See BAG (4).

BUNNI (בֻּנִּי, בֻּנִּי and בּוּנִּי, §§ 5, 79; cp BANI).

1. A Levite, Neh. 9 4 (βουννιας [L]; transl. υἱός [BKA]), see EZRA, ii. § 13 (*f.*); possibly identical with the signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i., § 7), Neh. 10 15[16] (βανι [BKA], βοκχει or υἱοί [L]), whose name, however, is perhaps due to dittography of BANI [n. 4] in *v.* 14 [13].

2. Another Levite, one of the overseers of the temple, Neh. 11 15 (BKA om., βουνα [L], -αι [κc.a mg. sup.]); not mentioned in ‖ 1 Ch. 9 14.

BURDEN (מַשָּׂא, *massā*—*i.e.*, 'lifting up'; hence either 'burden' or 'utterance' ['to utter' is 'to lift up the voice']). 'Burden' in EV, when used of a prophetic revelation, should rather be 'oracle' (as RV^mg. 2 K. 9 25 etc.). Cp PROPHECY. The term *massā* became a subject of popular derision in the time of Jeremiah, owing to its double meaning (see above), so that Jeremiah pronounces a divine prohibition of its use (Jer. 23 33 *ff.*). It continued, however, to be used in the headings of prophecy. As to the application of *massā*, once only it denotes divine judicial sentence (2 K. 9 25; cp Jer. 23 36); elsewhere there is no such limitation of meaning. In Prov. 30 1 beyond doubt מַשָּׂא should be emended to מָשָׁל, in 31 1 to מַשָּׂא (see AGUR, LEMUEL).

𝔊 (BKAQ) renders variously λῆμμα (in the Minor Prophets regularly), ῥῆμα (Is. 15 1 17 1 22 1 and 21 1 [Q]), ὅραμα (Is. 21 1 also *ib.* 15 1 [A], 22 1 [A], and 23 1 [ΚAQmg.]), and ὅρασις (Is. 19 1 30 6).

BURIAL (קְבוּרָה), Is. 14 20. See DEAD, § 1.

BURNING (שְׂרֵפָה), 2 Ch. 21 19. See DEAD, § 1; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

BURNING AGUE (קַדַּחַת, ικτερος [AFL], ικθηρ [? B]), Lev. 26 16†; see DISEASES, § 6, MEDICINE.

BURNT OFFERING (עֹלָה), Lev. 1 3; see SACRIFICE.

BURNT OFFERING, ALTAR OF (מִזְבַּח הָעֹלָה), Ex. 30 28; see ALTAR, § 2 *f.*; SACRIFICE.

BUSH represents in AV three different Hebrew words.

1. Hebrew terms. 1. סְנֶה, *sneh* (βάτος, *rubus*; Ex. 3 2-4 Dt. 33 16 Mk. 12 26 Lk. 6 44 [EV 'bramble bush'] 20 37 Acts 7 30 35†) denotes a rough thorny bush—which is the original sense of our 'bramble'—as is shown by the use of the same word in later Hebrew, in Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian, and confirmed by the rendering of the ancient Versions. Low (275), following Forskål (*Fl. Ar.*, *Ar.* cxlii.), identifies it with *Rubus fruticosus*. Some, on the ground that the bramble is not found on Sinai, assume that a kind of acacia is referred to. These Hebrew and Greek words are used in OT and NT respectively only in connection with the theophany to Moses in Horeb (Sinai), except in Lk. 6 44.[1] In OT (Ex. 3 2-4 Dt. 33 16), and in Acts 7 30 35, the term refers to the actual bush; in Mk. 12 26 = Lk. 20 37 (see RV) to the section of Exodus containing the narrative (see below, § 2).

2. שִׂיחַ, *śīaḥ* (χλωρόν, *virgultum*, EV 'plant,' Gen. 2 5; ἐλάτη, *arbor*, EV 'shrub,' Gen. 21 15; also Job 30 4 7†[2]) is in Gen. 2 5 probably used in a general sense of any wild-growing shrub; in the other passages the reference may be more specific. Low (78), who cites the Syriac and Arabic equivalents—*sīhā* and *ṯīh*—identifies it with *Artemisia judaica* L, but allows that the Arabic word is used by Syriac lexicographers for various species. See also Wetzstein, *Reiseber.*, 41.

3. נְהָלִים, *nahālōlīm* (βαγάς, *foramina*, AV 'bushes,' RV 'pastures,' mg. 'bushes,' Is. 7 19†) is almost certainly connected with the root נהל, Ar. *nahala* (see Barth, *NB* 215), whose proper sense is that of leading cattle to the drinking-place. The noun, therefore, means 'drinking-places'—like Ar. *manhal* or *mawrid*. This is better than the more general rendering 'pastures.' 'Clefts' (𝔊, Vg.) rests on a false etymology; and 'bushes' (Saad. etc., AV) is seemingly due to conjecture (Ges. *Thes.*).

2. The 'burning bush.' The theophany in the bush (Ex. 3 2-4) is remarkable. Elsewhere the 'angel of Yahwè' is a theophany in human form; but here apparently (note *v.* 2*b* 3) the only special appearance is that of fire. The nearest parallel is Judg. 13 20, where the angel ascends in a flame of fire; but the human form of the appearance is there unmistakable. The story in the form which it assumes in Exodus appears to have resulted from a fusion of two widely current beliefs—that fire indicated the divine presence (see THEOPHANY, § 5), and that certain trees were the permanent abodes of deities. It seems probable from the character of the reference in Dt. 33 16 that there was current a different form of the story, according to which the bush was Yahwè's permanent dwelling; for the phraseology (שׁכני סנה, 'who dwelt in the bush') indicates the same permanency of the divine presence as was subsequently supposed to characterise the temple. Renan, however, would read שׁכני סיני, 'who dwells in Sinai' (cp *v.* 2), and certainly in Exodus the fiery appearance is clearly regarded as, like other theophanies, temporary. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 193 *f.*) cites some parallels from non-biblical sources, and argues that 'the original seat of a conception like the burning bush, which must have its physical basis in electrical phenomena, must prob-

[1] סנה occurs also as the proper name of a Rock, 1 S. 14 4 (see MICHMASH).

[2] Where 𝔊 (ἠχοῦντι, εὐήχων) has been led astray by the likeness of the word to the verb שׂיח; but Aq. and Sym. have φυτά (in *v.* 7 Sym. φυτὰ ἄγρια).

ably be sought in the clear dry air of the desert or of lofty mountains.' We need not rationalise and suppose a bush of the *nebk*, overgrown with the *Loranthus acaciae*, which has an abundance of fire-red blossoms (so the botanist traveller Kotschy, in Furrer's art. 'Dorn,' *BL* 2 11). Cp further Baudissin, *Stud. zur sem. Religionsgesch.* 2 223; Jacob, *Altarab. Parallelen zum AT* 7 *f.* N. M., § 1; G. B. G., § 2.

BUSHEL (μοδιος, *modius*), a measure of capacity; Mt. 5 15 Mk. 4 21 Lk. 11 33.† See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BUTLER (מְשַׁקֶּה), Gen. 40 1 41 9; cp CUPBEARER, and see MEALS, § 11.

BUTTER (חֶמְאָה), Gen. 18 8. See MILK.

BUZ (בּוּז) 1. Second son of Nahor, Gen. 22 21 (Βαιζ [A] -ζ [L]). As Buz is mentioned in connection with Dedan and Tema in Jer. 25 23 (Ρωι [BN²AQ], -θ [N*], Βωζ [Q^mg.]), it must have been an Arabian people. Buz and Hazo (*q.v.*) are connected by Del. (*Par.* 307; Riehm's *HWB*(2), 124) with the Bāzū and Hazū of the annals of Esarhaddon (Budge, *Hist. of Esarh.* 59-61, *KB*, 2 130 *f.*), two districts not to be exactly identified, but evidently in close proximity to N. Arabia. Esarhaddon's description of the land of Bāzū is not an inviting one; it was a desolate, snake-haunted region. Probably Buz should be vocalised Bōz (
accord with Bāzū and the vowels αι and ω in
forms (cp Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Sept.* 116).
2. A Gadite (ζαβουλων [B], Βουζ [L], Αχιβουζ [A];
1), 1 Ch 5 14†

BUZI (בּוּזִי), probably a gentilic; see BUZ), fa
the prophet EZEKIEL (*q.v.*, § 1), Ez. 1 3 [2] (Βο
[BAQ], πεφαγλισμενος [Q^mg.]).

BUZITE (בּוּזִי), ο βουζ[ε]ιτης [BN^c], ο του
[A]; 𝔊^LMAC adds της αυς[ε]ιτιδος χωρα
gentilic noun from BUZ (*q.v.*), applied to ELIH
fourth speaker in the poem of Job (Job 32 2),
also said to have been 'of the family of Ram.'
the fact that Ram is the name of a Judahite fam
which Boaz and David are said to have belonged
4 19 21), and that an Elihu appears in 1 Ch. 27
'one of the brethren of David,' Derenbourg (*R*
conjectures that 'Buzite' should rather be 'Boz
'Boazite' (בּוֹעִזִי). To complete this theory Elihu
it would seem, to be David's brother. Unfortu
'Elihu' in 1 Ch. 27 18 is most probably corrupt,
even if not, 'brethren' is a vague and uncertain
(see ELIHU, 2). Moreover, dramatic propriety nat
suggested the description of Elihu as an Aramaean
RAM (*q.v.*, 2) is probably a fictitious name, like
and Barachel.
T. K.

C

CAB, RV **Kab** (קַב; καβοι [BAL]), 2 K. 6 25†, a dry measure, one-sixth of a seah (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). So at least Jewish authorities (see Buxtorf, *s.v.* קַב); but in this passage קַב ('cab') is probably a scribe's error for כֹּר ('cor'). See DOVE'S DUNG, HUSKS.

CABBON (כַּבּוֹן, χαβρα [BA], χαββω [L]), an unidentified city in the lowland of Judah, mentioned between Eglon and Lahmas (Josh. 15 40). It is possibly the same as the MACHBENA—AV MACHBENAH (מַכְבֵּנָא; μαχαβηνα [B], -αμηνα [A], μαχβανα [L])—mentioned among the Calebite towns enumerated in 1 Ch. 2 49, and may perhaps be represented by the present *el-Kubeibeh*, lying between Kh. 'Ajlān and Kh. el-Lahm, sites that have been proposed for Eglon and Lahmas.

CABINS (חֲנִיּוֹת), Jer. 37 16†, AV; RV CELLS (*q.v.*).

CABUL (כָּבוּל; χωβα [μασομελ] [B], χαβωλ [A], χο. [L]), a town in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19 27), the χαβωλω (variants -[ν], -βολ., -βαλ., γαμαλων) mentioned by Josephus (*Vit.* 43, 44, 45) as a village on the confines of Ptolemais, 40 stadia from Jotapata (modern Jefāt), may safely be identified with the modern *Kābūl*, 236 ft. above sea-level, 9 m. SE. from Acco. It is probably the χαβουλων (but other codd. read ζαβουλων), which Josephus (*BJ* 3 3) gives as on the sea coast of Tyre and forming the E. frontier of Lower Galilee. The name was current at the time of the Crusaders as Cabor or Cabour, a fief presented in 1186 to Count Joscelin by King Baldwin IV., and it gave its name to a family (Rey, *Colonies Franques en Syrie*).

In 1 K. 9 10-13 it is told how Solomon, on the completion of his buildings in Jerusalem to which Hiram contributed, gave to the latter 'twenty cities in the land of Galilee,' but Hiram was dissatisfied with them and 'they were called the land of Cabul unto this day' (Heb. אֶרֶץ כָּבוּל, 𝔊^BAL δρον for גָּבוּל; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 5 3, χαβαλων, described as bordering on Tyre; *c.* *Ap.*
χαβουλων, 'a piece of land in Galilee').[1] For the s
ment of Josephus that in Phœnician the name m
'unpleasing' (*οὐκ ἀρέσκον*) there is no evidence.
the true explanation ought not to be far away.
could recover it we should see that the popular wit
not so poor as Hiller, Ewald, and Thenius supp
(כְּבוֹל = כְּבֶל, 'as nought'). Cheyne (*PSB.1*, 21
['99]) would correct 'land of Cabul' into 'lan
Zebulun'; וכבולן may have been written 'וכבול, and w
the mark of abbreviation had been lost, some lea
scribe may have corrected וכבול into כבול. The witti
would be like that which explained Beelzebul as '
of dung,' and 'Izebel as 'what dung' (see BEELZEB
JEZEBEL); it would be a new popular etymology
Zebulun. The 'twenty cities,' on this hypothesis, w
in the lower part of the Gālīl, which, in the tim
Josephus, and probably also when 1 K. 9 11-1
edited, extended as far as Χαβουλων or Cabul.
course the writer does not mean to say that the
Zebulon was now given for the first time: he only
a new justification for the name. For a less p
view (כבול corrupted from גליל; cp גֵּלָל, 'dung'
Klostermann. (Cp also Bottg., *Topogr.-hist.*
Josephus, *s.v.* 'Chalabon.') By its own evidence
this day') the story, in its present form, is by no
contemporary with the events with which it deals.
The Chronicler, whose views would not allow him
the cession of a part of the Holy Land to the Gentile
the story as to make it appear that it was Hiram w
cities to Solomon'! (2 Ch. 8 2). The AV transl
attempted to reconcile this with the story in Kings by
'gave' 'restored' (RV 'had given').

CADDIS, RV GADDIS (ΓΑΔΔΙΣ [AV], -ει [N]
name of JOANNAN (1 Macc. 2 2). See MACCA
i §§ 1 3.

CADES, RV KEDESH (κηδεσ [AN], κεδ. [V
1 Macc. 11 63). See KEDESH, 3.

[1] A scholiast (Field's *Hex.*, *l.c.*) interprets כבול by

CADES-BARNE (καδης βαρνη [BNA]), Judith 5 14 AV; RV Kadesh-Barnea.

CADMIEL (καδμιηλου [A]), 1 Esd. 5 26 AV, RV Kadmiel.

CÆSAR (καισαρ [Ti. WH]) is used in the NT as a title of Augustus (Lk. 2 1) and Tiberius (*ib.* 3 1). The latter emperor is, moreover, the 'Cæsar' of Mt 22 17 *ff.* Mk. 12 14 *ff.* Lk. 20 22 *ff.* (cp 23 2) and Jn. 19 12 *ff.* Claudius Cæsar is named in Acts 11 28 (AV, but RV om. Cæsar with Ti. WH), and is alluded to in Acts 17 7. The 'Cæsar' of Paul (Acts 25 8 *ff.* 26 32 27 24 28 19) is Nero, whose 'household' is mentioned in Phil. 4 22 (οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας). The reference here is hardly to members of his family, but, as in the case of Stephanas in 1 Cor. 16 15, to the *familia* or household slaves. See further APOCALYPSE, § 43 *ff.*, ISRAEL, §§ 87-115.

CÆSAREA. 1. **Cæsarea Palæstinæ** (καισαρια [Ti. WH], -εια [Jos.]; in Talm. קיסרי, mod. Arab. *El-Kaisâriyeh*), the only real port south of Carmel, was built by Herod the Great (on the name, see § 3) in time for it to become the capital of the Roman province of Judæa, and to play the great part in the passage of Christianity westward from Palestine which is described in Acts. The site was that of a Phœnician (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 4) settlement with a fortification called the Tower of Straton (Στράτωνος Πύργος)—a Hellenic form of a Phœnician proper name, Astartyaton (Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phön.* 81; Hildesheimer, *Beitr. z. Geog. Palest.* 4 *ff.*, where the variant reading מגדל שיר or שיר, 'Devil's-Tower,' given in Talmud B *Shebiith*, vi. 1 36, and in Talmud B *Megilla* is explained as a Jewish nickname for a town called after a worshipper of Astarte). There was, according to Strabo, a landing-place (πρόσορμον ἔχων). At the end of the second century B.C., the town was under a 'tyrant,' Zoilus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 12 2); but Alexander Jannæus took it for the Jews, along with the other coast towns (*ib.* 15). These were enfranchised by Pompey and made subject to the province of Syria (*id.* xiv. 4 4). After the Battle of Actium they were presented to Herod the Great along with Samaria and other places by Augustus (*id.* xv. 7 3). Up to this time Herod had confined his building designs to the E. side of the Central Range. Now, however, in alliance with Rome, he came over the watershed, and out of Samaria built himself a capital which he called after his patron, Sebastè. Requiring for this a seaport that should keep him in touch with Rome, he chose Straton's Tower as the nearest suitable site to Sebastè. He laid the lines of a magnificent city, which took him twelve years to build (*id.* xv. 9 6; 'ten years,' xvi. 5 1).

1. Earlier history.

2. Rebuilt by Herod.

Josephus describes the thorough and lavish architecture.

In the usual Greek fashion, there were palaces, temple, theatre, amphitheatre, and many arches and altars. There were also vaults for draining the city—as carefully constructed as the buildings above ground. A breakwater 200 ft. wide was formed in 20 fathoms depth by dropping enormous stones. The south end was connected by a mole with the shore, and the mouth of the harbour looked N., the prevailing winds on this coast being from the SW. (*id.* xv. 9 6; *BJ* i. 21 5-8). To-day the remains of the breakwater are 160 yards from shore, and the mouth of the harbour measures 180 yards (*PEF Mem.*).

Herod called his city, like Sebastè, after Augustus, Καισάρεια Σεβαστή, and his harbour Λιμὴν Σεβαστός. When Cæsarea Philippi was built (see below, § 2), Herod's seaport came to be distinguished from it by the names Καισάρεια παράλιος, Κ. ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῷ Λιμένι (on a coin of Nero, De Saulcy, *Numis. de la Terre Sainte*, 110), and even Κ. ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, and Cæsarea Palæstinæ. The name of Straton survived long (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11 4, Strab. xvi., Epiphanius *De pond. et mens.* 125, Ptol. v. 16). The Talmud calls the city after the harbour, Leminah.

3. Names.

Cæsarea became the virtual capital of all Palestine.

'Cæsarea Judææ caput est,' says Tacitus (*Hist.* 2 78). It was thoroughly Roman; the Talmud (*B Megillah*, 6a) calls it daughter of Edom, the mystic name for Rome. The Procurator lived there; there was an Italian garrison (Acts 10 1; cp CORNELIUS, § 1); and in the temple there were two statues of Augustus and of Rome.[1] Though there were many Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 7; *BJ* ii. 13 7 14 *f.* iii. 9 1), the inhabitants were mainly Gentile.

4. A Roman city.

Here, then, very fitly, was poured out upon the Gentiles the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts 10 45). There had been a Christian congregation from the earliest possible time. Philip, one of the seven Deacons, took up his residence there (Acts 8 40; cp 21 8 16). About 41 A.D. there came to a Roman centurion CORNELIUS (*q.v.*) a divine message to send to Joppa for Peter, who was prepared for this by a vision which taught him that God would make clean all that the Jewish law had hitherto prohibited as unclean. Peter came to Cæsarea, made the profound and decisive acknowledgment that God accepts in every nation him 'that feareth him and worketh righteousness,' preached Jesus, saw the descent of the Spirit upon the little Gentile company, and baptized them (Acts 10). This proved the turning-point in the opinion of the church at Jerusalem (chap. 11), and prepared the way for the acceptance of the missionary labours of Paul, to which from this stage onwards the Book of Acts is devoted.

5. NT references.

Cæsarea is next mentioned as the scene of the awful death of Herod Agrippa I. (12 19), to whose government it had been given over; some of its coins bear his superscription (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 133, 136). After him it passed again to the Roman procurator of Judæa, and became the chief garrison of the troops under him. Paul arrived at Cæsarea on his voyage from Ephesus (Acts 18 22), and there he was tried with a fairness and security that were impossible in Jerusalem (chap. 25). The contrast between the two cities, which is so evident in this story, proves how thoroughly Roman and imperial Cæsarea was. Besides receiving so fair a trial, Paul, during his two years of residence in the town, was not threatened by the Jews, as he had been in Jerusalem. From the harbour of Cæsarea Paul sailed on his voyage to Italy (27 1).

The subsequent history of the town is soon told. Contests between its Jewish and Gentile inhabitants led to, and were among the first incidents of, the great revolt of the Jews against Rome, 66 *ff.* A.D. (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 7 9; *BJ* ii. 13 7 14 *f.* 18 1 vii. 8 7). Vespasian made the town his headquarters, and was there proclaimed emperor in 69. He established there a colony, but without the 'jus Italicum,' under the title Prima Flavia Augusta Cæsarea, to which, under Alexander Severus, was added Metropolis Provinciæ Syriæ Palestinæ (Pliny, *HN* v. 13 69; and coins in De Saulcy, *Num. de la T.S.* 112 *ff.* pl. vii.). This determined the rank of Cæsarea in the subsequent organisation of the Church. Its bishop became the Metropolitan of Syria; Eusebius occupied the office from 315 to 318. Origen had made it his home. Procopius was born there. When the Arabs came it was still the headquarters of the commander of the imperial troops; in 638 it was occupied by 'Abu 'Obeida. Like all the coast towns, it lost under Arab domination the supremacy which the Greek masters of Syria, in their necessity for a centre of power on the sea, had bestowed upon it. It became a country town, known only for its agricultural produce (Le Strange, *Lands under the Moslems*, 474). The advent of a western power with the Crusaders revived it for a little; Baldwin II. took it in 11 [illegible], and fortified it; the [illegible] remains are mostly of Crusaders' masonry. Saladin [illegible] it in 1187, Richard I. in 1191; and St. Louis added [illegible] fortifications. It was finally demolished by the Sultan Baibars in 1265, and since his time has lain in ruin. (See further on Josephus's Caesarea, *Pal.* 670 *ff.*; Schürer, *Hist.* 4 14 *ff.*; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* [illegible]).

6. Later history.

2 **Cæsarea Philippi** (καισαρ[ε]ια η φιλιππου, both in NT [Ti. WH] and Jos.), so called after its founder, PHILIP (see HERODIAN FAMILY, 6) the tetrarch, son of Herod, to whom the district was granted in 4 B.C., occupied a site which had been of the utmost religious

7. Site of C. Philippi.

[1] Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, 32, mentions the Σεβαστεῖοι.

and military importance from remote antiquity. Just under the S. buttress of Hermon, at the head of the Jordan valley, about 1150 ft. above the sea, is a high cliff of limestone ('from 100 to 150 ft.' Robinson, *I BR* 400) reddened by the water, infused with iron, that oozes over it from above. A cavern occupies the lower part of the cliff filled with the debris of its upper portion, and from this debris there breaks one of the sources of the Jordan. It is probably the sanctuary known as BAAL-GAD (*q.v.*) or Baal-hermon.[1] Close by is a steep hill, crowned with the ruins of a mediæval castle, Kal'at es-Subeibeh, and at its foot the miserable village of Banias. Probably here (GASm. *HG* 480), rather than at Tell el-Kadi, the site favoured by most authorities, lay the city of Laish that was afterwards DAN (*q.v.*).

8. Its history and name.

The place must have been early occupied by the Greeks, both because of its sanctity, and because of its strategical position. Polybius (16 18 2 8 1) mentions it as the scene of the great battle in which Antiochus the Great won Palestine from the Ptolemies. The Greeks displaced the worship of Baal by that of Pan.

The cave, in which there is still legible an inscription, Ηανι τῷ καὶ Νυμφαίῳ, was called τὸ Πανεῖον (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10 3, *BJ* i. 21 3 iii. 10 7), a name afterwards extended to the whole hill (Plus. *HE* 7 17). The village and the country around were designated by a feminine form of the same adjective, Πανιάς or Πανεάς (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 1 xv. 10 3 xvii. 8 1, etc.; Pliny, v. 18 74).

In 20 B.C. Herod, having received the district from Augustus on the death of Zenodōrus, the previous lord of these parts (*Ant.* xv. 10 3 *BJ* i. 21 3), built a temple to Augustus and set in it the emperor's bust. The first year that it came into his possession, 3-2 B.C., Philip the Tetrarch founded his new town, and called it Cæsarea after Augustus (*Ant.* xviii. 2 1 *BJ* ii. 9 1; coins in De Saulcy, *Num. de la T.S.* 313 *ff.* pl. xviii.). So it came to be known as Philip's Cæsarea (*Ant.* xx. 9 1), or as Cæsarea Panias (see the coins). When Philip died the Romans administered the district directly, both before Agrippa I. to whom it was given, and in the interval between him and Agrippa II., who embellished it and changed the official designation to Νέρωνιάς in honour of Nero (*Ant.* xx. 9 4). The town's full title was 'Cæsarea Sebasti, Sacred and with Rights of Sanctuary under Pancion' (De Saulcy, pl. xviii. 8). Later the name Cæsarea was dropped and Paneas survived, the Arabs when they came changing it to its present form of Banias. A shrine of El-Khidr (= Elias = St. George) now occupies the site of the temple to Augustus.

Cæsarea Philippi is twice mentioned in the Gospels. Jesus is said to have come not to the town itself, but to the parts (τὰ μέρη, Mt. 16 13) or villages thereof (Mk. 8 27). Probably he avoided it as he avoided other Gentile centres (*e.g.*, Tiberias) established by the Herods, but in the great saying which he is said to have uttered in this neighbourhood, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my church,' it is possible to see some reference by contrast to the heathen worship founded upon that cliff of immemorial sanctity above the source of Jordan.

9. NT references.

In the Jewish war Vespasian rested his troops in Cæsarea (Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 7), and in celebration of the close of the war Titus and Agrippa II. exhibited shows on a large scale (*ib.* vii. 2 1). In Christian times Cæsarea Philippi was the seat of a bishop; and Eusebius (*HE* 6 18) relates that the woman whom Christ healed of an issue of blood (Lk. 8 43) was a native of the town, where a statue commemorated her cure. Castle and town were the subject of frequent contests by both sides during the Crusades. For further details see Reil, *Pal.* 'Paneas'; Schürer, *Hist.* iii. 132; Stanley, *SP* 391; GASm. *HG* 473 *ff.* G. A. S.

CAGE. Cages (or rather wicker-baskets, cp Am. 8 2) for confining birds in are mentioned twice in EV (see FOWLS, § 10): (1) in Jer. 5 27 the houses of the wicked are as full of (the grains of) deceit as a cage (כְּלוּב *kĕlûb* = κλωβός, AV^mg. 'coop,' παγίς [BℵAQ]) is full of birds; and (2) in Eccles. 11 10 the heart of a proud man is like a decoy partridge in a cage (or basket: ὡς τὸν ἐν τῷ κλωβῷ [BℵA], cp Ar. *kirtallun*, a fruit-basket; cage (כֶּלֶא) for lions also is mentioned in Ezek. 19 9 (see LION).

(3) φυλακή, rendered 'hold' and 'cage' in Rev. 18 2 'hold'), denotes rather a prison (so RV).

CAIAPHAS (ΚΑΙΑΦΑΣ [Tℵ], ΚΑΙΑΦΑΣ [W ΚΑΪΦΑΣ [C Dabc]), Mt. 26 3 Lk. 3 2 Jn 18 13, or perh Caiphas. See ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS.

CAIN (קַיִן; [ΖΑ]ΚΑΝΑΕΙΜ [B], [ΖΑΝΩ] ΑΚΕΙΜ *i.e.*, קַיִן: קָנִין [A], [ΖΑΝΟΥ] ΑΚΕΝ [L]), a town the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 57), may possibly the mod. *Yakin*, 3 m. SE. from Hebron (*PEFMem* 3 12, 371; but see GASm. *HG* 278). Cp AMALEK, §

CAIN (קַיִן; ΚΑΙΝ [ADEL], *CAIN*). In Gen. 4 have accounts of two different Cains, linked together the editor. The proof of this will be briefly indica below (§§ 2-4); it will be convenient to treat first more ancient and simpler of the two stories.

1. The city-builder of Gen. 4 17 *ff.* 5 9 *ff.*

1. Cain is the name of the hero who in Gen. 4 represented as the founder of the of Enoch[1] (Hanōk). The name evidently comes from an early, though a genuine Hebrew, tradition; and document (5 9 *ff.*) gives it as CAINAN (*q.v.*). Its meanings are 'smith,' 'artificer' (Ar. *kain*, *kainun*);[2] for the connection with *kanah*, 'to prod (also 'to acquire'), suggested in Gen. 4 1,[3] is philo cally difficult. The more general sense 'artificer' best for Cain the city-builder, and the more special 'smith' for the second part of the compound Tubal-cain. Both these names are attached to here who at the outset of the tradition must have possess a divine character (see CAINITES, §§ 5, 10).

2. The nomad of Gen. 4 2*b*-16.

2. The central figure of the narrative in Gen. 4 also is called Cain.

The story has come to us in a somewhat abbreviated form. Its substance follows. Once upon a time Cain and brother Abel sacrificed to Yahwè. Cain, being a husbandman, brought of the fruits of the ground; Abel, as a shepherd offered the fat parts of some of his first-born lambs (cp Nu. 18 Both, as was usual in ancient religion, looked for a visible that their gifts were accepted. What the expected sign was the sanctuary to which they resorted, we are not told (cp WRS *Kin. Sem.*(2) 173), and we may pass over later conjectures. At any rate, we learn that only Abel's sacrifice was accepted (Ant. i. [i.]). Now Cain, had he been wise, would have deme himself humbly towards Abel, for who can say to God, What doest thou? (Job 9 12). Instead of this, he cherished thoughts,[4] as an oracle, perhaps sought by Cain, warned 'And Yahwè said to Cain, Why art thou wroth? and wh thy countenance fallen? Surely, if thou doest well, thou lift up thy head, and if thou doest not well, thy sin must it to fall: from irritating words abstain, and thou take he thyself? And Cain quarrelled with his brother Abel, and they were in the open country . . .; and Cain assaulted brother Abel, and slew him.' Then follows a fresh oracle, containing a curse upon Cain, who is condemned, not only to banishment (cp Hom. *Il.* 2 α 5), but also to a life of restless wandering. The curse, however, is mitigated by the promise of protection against outrage, by means of a 'sign' which indicate that Cain is under the care of Yahwè.

According to the older commentators, with which

[1] Once corruptly BAAL-HAMON (*q.v.*)

[1] See, however, col. 623, note 3.

[2] Dr. and Del. support this etymology by the very doubtful קינו commonly rendered 'his spear' (so ⊕BAL), 2 Sam. 2 where a better reading is קִינוֹ, 'his helmet' (Kau. *HS*, P H. P. Smith, after Klo.).

[3] Eve exclaims, קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יהוה, *i.e.* 'I have wrought, or produced, a man with the help of Yahwè.' This can hardly be right; אֶת is too vague, and the variations of the commentators prove their dissatisfaction with the text. On Marti see col. 621, n. 2. Considering that קָנָה is one of the words meaning 'to create' (see CREATION, § 30), we may assume that in the pride of her motherhood, likens herself to her God 'I have created a man even as Yahwè.' Targ. Onk. reads אתא. This is nearer the truth. אתא probably comes from אתיה לי fell out, and ת was confounded with ה (cp Jer. 14 15).

[4] Che. *Exp. T.*, July 1899; cp Box, *ib.*, June 1899, and Ball (*SBOT*).

even Delitzsch must be grouped, this is the same Cain as the builder of the first city, and he is also the first-born son of the first man. This view is critically untenable (see CAINITES, § 2), mainly on account of the improbabilities of the course of events which it assumes.

3. Not son of 'Adam.'

The first man has been, as we know, driven out of Paradise for transgressing a divine command. According to the traditional view, however, his first-born son Cain is so little impressed by the punishment that he murders his own brother. More than this, he becomes the direct ancestor of another murderer, who apparently goes unpunished, and who is also (contrary to the spirit of [illegible]) a polygamist. Now note another point. The original dwelling of Cain [illegible] suppose was that of the first man and his wife after their expulsion from Paradise, to the east of the garden of Eden (Gen. 3 24), but in a cultivated and well-peopled land where Yahwè is worshipped with sacrifices, and holds familiar intercourse with men (even with Cain) apparently S. Palestine (on 4 16 see later). Nor is the very curse upon the ground which Cain tills; it is his own self-imposed curse that drives him unwindingly into the land of wandering [illegible] into the desert. There, however, without any explanation, he sets up his unsettled life, [illegible] further in circumstances than before. He builds a 'city.' This is not to be explained by the ingenious remark that even nomad tribes in Arabia have central market stations (Ar. *ḥaraja*, plur. *ḥurag*). For 'city' is evidently used as a general term; Cain is as much a city-builder as Nimrod, indeed (by as such or, upon Buddhist theories, as the father of a city-builder) could he find a place in the Hebrew legend of civilisation. How are these inconsistent statements to be reconciled? Every possible way has been tried and has failed. It was high time to apply the key of analysis; and no one who has once done this will wish to return to past theories (see CAINITES, § 2).

It may be assumed, then, that the story of Cain and Abel once had an independent existence, and circulated

4. Origin of story.

at one of the sanctuaries of Southern Palestine. It is probably not a borrowed Canaanitish myth, but an independent Israelitish attempt to explain the strange phenomena of nomad life—the perpetual wandering in the desert and the cruelly excessive development of the custom (in itself a perfectly legitimate one, according to the Israelites) of vengeance for bloodshed. As Robertson Smith (following Wellhausen) rightly remarks, Cain is the embodiment of 'the old Hebrew conception of the lawless nomad life, where only the blood-feud prevents the wanderer in the desert from falling a victim to the first man who meets him,' and the mark which Yahwè sets on Cain's person for his protection is 'the *sharp* or tribal mark (cp [illegible]), without which the ancient form of blood-feud, as the affair of a whole stock, however scattered, and not of near relatives alone, could hardly have been worked'[2] (cp KINSHIP, § 1 *f.*, and CUTTINGS, § 1). Now we can guess why the nomad of the story is called

5. Source of name.

Cain; Cain is the eponym of the Kenites (who are in fact called [illegible]; but cp AMALEK, § 6 *f.*), whose close alliance with the Israelites and location in the wilderness of Judah are well known. That the Kenites should be so well acquainted with a more civilised mode of life, and yet adhere to their nomadic customs, was a surprise to the Israelites,[3] and the story of Cain and Abel grew up to account for it. Nothing but a curse seemed to explain this inveterate repugnance to city life, and a curse implied guilt; while the unbridled vindictiveness of the nomads (see GOEL, § 2 *f.*) was explicable only by a compassionate command of Yahwè, who after all was the God of the Kenites as well as of the Israelites, so that the distinguishing mark of this tribe was also a sign that its members worshipped Yahwè and were under his protection. Cain, then, represents the nomad tribe best known to the Israelites. He is contrasted with Abel (*i.e.* the 'herdman'; see ABEL [i. j]), because the pastoral

[1] Halevy, *RÉJ* 14 12.

[2] W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 215 *f.*; cp Stade, *ZATW* 14, 2[illegible] *ff.* [illegible] Marti (*Z. f. Contrab.bl.* May 22, 1[illegible]) finds a [illegible] reference to this mark in Gen. 4 1, pointing [illegible], and rendering 'I have acquired a man, a bearer of the sign of Yahwè.' [illegible] Zeydner [*ZATW* 18 120 *ff.* (98)]; but the sign is surely not circumcision. See Stade, *op. cit.* 267.

[3] Ewald suggested this (*Hist.* 1 271). The theory is most fully worked out by Stade, not, however, without extravagances (see AMALEK, § 7).

life, when compared with a fixed domicile, seemed to the Israelites the good one. That the Kenites themselves would have [illegible] the patronage of their eponym is not probable. [illegible] represented him with some of the [illegible] of social origin. We [illegible] Nebuchadnezzar (*PSBA* 11 [illegible]) [illegible] Abel as a freeman of Kenite [illegible].

To the members of the [illegible] who worked up the two [illegible] further we owe the [illegible] and the [illegible] in [illegible]. The [illegible] of the latter [illegible] in the poem [illegible] 78 'land of wandering' derived personal [illegible] from the old tradition into a prosaic project [illegible] by Sayce and [illegible] the Mar[illegible] [illegible], the [illegible] of Kenites and [illegible]. The [illegible] narrator meant [illegible] land between Judah and Edom, where [illegible].

[illegible] Stade's essay, 'Die Kenites' [illegible] Lane [illegible] Cp Hommel, 'Israel in Qain,' *ZATW* 7 pp [illegible]

T. K. C.

CAINAN, or rather, as in 1 Ch 1 2 and RV, KENAN (קֵינָן), KAINAN (ΚΑΙΝΑΝ), the son of Enoch (Gen. 5 9-14). That Kenan is a [illegible] has been shown already (see ENAN, § 1), Cain and Kenan are formed from one name (cp Lot and Lotan), [illegible] or קין, it may be added, is the name [illegible] in Himyaritic inscriptions (*ZDMG* 31 86; *CIS* 4, no. 20; WRS, *Kel. Sem.*[2] 43).

A son of Arphaxad in (ΚΑΙΝΑΝ) of Gen. 10 24 (Kaisan [M]) 11 13, and therefore in Lk. 3 36. The name is [illegible] tion, made in order to bring out ten members [illegible] Gen. 11 10-26. The real tenth from Noah, however, is Lot, the father of Abraham.

T. K. C.

CAINITES, the name generally given to the descendants of Cain mentioned in Gen. 4 17-24. The

1. Hebrew Tradition.

tradition, as Ewald said long ago, is the commencement and the native soil of all narrative and of all history, and its circle tends continually to expand, as the curiosity of a people awakens to fresh objects, and as foreign traditions are intermixed with those of home growth. Questions about the origins of things are especially prone to crowd into the circle of tradition, and, when the various traditions respecting remote antiquity come to be arranged, it is natural to connect them by a thread of genealogy. There is a real, though but half-conscious, sense among the arrangers that what is being produced is not history but a working substitute for it, and so there is the less scruple in taking considerable liberties with the form of the traditions, many of which indeed, being of diverse origin, are inconsistent. The Hebrew traditionists, in particular, were evidently filled with a desire to bring the traditions into harmony with the purest Hebrew spirit. In minor matters they agree with the traditionists of other nations: in particular they limit the superabundant material for genealogies by the use of round numbers, especially ten.

Much progress has been made in the study of Gen. 4 and 5 since Ewald's time; but that profound critic has

2. Gen. 4 17-24.

the credit of having already noticed that the story of Cain and Abel is not as early as the genealogy which follows. This conclusion may now be taken as settled: Gen. 4 [illegible] and 17-24 are, generally speaking, derived from [illegible] traditional sources.[1] Both sections are indeed Yahwistic; but the tone and character of their contents is radically different.

The true meaning of Gen. 4 17-24 was seen first by Wellhausen. The section contains [illegible] of an Israelitish legend which took no reference to the destruction of the old order of things by a deluge and traced the

[1] See Wellh. *JDT* 1 [illegible] p. [illegible] (*CHI* 10 *f.*), who was followed by WRS, *EB* [illegible] Cheyne (*Orig.*) and Chas. (*EBO*), art. 'Deluge' [illegible] So Rye, *Early Narrat.* [illegible]

beginnings of the existing civilisations. The legend is largely based on nature-myths, for the Hebrews were not as unmythological as Renan once supposed. Their myths, however, were to a large extent borrowed when the Hebrews stepped into the inheritance of Canaanitish culture, they could not help adopting in part the answers which the Canaanites had given to the question, 'Whence came civilisation?'

3 Canaanitish Culture-legend.

The Canaanitish culture-legend is unhappily lost; but the fragments of Philo of Byblus (Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 3 566 *f.*), when critically treated, reveal some of the elements of two Phœnician culture-legends, in one of which the invention of the useful arts and of occupations was ascribed to divine beings, whilst in the other it was ascribed to men (Gruppe, *Die griech. Culte u. Mythen*, 1 97 *ff.*; cp PHŒNICIA). Bérossus, too, as far as we can judge from fragmentary reports, appears to have accounted for knowledge of the arts by a series of manifestations of a divine being called Oannes, which took place in the days of the first seven antediluvian kings of Babylon (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 1 588 *f.*). This substantially agrees with the statements of the tablets that the bringers of culture were the great gods, such as Ea, 'the lord of wisdom,' and his more active firstborn son Marduk (Merodach), the creator. A striking confirmation of this is supplied by the mythic story translated by Pinches [see CREATION, § 16 (c)], where Marduk is said to have made, not only the Tigris and the Euphrates, but also cities and temples.[1] City-building is in fact everywhere one of the characteristic actions of humanised nature-deities (Osiris, Jemshid, etc.), and it would be inevitable that the civilised Canaanites should trace the origin of cities to semi-divine heroes (ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* 12 23), if not to the creator himself. Still, though the Canaanitish culture-myth is lost, we may be sure of one point—viz., that it was largely influenced by Babylonian myths, the supremacy of Babylonian culture in Palestine at a remote age being amply proved by the Amarna tablets.

4. List of Berossus.

When, therefore, we find in Bérossus[2] a list of ten antediluvian kings at the head of the mythic history of Babylonia, it is not unnatural to suppose that the genealogy of the ten patriarchs in Gen. 5, to which the shorter one in Gen. 4 is so closely allied, is derived from it, and to attempt conjectural identifications of the Hebrew and of the Hellenised Babylonian names. This course, which has been adopted by Hommel, the present writer does not think it prudent to take, (1) because we are ignorant of the phases through which the Berossian list has passed, and (2) because of the violent hypotheses to which this course would often drive us.

5. Cain.

By taking the Hebrew names, however, one by one, and using Babylonian clues, it does not seem hopeless to reach probable results. CAIN, for instance—the name which meets us first—means 'artificer.' Can we avoid regarding this as the translation of a title of the divine demiurge, borrowed from Babylonia through the medium of the Canaanites?

6. Enoch.

Moreover since ENOCH, the son of Cain, evidently belongs to the same legend, and indeed shares with his father the honour of the foundation of the first city[3] (to which his own name is given), we cannot hesitate to regard Enoch too as of divine origin. This view, indeed, is as good as proved if the statements

[1] *KB*[2] 6 110; Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpf.* 125. Cp these lines (Obv. 37, 38, 4 [illegible]):

Lord Merodach [constructed the house], he built the city,
[He built the city of Nippur], he built E-kura, the temple,
He built the city Erech, he built E-anna, the temple.

[2] *Fragm.* ix.-xi. in Lenormant, *Essai de Comm. sur Bérose*, 241-251.

[3] Or did Enoch not rather build the city himself? So Bu[illegible] who emends בשם בנו, 'after his son's name,' into בשמו, 'after his own name' (*ZATW* [illegible] 125 *ff.*), thus making 'Enoch' the subject of the verbs 'built' and 'called.'

in Gen. 5 22-24 (P) are traditional! We are told that Enoch lived 365 years (a solar number), 'walked with God, and (then) disappeared, for God took him.' The number is attested (like to the Hebrew Sam. and the LXX text, and even if we do not stress on that, the phrases quoted seem more like primitive, and imply that, in the original story, Enoch was a semi-divine hero who, at the end of his earthly days, was taken to the paradise of Ea. When, too, we consider the clear parallelism between Enoch and Noah, and between Noah and Nisuthrus, Pûr-napištim (the hero of the Babylonian Flood story; see DELUGE, § 21), it becomes reasonable to identify Enoch with Pûr-napištim's great visitor in Paradise, who went there to obtain healing for his leprosy (see [illegible]). Enoch's name is perhaps most correctly read Gilgames, like Enoch, is a divine hero, whether we regard him as a hero who becomes a god (as more plausibly) as a god who becomes a hero, is a matter of indifference—and like Enoch he is associated with the sun.[4] As Enoch in the Hebrew tradition is the ancestor of Noah, so (inverting the relation) Pûr-napištim, the Babylonian Noah, is the ancestor of Gilgames. The latter is said to have crossed the waters of death to pay a visit to Pûr-napištim in Paradise, and we may presume that, in the earlier form of the Hebrew narrative, his counterpart (whose original name was certainly not Noah) received the same reward as Enoch, 'walking with God.' Both Pûr-napištim and Enoch are distinguished for their piety, and not only Gilgames, but also Enoch (as we may infer from the emended text of Ezek. 28 3), and as is expressly stated in the *Book of Enoch*, which has a substratum of genuine, even if turbid, tradition),[5] has been initiated into secret lore and knows both the past and the future. Lastly, Enoch gave his name to the city of Enoch, which at any rate implies lordship (cp 'city of David,' 2 S. 5 7, 9, 'city of Sennacherib,' *KB* 2 89; and see 2 S. 12 27); perhaps in the primitive myth was even represented as its builder. So Erech, of which the ideographic name is Unuki or Unuk (*i.e.* the dwelling), is incidentally called in the epic 'the city of Gilgames,' Gilgames being at once its king and (according to an old text) its builder.[7] Why the Hebrew compiler did not adopt Gilgames as well as Unuk from his Babylonian source, is a formant,[8] we cannot tell. The foundation of [illegible]

[1] It is plain that there must have been some fairly complete account of Enoch in Pre-exilic times. Indeed, the references in Is. 14 12-14 (emended text) imply such an account in exilic times. See ENOCH, § 1.

[2] The Chaldeans at first estimated the duration of the astronomical revolution of the sun at 365 days, afterwards at [illegible] days. To this they accommodated their civil year of [illegible] by means of an intercalated cycle (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, [illegible] 1 250). Cp YEAR, § [illegible].

[3] The Egyptian kings, as sons of Rē', were said (as early as the Pyramid Texts) to ascend to heaven, borne by the [illegible] griffin called *serref* (see SERAPHIM).

[4] We know from another text that Gilgames was the vice-[illegible] of the sun-god (Jeremias, *op. cit.* 3). Hommel makes Gilgames a form of Gibil the fire-god (Gibilgamis). On the epic of Gilgames see DELUGE, § 2, and Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chap. 23, p. 407 *ff.* [The present article was written before the appearance of Prof. Jastrow's work.]

[5] On the 'waters of death' in the legend see Maspero, Jeremias, 87. The same mythic stream is found in a mythological section of a psalm (Ps. 18 5 [4]), where the 'floods of Belial' (שטפי בליעל) are parallel to the 'floods of Perdition' (נחלי בליעל; see BELIAL, § 2). So Che., *Ps.* [illegible]

[6] On both points see ENOCH, § 2. Di. was before Ba. who, in 1[illegible], he admitted that the late legend of Enoch conceivably have some traditional basis (*Das Buch Henoch*, [illegible] xxvii).

[7] See Jeremias, *op. cit.* 12, and [illegible] from Hommel by Winckler (*Ge[illegible]*, [illegible] 1 [illegible]), in which he [illegible] the words 'the wards of Erech, the [illegible] building of Gilgames.

[8] The thesis here advocated is that David's Babylonian Shavsha brought several Babylonian elements into the Pentateuch, including that of the hero Gilgames, under the form of Enoch. He thus opened a fresh period of Babylonian influence on Palestine. Hilprecht's discoveries give more rational prospect to the identification of Enoch with Ea-[illegible], which was already proposed by Sayce in 1887 (*Hibb. Jour.* [illegible]).

extremely ancient [illegible] of Enoch [illegible] Hebrews, however, was at any rate well [illegible] in the Hebrew culture-legend. It [illegible] perfect western equivalent not improbable [illegible] once occupied a still more dignified position [illegible] the Babylonian Flood story (see NOAH [illegible]).

We take the next three names [illegible] evidently not a [illegible] but [illegible] name. [illegible] the first [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] king in the Hero-[illegible] list, [illegible] one of the great demi-[illegible] only demi-gods or extraordinary men. [illegible] appreciate the Hebrew culture-[illegible] ourselves that when the [illegible] help, been erected, there [illegible] for semi-divine men to do in trampling [illegible] and barbarians. The hunting expeditions of [illegible] who was [illegible] reduced from being a [illegible] god to the proportions of a heroic man, and then [illegible] to the divine component have [illegible] kernel. It is easy to believe [illegible] hero called METHUSAEL (מְתוּשָׁאֵל; as if מת אל, 'the hegeman of God'; Μαθουσαήλ [AL]; Μαθουσαλά [B], cp [illegible]), or, following the better reading of ⅋ (Μεθουσαήλ ('the hegeman of *Sarḫu*') [illegible] a king who taught men good laws and restrained wild animals and wild men.

Irad, Mehujael, Methuselah.

The origin of the first of these names [illegible] (so 1 Ch. 1 2 AV) or IARED [illegible] readings; Gen. 5 15) might indeed be an old portion of the Babylonian Arad in Arad-Sin (servant of Sin, the moon-god?), which would be a possible title of the hero Gilgameš (see tablet ix. of the epic). IRAD (עִירָד; Gen. 4 18) or rather Erad (cp ⅋ Ἐριδάδ; Ἐαιδαδ) is, however, text-critically a better reading, and to connect this with the city of Eridu[1] is not free from objections. Probably the word is based on a contraction of some Babylonian name. The next name, which is best read with Lagarde and Robertson Smith, not MEHUJAEL [illegible]) but Mahalalel, can be well explained by the [illegible] the Berossian hero-names Ἀμήλων, Ἀμιλλαρος. Mahalal is a Hebraised form of the common Babylonian word *amil*, 'man' (cp EVIL-MERODACH); the final syllable, *-el*, is a substitute for some Babylonian divine name. Selaḥ in METHUSELAH (מְתוּשֶׁלַח, Gen. 5 21 *ff.* 25 *ff.* 1 Ch. 1 3†; μαθουσαλά [AL], μαθθ. [B in 1 Ch. 1 3]; *Mathusala*) is doubtless Babylonian; it is reasonable to see in it a Hebraised form of *šarḫu*, 'brilliant' (Jensen) or 'gigantic, very strong' (Del.), which is an epithet of Gibil the fire-god, and Nimib (?) the god of the eastern sun.[2] One of the royal names in the Berossian list is Ἀμέμψιμος, which Friedr. Delitzsch and Hommel explain *Amil* (*Amêl*) *Sin*—*i.e.*, 'hegeman of Sin,'—and, with great probability, identify with Methuselah. The moon-god in fact well deserves the title *šarḫu*, and the traditional connection of the Hebrews with Haran and Ur makes some veiled references to the moon-god almost indispensable in the culture-legend.

8. Lamech.

Lamech (לֶמֶךְ; λαμεχ [BAL; Ti. WH]; *Lamech*; Gen. 4 18-24 5 25-31 1 Ch. 1 3 Lk. 3 36†) must have been an important personage in the old Hebrew culture-legend, for in the earlier of the genealogies not only his three sons, but also his two wives and his daughter, are mentioned by name. His own name admits of no explanation from the best-known Semitic languages, nor is it at all necessary that it should be specially appropriate for the barbaric eulogist of blood-vengeance who speaks in Gen. 4 23 *f.* It is a needless

[1] So Sayce (*Hib. Lect.* 185), who infers from Gen. 5 18 that Enoch (Unuk) received its earliest culture from Eridu. Gen. 4 18, however, makes Enoch the father of Irad.

[2] Jensen, *Kosmol.* 105, 464. So Hommel *Geog. Fr. Times* 8 (1), who adopts the form Sarraḫu (this is found with the determinative *ilu*, 'god').

[illegible] Lamech [illegible] Gen. [illegible] Lamech [illegible] Lamech [illegible] Lamech

should be noticed that *-cain* in Tubal-cain is wanting in 𝔊 (θοῦβελ [AEL]). Probably it was added to explain why the hero was regarded as the father of smiths. Tubal is, in fact, probably a pale form of the god of the solar fire, Gibil or Nusku; but, of course, he is not only a fire-god. Like Gibil and like Hephaistos (see Roscher, *Lex.*), he is the heavenly smith (𝔊 intly calls him χαλκεύς, a term which in *Il.* 15 309 is applied to Hephaistos), and was perhaps once addressed in the words of a famous Babylonian hymn, —

'Gibil, renowned hero in the land,—valiant, son of the Abyss, exalted in the land,—Gibil, thy clear flame breaking forth,—when it lightens up the darkness, assigns to all that bears a name its own destiny;—the copper and tin, it is thou who dost mix (?) them,—gold and silver, it is thou who meltest them.'[1]

We may well suppose that in the earliest form of the Hebrew legend Tubal was the instructor of men in the art of getting fire. According to Philo of Byblus, fire was discovered by three 'mortal men' called Light, Fire, and Flame, and was produced by rubbing two pieces of wood together. 'This,' remarks Robertson Smith,[2] 'is the old Arabian way of getting fire, and indeed appears all over the world in early times, and also in later times in connection with ritual. Probably some ritual usage preserved the memory of the primeval fire-stock in Phœnicia.' There was no such ritual usage among the Israelites, and so the legend of the invention of fire disappeared.

Jabal and Jubal have names descriptive of occupations, and evidently of Palestinian origin. The former (יָבָל; 4 20 †) is the reputed ancestor of tent dwelling shepherds. His name describes him, not as a 'wanderer' (Dillm. very questionably), but as a herdsman (cp Heb. יֹבֵל, Phœn. יבל, 'ram'); it is another form of the name ABEL (*q.v.*, end). The latter, Jubal (יוּבָל; ιουβαλ [AEL]; *Jubal*; Gen. 4 21 †), is the 'father' of the guild or class of musicians (cp יובל, Ex. 19 13, 'ram's horn'). That the inventor of the *kinnor* and the *'ugab* should be the younger brother of the first shepherd, is certainly appropriate. One of the thirty-seven 'Amu, or Asiatics, represented in the tomb of Hnum-hotep (see MUSIC, § 8, JOSEPH, § 10) as desiring admission into Egypt, carries a lyre. (We must not quote the parallel of David, for 1 Sam. 16 14-23 does not recognise him as a shepherd; see DAVID, § 1 *a*, note). Tubal, however, is less appropriate in this company, partly because of his lofty origin, partly because smiths belong more naturally to agricultural and city life.

11. Jabal, Jubal.

The three names Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal stand outside the genealogy proper, just as Shem, Ham, and Japheth stand outside the genealogy of Noah, and Abram, Nahor, and Haran outside that of Terah. By this knot in the genealogical thread the editor indicates that a new and broader development is about to begin (Ewald). How is it, then, that the Cainite genealogy as it stands contains but six names? The parallel table in chap. 5, which has virtually all these names, adds three to them at the beginning, and one at the end. Now it is remarkable that the three prefixed names are also given in 4 25 *f.* It is not improbable (cp 𝔊) that this passage in a simpler form—omitting 'again,' 'another,' and 'instead of Abel,' etc., and adding 'and Enos begat a son, and called his name Cain'—once stood before 4 17, and that Noah, who is the son of Lamech in 5 28 *f.*, once took the place of Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal. This would make the table begin Adam, Seth, Enos, Cain, and close Lamech, Noah. We might also restore it thus,

12. Original form of list.

Persian means (1) dross of metal, (2) copper or iron. 'I regard the ' as resulting from a radical *w* or *y*, and as changing later to *p* and *f*' (Mr. J. F. Platts).

[1] Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 615 (see references).

[2] *Burnett Lectures*, second series (MS).

Enos (=*Adam*), Seth, Kenan . . . Lamech, Ja Noah. This would have the advantage of retaining founder of the pastoral mode of life as the father of founder of agriculture, but seems to involve the exci of Jubal and Tubal. We might, more natur perhaps, suppose that Jabal and Jubal were additions from another cycle of legends, and that earliest genealogy began with Cain and ended Tubal, both originally divine beings. We should get a genealogy of seven. In any case we must r the common view that 4 25 *f.* is a fragment of a Yahwi table which traced the genealogy of the Sethite side the first family, and that the Sethites, according to Yahwist, were good, the Cainites bad. There is valid evidence that the genealogist wished to repres any of the Cainites as wicked, or that culture opposed to religion. Cain, the city-builder, was worthy son of Enos, who was the first to use forms worship (see ENOS). For there was no more tr religious act, from a primitive point of view, than building of a city. (For the continuation of this subj see SETHITES.)

Buttmann's *Mythologus*, vol. i. (28), first led the critic of the genealogies into the right track. For recent discussio besides Stade's article already referred Dillmann's *Gen.*, see Lenormant, *Origines*, 1 5; Boscawen, *Exp. Times*, 351 *ff.* (May '94); Goldziher, *Heb. Myth.* 32, 113, 127-130, Bu. *Urgesch.* 183-247; Ryle, *Early Narratives of Gen.* 78-83. On the Berossian list of ten antediluvian patria see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 564 *f.*; Del. *Par.* 149; Homm. *PSBA*, 1 243-246. The last-named scholar holds that identifications, especially Amilu Enosh, Ummanu = Kain, and Nuhapiśti Noah, prove that there is the closest relat between the ten Hebrew patriarchs and the ten Babylon. antediluvian kings. He infers from this that the author of t so-called priestly code must have written centuries before exile. This hasty inference will not captivate a careful stud That the priestly writer had access to early traditions is a p of the critical system here advocated. The identifications Hommel, however, need very careful criticism (see NOAH).

13. Literature.

T. K. C.

CAKE. It is impossible to ascertain precisely the meaning and characteristic feature of certain of the many Heb. words which are rendered 'cake' in EV, and it must suffice merely to record the terms in question.

(*a*) אֲשִׁישָׁה, *ăshīshāh*, Hos. 3 1 (RV) etc., see FLAGON (1), FRUIT, § 5.

(*b*) דְּבֵלָה, *dĕbēlāh*, 1 S. 30 12 etc., see FRUIT, § 7.

(*c*) חַלָּה, *ḥallāh*, 2 S. 6 19 etc., see BAKEMEATS, § 2, BREAD, § 3.

(*d*) כַּוָּן, *kawwān*, Jer.[m] 18 44 19, † see BAKEMEATS, § 2, FRUIT, § 5.

(*e*) לְבִבָה, *lĕbibāh*, 2 S. 13 6 8 10, † see BAKEMEATS, § 3.

(*f*) (הַשְּׁמֵן) לֶשֶׁד, *lĕšed*, Nu. 11 8, see BAKEMEATS, § 3.

(*g*) מָעוֹג, *ma'ōg*, 1 K. 17 12 etc., and (*h*) עֻגָּה, *'uggāh*, Gen. 18 6 etc., cp BREAD, § 2.

(*i*) צְלוֹל, *ṣĕlōl* (Kt., צליל kr.), Judg. 7 13, see BAKEMEATS, § 2.

(*j*) רָקִיק, *rāqīq*, 1 Ch. 23 29 etc., see BAKEMEATS, § 3, BREAD, § 3.

CALAH (כַּלַּח; καλαχ [A], -κ [EL], καλαχ [*D*]; *vs* 12 χαλεκ [F]; *Chale*; Ass. Kalḫu, Kalah) is named in Gen. 10 11 *f.* as one of the cities originally founded by Nimrod in Assyria. Ašur-nâsir-pal, king of Assyria, ascribed its high standing, at any rate as a capital, to Shalmaneser I. (*KB* 1 116 *ll.* 132-135). Layard, Rassam, and G. Smith proved by their excavations of the mounds of Nimrud 20 m. S. of Nineveh (Kuyunjik) that the city lay in the fork between the Tigris on the W. and the Upper Zab on the E. Protected on two sides by these rivers and on the N. by hills, fortified by a long N. wall with at least fifty-eight towers, it was a strong city.

The town was an oblong, well supplied with water by a canal led through a covered conduit from the Upper Zab, and richly planted with orchards and gardens. At the SW. the remains of a platform, built of sun-dried bricks faced with

stone, 600 yards from N. to S., by 400 yards wide, and 13 feet above the level of the Tigris, which once washed its western face. On this platform stood palaces built or restored by the kings Shalmaneser I., Aśur-nāṣir-pal, Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Aśur-eṭil-ilani. At its NW. corner stood the *zikkuratu* or temple-tower, 107½ feet square at the base and still 140 feet high. Next to it was the temple of Nebo, but in the Sargonid period Ninip was the town-god (*KB* 4 133, no. 1, *l.* 16).

Of municipal history, apart from the history of the country, we know little

Calah was faithful to Shalmaneser II. during his son's rebellion (*KB* 1 176, *ll.* 45-50), but revolted from Aśur-nirari in [illegible] (*KB* 1 [illegible]). It was clearly the court residence under the above-mentioned kings; but in the official lists it never stands first (cp Eponym lists *KB* 1 208 *ff.*). As a centre of population it evidently was inferior to Aśśur, and totally eclipsed by Nineveh. When Aśur-nāṣir-pal rebuilt the town and palace, finished the great wall, and endowed Calah with its canal, he peopled it with captives.

Like other great cities of Assyria and Babylonia, Calah probably had its archives which, with the literary collections of the kings, formed the nucleus of a library.

Few tablets have hitherto been found at Nimrūd, and it is inferred that Sennacherib removed the Calah library to Nineveh. Many astrological and omen tablets in the Kuyunjik collections were executed at Calah for Nabû-zukup-kenî, 'principal librarian,' *rab-dup-Ešrî*, 710-684 B.C. For explorations and identification of site cp Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, G. Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*. For further conclusions respecting library, see G. Smith, *Chald. Genesis*.[2] C. H. W. J.

CALAMOLALUS (καλαμωλαλος [A]), or **Calamocalus** (ωκαλος [B]), 1 Esd. 5 22, represents the 'Lod (see LYDDA) HADID' of Ezra 2 33 = Neh. 7 37. ℭ[L] has λυδδων 'pl. | αδιδ.

CAL. [illegible] (קָנֶה) occurs in Cant. 4 14 Ezek. 27 19, and 'swe[illegible] calamus' in Ex. 30 23 Is. 43 24 (RV[mg.]; but EV 'sweet cane' in Is.), for the usual REED (*q.v.*, 1 *b*).

CALCOL (כַּלְכֹּל; on the [illegible] see MAHOL; χαλχολ [A], a son of Zerah b. JUDAH, 1 Ch. 2 6 (χαλκα [B], καλχολ [L]) clearly the same as the son of Mahol of 1 K. 4 31 [5 11], AV CHALCOL (χαλκολ [B], χαλκολ [L]). See MAHOL.

CALDRON. AV rendering of the following words:—קַלַּחַת 1 S. 2 14 Mi. 3 3, so RV; סִיר Jer. 52 18 *f.* (RV 'pots') Ezek. 11 3 7 11, so RV; דּוּד 2 Ch. 35 13, so RV—for all of which see COOKING, § 5; and אַגְמֹן Job 41 20 [12], RV RUSHES (*q.v.*, 2).

CALEB (כָּלֵב, § 66; on the meaning see below; χαλεβ [BAL]; gent. כָּלְבִּי, 'Calebite,' EV 'of the house of Caleb,' 1 S. 25 3 Kr. [ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ (BAL)], see NABAL; Kt. reads כַּלְבּוֹ; cp the similar variant in Judg. 1 15 ℭ[BAL], χαλεβ κατα την καρδιαν αυτης).

No. *ZDMG* 40 164, n. i. ('86), finds the sense 'raging with canine madness,' objecting to Robertson Smith's identification with כֶּלֶב, 'dog' (see *J. Ph.* 9 89; *Kin.* 200, 219).

1. Name. Dog-totems, nevertheless, were not impossible in the ancient Semitic world (see DOG, § 4), and a connection with כלב was early surmised (see NABAL, n.). We find the name Kalbâ in Babylonian contract-tablets as late as the times of Nebuchadrezzar II. and Cambyses (*A B* 4 190 203). Hommel (*AHT* 115) makes *kalbu* or *kalabu* mean 'priest'; while Sayce (*Early Hist. Heb.* 268) compares *kalbu* as used in *Am. Tab.* (*e.g.*, 54, 18) for 'officer, messenger' (but this is improbable). The name seems to be primarily tribal.

Caleb was a Kenizzite clan which at, or shortly before, the Israelite invasion of Western Palestine

2. Early History. established itself in Hebron and the region south of it, and in the course of time coalesced with its northern neighbour, the tribe of Judah (naturally, not without admixture of blood; cp. Maacah, Caleb's concubine, 1 Ch. 2 48). The b'ne KENAZ, to whom Caleb and OTHNIEL belong (Nu. 32 12 Judg. 1 13 J), were of Edomite extraction, and the Calebites were nearly related to the nomadic Jerahmeelites in the south-eastern quarter of the Negeb (1 Ch. 2 9 etc.); see JERAHMEEL. (On the Kenites, see below, § 4.)

How Caleb came to be settled in what was regarded as the territory of Judah, is variously described (Josh. 15 13, cp 14 6 *ff* D[2], etc.). According to Josh. 15 13 *ff.* (cp Judg. 1 10 *ff.*), Caleb invaded from the N., in company with Judah, the region which he subsequently occupied (see ANAK); but in the story of the spies, in the oldest version of which Caleb alone maintains the possibility of a successful invasion of Canaan from the S. and receives Hebron as the reward of his faith[1] (see NUMBERS), we seem to have a reminiscence of the fact that Caleb made his way into the land from that quarter. In David's time Caleb was still distinct from Judah (1 S. 30 14 γελβοιε [B], χελουβ [L]; for the conjecture that David was a Calebite prince, see DAVID, § 4, n.).

On the other hand, in the list of the spies (Nu. 13 6 P), and in the commission for the division of the land

3. Pre-exilic. (Nu. 34 19 P), Caleb b. JEPHUNNEH appears as the *representative* of Judah, a chief (*nāśî*) of that tribe;[2] and in the post-exilic genealogical systems, Caleb and Jerahmeel, 'sons of HEZRON' (*q.v.*, n. [1]), are great-grandsons of the patriarch Judah (1 Ch. 2 9 [CHELUBAI = 1 Ch. 4 11, CARMI (1)], 18 *ff.*, 42 [χαλεμ, A] *ff.*), whilst Kenaz becomes a son of Caleb (4 15).

These representations reflect the fact that, in uniting with Judah, Caleb became the leading branch of that exceedingly mixed tribe. The Chronicler indeed hardly knows any other Judahite stocks than these Hezronites.

The seats of the Calebites in pre-exilic times are to be learned most fully from 1 Ch. 2 42 *ff.*, where we find set down as sons and grandsons (branches) of Caleb the well-known cities and towns, Ziph, Mareshah (so read for MESHA), Hebron, Tappuah, Jokdeam (so for JOKKOAM), Maon, Beth-zur; for Maon and Carmel cp also 1 S. 25 2 *f.* The clan had possessions also in the Negeb (1 S. 30 14).

After the Exile their old territory was chiefly in the possession of the Edomites, and the Calebites were

4. Post-exilic. pushed northwards into the old seats of Judah. This situation is reflected in another stratum of the composite genealogy (1 Ch. 2 18-24, 50-55, cp 19), where Caleb takes Ephrath (the region about Bethlehem) as a second wife (observe the significant name of the former wife AZUBAH [*q.v.*]; cp also JERIOTH). Through his son Hur the clan falls into three divisions: Shobal, Salma, and Hareph, the fathers of Kirjath-jearim, Bethlehem, and Bethgader. The further notices of the subdivision of these clans are fragmentary and complex (see BETH-GADER, JABEZ, SHOBAL). It is at all events noteworthy that the passage concludes with the end of a list of Kenites, and a connection between these and the Calebites becomes plausible if CHELUB and RECHAH in 1 Ch. 4 11 *f.* are indeed errors for Calel and Rechab (cp Meyer, *Entstehn.* 147).[3]

It is not improbable that the names Azbuk, Colhozeh, Rephaiah b. Hur (temple-repairers, etc., temp. Nehemiah) are of Calebite origin (*ib.* 147, 167).

See further KENAZ; also Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* 1 135 *ff.*, 175 *ff.*; Gratz, 'Die Kelubaiten oder Kalebiten,' *MGWJ* 25 461-492, and especially We. *De Gent.*; *CH* 337 *f.*

CALEB-EPHRATAH, RV **Caleb-Ephrathah** (כָּלֵב אֶפְרָתָה), is mentioned in 1 Ch. 2 24† as the place where Hezron died. Wellhausen and Kittel, after ℭ[BAL] (και μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εσερων [εσρωμ, A; -ν, L] ἦλθεν χαλεβ εἰς εφραθα [L εἰσῆλθε χαλεβ πρὸς εφραθα]), read: 'after the death of Hezron, Caleb came unto Ephrath the wife of Hezron his father[4] (We. *De Gent.* 5). Klostermann (*Gesch.* 112) thinks it more natural to read SLEUB (for Caleb).

[1] In P Joshua is named along with Caleb.

[2] The same phrase as that of Caleb's father is not earlier than P[2]; on Josh. 14 6, 13 (JE and D[2]), see JOSHUA, § 9.

[3] Note also that שלמי, the Targ. rendering of Kenites, is possibly derived from SALMA. Cp Neuh. *Geogr.* 427, 429.

[4] *i.e.*, אִבִיָּה for אֲבִיָּה; ABIJAH, (4), thus disappears.

'Even after the Exile the Hebrew, like the Arab genealogists, seem to have used the marriage of a son with his father's wife as one device for throwing the relations of clans and townships into genealogical form.' (WRS *Kin.* 90, and see We. *Prol.* 217 *f.* ET 217.)

CALENDAR. See DAY, WEEK, MONTH, YEAR; cp also CHRONOLOGY, § 1 *ff.*

CALF (עֵגֶל, Ex. 32 4, etc.; μοσχος, Rev. 4 7). See CATTLE, § 2 *a-c.*

CALF, GOLDEN. Portable images of a bull overlaid with gold occupied, down to the time of the prophets, a prominent position in the equipment of the Israelitish sanctuaries. We hear of them in the great sanctuaries of the northern kingdom: in Dan[1] and Bethel, where they are said to have been set up by Jeroboam (1 K. 12 28 *ff.* 2 K. 10 29 Hos. 10 5); in Samaria, the capital of the kingdom (Hos. 8 5 *f.*); and perhaps also in Gilgal (Am. 5 4 *f.* Hos. 4 15 9 15 12 11 [12]). On the other hand, there were none in the temple of Jerusalem (which had the brazen serpent: see NEHUSHTAN), and, strange to say, we do not find any allusion to such images as existing in the other sanctuaries of Judah—either in 1 K. 14 21-24, where such reference would have been apposite, or in Amos or Hosea. The last named in particular, who pursued the calf-worship of the northern kingdom with such bitter invectives (8 5 *f.* 10 5), would hardly have been silent on the subject had the same worship prevailed in Jerusalem also. Though Judah appears to have participated, more or less, in the cultus at Bethel, the worship of such images seems to have been confined chiefly to the northern kingdom.

1. References.

The bulls belonged to the class of images called מַסֵּכָה ('molten images'; see IDOL, § 1 *c*), which might be either solid or merely covered with a coating of metal. To the latter class the golden bull of Jeroboam (Hos. 13 2) probably belonged (see IDOL, § 4 *f.*). Because of the value of the metal it is not probable that the images were of great size. Hence we can understand the choice of the word עֵגֶל, 'calf': not the youth but the small size of the animal represented is the point to be conveyed—not perhaps without an implication of contempt.

As for their origin, these images were originally foreign to the Yahwè religion. To the nomads of the wilderness, who did not breed cattle, the idea of choosing the bull as an image of divinity could hardly have occurred. On this ground alone the narrative of the golden calf made by Aaron in the wilderness (Ex. 32 JE) can prove nothing for the origin of this form of worship in Mosaic times. Apart from the impossibility of making such an image in the wilderness, the narrative seems rather to be intended as a scathing criticism on the absurdity and sinfulness of bull-worship as viewed from the prophetic standpoint. According to the Deuteronomist, Jeroboam was the originator of bull-worship; but it is hardly likely that he would have introduced an entirely strange image into the sanctuaries of his kingdom. Probably the older Decalogue (Ex. 34 17; cp 20 23), in speaking of 'molten images' as distinguished from plain wooden images, referred to images of this description, which also are intended perhaps by the images of Micah (Judg. 18).

2. Origin.

It has often been held (*e.g.* by Renan and Maspero, and doubtfully by Konig) that bull-worship may have been an imitation of the worship of Apis at Memphis or of Mendes at Heliopolis; but the Egyptians worshipped only living animals, and in any case the adoption from Egypt is unlikely. The nomad inhabitants of Goshen took over from the Egyptians hardly anything of their culture and religion. On the other

[1] The text of 1 K. 12 30 is obviously corrupt, or at least imperfect. 𝔊 adds, 'and before the other, to Bethel.' Klo. conjectures that the original text said nothing of a *calf* in Dan. His restored text, however, only accentuates, if possible, the ancient fame of the sanctuary. See also Farrar, *l.c.*, § 2, end.

hand, the religion of Israel shows the strongest evi of Canaanite influence. Among the Canaanite bull was the symbol of Baal;[1] the cow, the symb Astarte; and these symbols were taken over fro Phœnicians by the Greeks. Thus the probabilitie that the Israelites derived the practice from the Can ites. They changed the significance of the sym seeing in them a representation of Yahwè and conquering might and strength (Nu. 23 22 24 8). Th in the time of Jeroboam such worship was regard allowable, the so-called older decalogue certainly for molten images (see above). The later decalogue, w may be regarded as representative of prophetic ti forbids all idolatrous worship of Yahwè. Hosea rail the worship of the bull (8 5 10 5). The Deuteronom narrator, too, in the Book of Kings regards the con of Jeroboam as an apostasy to idolatry. He empha ally describes bull-worship as 'the sin of Jerobo wherewith he made Israel to sin' (1 K. 14 16 15 26 1 2 K. 10 29 etc.). To the Apis-worship of Egypt have but one reference—in Jer. 46 15, where we sho probably read 'Why hath Apis fled? (why) hath steer not stood firm?' See APIS.

See Kon. *Hauptprobleme*, 57; Baethg. *Beitr.* 198 Robertson, *Early Rel. of Isr.* 215-220; Farrar, 'W there a Golden Calf at Dan,' *Expos.*, 1893*b*, pp. 254-26 and cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 289 *f.*; Jensen, *Kosm* 88 *f.*; C. W. Goodwin, *TSBA* 2 252.

I. B.

CALITAS (καλ[ε]ιτα[ι]ς [B]). 1 Esd. 9 23 = Ez 10 23, and 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7 KELITA.

CALKER (Ezek. 27 9 27†; מְחַזִּיקֵי קֶדֶק). See SHI

CALLISTHENES (καλλισθενης [AV], a follow of Nicanor [1], who, according to 2 Macc., was burn for firing the temple gates (2 Macc. 8 33).

CALNEH (כַּלְנֵה). 1. (χαλαννη [AD*L], γαλαν [E]). A city included in the earlier kingdom of Nimrod Gen. 10 10 (J). See NIMROD, § 1, SHINAR.

Rawlinson (*Anc. Monarchies*, 1 18) identifies it with Nippur supposing that the Talmudic statement, 'Calneh means Nippu (*Joma*, 10*a*), represents a genuine tradition. The context, how ever, shows that it is a pure guess; נִיפּוּר is connected with נִינְוֵה, a Greek loan-word (νύμφη) meaning 'bride,' and כַּלָּה with כַּלָּה, the old Hebrew for 'bride' (see Levy). Pressel (*ZKF* 2) claims a consensus of critics for identifying Calneh with Ctesiphon NE. of Babylon, on the left bank of the Tigris (s Targ. Jer., Ephr. Syr., Eus., Jer.), which Pliny (6 30) places in the province of Chalonitis. This conjecture, too, may be dismissed.

The inscriptions alone should be consulted; and, since none of the ordinary names of the Babylonian cities resembles Calneh (or Calno), we are justified in examining the non-Semitic (ideographic) names. Among these we find Kul-unu ('dwelling of offspring'), which, in Assyrian times, was pronounced Zir-la-ba or (in an inscription of Hammu-rābi) Za-ri-lab. The situation of Zirlaba is uncertain (see Del. *Par.* 226); but the fact that Sargon mentions Zirlaba at the end of a list of Babylonian cities which apparently proceeds from south to north (*KB* 2 52 *f.*) suggests to Hommel (l. c. it was not far from Babylon (*Die semit. Völker*, 1 234 *f.*). To Fried. Del. in 1876 (*Chald. Gen.* 293) this identification appeared certain. It is, indeed, not improbable, especially if we may point כַּלְנֵה (cp 𝔊 as above, and כַּלְנוֹ); but we should like some fuller evidence that Kul-unu was really remembered as the old name of Zirlaba.

T. K. C.

2. (𝔊[B]AQ πάντες, as if כֻּלָּם), a N. Syrian city, conquered by the Assyrians (Am. 6 2, on which see AMOS, § 6 [*b*]). See CALNO.

CALNO (כַּלְנוֹ, χαλαννη [BNAQ]). Is. 10 9 †, the city called CALNEH [2] in Am. 6 2 (on which see

[1] Cp Tob. 1 5, 'the heifer Baal' (τ. βόαλ τῇ δαμάλει [B], τῷ μοσχῳ [S]).

Amos. § 6 [*b*]) and Canneh [*q.v.*]—(rather Calneh) in Ezek. 27 23.

𝔊 confounds it with Calneh [1], and connects it with the building of the 'tower,' which, since Babylon is mentioned just before, can only mean the tower of Babel (see Babel); it is not improbable that 𝔊 identifies Calneh with Borsippa, according to the Talmudic tradition that the tower of Babel was at Borsippa. This is, of course, worthless. 𝔊's Hebrew text was corrupt: כרכמיש was misread כְּרַךְ, 'fort'; ארבה became ערב, 'Arabia.'

Doubtless Calno is Kullani, a place near Arpad, conquered in 738 by Tiglath-pileser III. (Tiele, Wi., Fried. Del., Che., Kittel). T. K. C.

CALPHI, RV Chalphi (a name formed from the root חלף, whereby a child is designated as a *substitute* for one lost; cp ΑΛΦΑΙΟϹ, and see Names, § 62), father of Judas [3], 1 Macc. 11 70 (Ο ΤΟΥ ΧΑΛΦΕΙ [AV], Ο ΤΟΥ ΧΑΦ. [𝔅], Ο ΧΑΨΕΟΥ [Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 7]; in the Syr. ܚܠܦܝ, ܚܠܦ and ܚܦܝ). Cp Alpheus, Clopas, § 1.

CALVARY (ΚΡΑΝΙΟΝ [Ti. WH], *Calvaria*), Lk. 23 33† AV, the Vg. rendering (Lat. *calvaria* = skull) of κρανιον (RV 'The skull'). The ‖ passages preserve the Semitic form Golgotha (*q.v.*).

CAMEL (גָּמָל), 𝔊 ΚΑΜΗΛΟϹ; Gen. 12 16 24 10 14 etc., Ex. 9 3 Judg. 6 5 1 K. 10 2 1 Ch. 27 30 Ezra 2 67 Tob. 9 2, and elsewhere, including six prophetic passages; Mt. 3 4 Mk. 1 6 etc.; see also Dromedary).

1. Name. The Hebrew name[1] is common to all the Semitic languages, which proves that the animal was known before the parent stock divided—one of the facts from which Hommel and others have inferred that the original home of the Semitic race was in Central Asia.[2] The name was borrowed by the Egyptians; it passed also into Greek and Latin, and most modern languages. The origin of the word is uncertain; von Kremer (*Sem. Culturentlehnungen*, 4) connects it with Ar. *jamala*, 'to heap,' as meaning the 'humped animal'; whilst Lagarde (*Uebers.* 49) follows Bochart in his etymology from גָּמַל, 'to requite,' the name thus indicating the revengeful temper often shown by the animal.

In the frequent mention of the camel in the historical books of the OT there can be little doubt that *Camelus dromedarius* is meant (see below, § 6), though an Israelite ambassador may conceivably have seen a two-humped camel at Nineveh or Babylon.[3] We naturally expect to hear of its use by the Arabian[4] and other nomad tribes; and accordingly the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37 25 [J]), the Midianites (Judg. 6 5),[5] and the Amalekites (1 S. 15 3 27 9) by turns come before us as possessors of camels. The mention of them in connection with Job (Job 1 3), and with the Queen of Sheba (1 K. 10 2), also needs no comment. David's camels (1 Ch.

2. Biblical references.

[1] בִּכְרָה, *bikrāh*, like the Ar. *bakr* (Lane, 1 240) and Ass. *bakru* (Del. *Ass. HWB*) denotes the 'young camel,' Is. 60 6 Jer. 2 23 (RV^mg.). EV renders less aptly Dromedary (*q.v.*). The word אֲשֻׁתְּרָנִים, *ăḥaštĕrānīm* (Esth. 8 10 14, AV 'camels,' RV^mg. 'mules'), is rather an adj. qualifying 'swift steeds'; so RV 'swift steeds that were used in the king's service' (cp Pers. *khshatra*, realm; BDB *Lex.*). The reading, however, is disputed. See Horse, § 2.

[2] See this and other views summarised in Wright's *Comp Gram. Sem. Lang.* 5 *ff.*

[3] See the bas-reliefs on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., and this king's monolith inscr., obv. 28 (*KB* 1 156 *f.*), 'dromedaries (*udrāti*) with two humps'; cp Del. *Par.* 96.

[4] For an account of the numerous references to the camel in Arabian literature, and of the many names of the camel in Ar., see Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 130 *ff.*

[5] 'Both they and their cattle were numberless,' says the narrator. So too the Reubenites carry away 50,000 camels from the Hagrites (1 Ch. 5 21). Precisely so Tiglath-pileser II. states that he had taken 30,000 camels as prey from the Arabs (cp Hommel, *GBA* 665), and Aśur-bāni-pal says that he took so many camels from the Kedarenes that camels were sold in Assyria for from 1½ (silver) shekels to half a shekel (*KB* 2 225). On the notice in Judg. 8 21 see Crescents.

27 30) may have been kept for purposes of trade; they were put under the charge of an Ishmaelite, who from his calling bore the name of Obil. Other kings may have followed David's example; Hezekiah's camels were carried away by Sennacherib (Schr. *COT* 2 280). That Syrians should have used them (2 K. 8 9) is natural; but in the hilly region of Palestine the camel cannot have been a common quadruped. It is true this animal appears again and again in the patriarchal story, and there is no difficulty in supposing that Jacob acquired camels in Mesopotamia. There is, however, great difficulty in the statement (Gen. 12 16) that camels formed part of a present given to Abraham by the pharaoh (see below, § 3 *f.*)

The camel's saddle is mentioned only once, Gen. 31 34 (כַּר הַגָּמָל, 𝔊 τὰ σάγματα, EV 'the camel's furniture'), and derives its name from its round basket-shaped form. See Litter, Saddle.

The flesh of camels was unclean food to the Israelites (Dt. 14 7 Lev. 11 4). By the Arabs, on the other hand, camels were both eaten and sacrificed (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 218). N. M.—A. E. S.

[The assertion that the ancient Egyptians knew the camel is unfounded. The picture of a camel on one of the (Ethiopian) pyramids at Meroe[1] (Leps. *Denkm.* 5 28) and on Greek terra-cotta figures—*e.g.*, of a travelling Arab (not, as has been supposed, an Egyptian) in Mariette (*Abydus*, 2 40)—and the references in Greek papyri,[2] prove nothing more than that the animal was known in Egypt in Roman times. It is surprising that it never appears earlier *e.g.*, in representations of battles with the nomadic Semites who rode on camels. The Egyptian artists evidently disliked to represent the animal—not because of its ungainly appearance, for they have rather a fancy for delineating strange creatures, but out of religious antipathy (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 142). The statement that the camel is mentioned in Pap. Anast. i. 23 5 is groundless. The passage contains an exclamation of the Asiatic princes, awe-struck at the bravery of an Egyptian soldier—*'a-ba-ta ka-ma 'a-r(ha ma-ha-ra n'-mu*, which seems to mean, 'Thou art lost (אֲבַדְתָּ?) like God (כמו אל) a hero (מרה) indeed (Ar. *na'am*).' Even if this explanation[3] be rejected, the idea of Chabas (*Voyage*, 220) that the Asiatics are here calling for 'camel's meat' is most ridiculous. The other passages appealed to refer not to the camel (the pretended *kamaly*) but to a large species of monkey (*kay*, *ky*), which is said to come from Ethiopia (where there were no camels in 1300 B.C.; see above), and is described as double-learning an amusing kind of dance, and carrying its master's walking-stick. See the passages collected by WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 370),[4] and the judicious remarks of Wiedemann, *SBA* 13 32. Even the Egyptian name of the camel ϒ (or σ) ΑΜΟΥΛ (plural ϒΑΜΑΥΛΙ) is foreign (not from *gamul* [Lagarde, *Uebers.* 49] but from an original **gawal*), and does not seem very old. W. M. M.]

3. Not known in Egypt.

[The difficulty of the narrative in Gen. 12 10-20 is very great so long as it is assumed that it correctly represents the Hebrew tradition. Supposing, however, that the mention of the pharaoh were due to a misunderstanding, and that the early Hebrew tradition knew only of a visit of Abraham

4. OT ref. to Egypt.

[1] Roman period? Even in Persian times Strabo says Ethiopians were apparently deterred from using the animal by fear of contaminating ceremonial observance. The modern authorities [illegible] camels; see [illegible], Mariette, *Monuments*, [illegible]. The animal can hardly live in the regions S. of Meroe.

[2] [illegible], in Grenfell, *Gr. Papyri* (45 [illegible]), camels appear frequently in the Fayûm, [illegible]. It is, however, significant that they sometimes bear [illegible] marks (1 [illegible]). The camels on the roads to the Red Sea (Petrie, *Koptos*, 27, *l.* 21, Strabo, etc.) were driven by the desert tribes.

[3] Partly after Erman, *ZÄ* '77, 56.

[4] Add the passage on *kypapes* from the St. Petersburg tale and De Morgan, *Cat. Monum.* i. 64 (*ki*-animals from the Sûdân).

to the land of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [b]), the difficulty arising from the mention of camels in Gen. 12 16 would disappear. The difficulty of Ex. 9 3 (J), where a murrain is predicted on pharaoh's cattle including 'the camels,' cannot, however, be removed by such an expedient. Here it appears simplest to suppose that the narrator gave a list of those kinds of animals which, from a Palestinian point of view, would be liable to the murrain.

Two proverbial expressions about the camel occur in the Gospels (the one in Mt. 19 24 Mk. 10 25 Lk. 18 25, the other in Mt. 23 24). The reading κάμιλος (a rope?) for κάμηλος has been suggested for the former. It is as old as Cyril of Alexandria and is evidently the conjecture of a non-Semitic scribe (see Nestle, *Exp. T.* 9 474). κάμηλος is correct. Analogous proverbs can be quoted—*e.g.*, 'In Media a camel can dance on a bushel' (*Jebam.* 45 *a*)—*i.e.*, all things are possible.

5. NT refs.

T. K. C.]

As has been indicated above there are two species of camel. One, the *Camelus dromedarius*, is found in SE. Asia ranging from Afghanistan and Bokhara through NW. India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and in N. Africa; this species reaches its most southern point in Somali-land. The second, or Bactrian, camel, *C. bactrianus*, lives in the high plateaus of central Asia. Both species are said to exist wild, but it is generally thought that the herds found in a state of nature are descended from domesticated animals and are not truly feral. This view is supported by the recent observations of Sven Hedin. They have been introduced into many parts of both the Old and the New World, and where the climate has proved suitable have been very useful as beasts of burden.

6. Zoology.

Numerous breeds of the *C. dromedarius* are found in the East, and show as great diversities in character and use as do the various breeds of horse. The breeds, many of which are distinguished by a complex system of branding, may be roughly divided into two classes: the riding, called in Egypt and Arabia *Hagīn* and in Indian *Sawari*, and the baggage animal, called respectively the *Gamal* and *Ūnt*. The word dromedary is often restricted to the former animal, which often maintains a pace of 8-10 miles an hour for a long period, whereas the baggage camel rarely exceeds 3 miles an hour. Riding a camel for any length of time usually induces sickness, the movement of the two legs of each side together producing a most unpleasant swaying motion. Enormous herds, such as we read of in the OT, are still kept by the natives both of the Sūdān and of NW. India, and breeding stables exist in many parts of the East. Camels produce but one young at a time and the period of gestation is twelve months; the young are suckled for a year or longer. The average length of life seems to be considerable—from forty to fifty years—and if well treated the camel will continue to work hard until well over thirty.

The power which it undoubtedly possesses of doing without food is to some extent dependent on the hump; when the animal is underfed or overworked this structure begins to disappear and the condition of the hump is thus an unfailing sign of the state of its health. Similarly the power of doing without water is due to a structural peculiarity of the two first compartments—the *rumen* and *reticulum*—of the complex stomach of the camel. Each of these chambers has its wall pitted into a series of crypts or cells which are each guarded by a special sphincter muscle, and in these crypts a certain amount of water is stored—perhaps two gallons at most. The fluid can be let out from time to time to mix with the more solid food. Camels ruminate, and their masticated food passes straight into the third division of the stomach. In spite of this provision for storing water, no opportunity should be lost of watering camels, as it is most inadvisable to trust to this reserve, and they are apt to overdrink themselves if kept without water for too long a time. The stories about travellers saving their lives by opening the stomachs of camels when dying of thirst are probably imaginary; the camel exhausts its own supply of water, and even if a little be left it is quite undrinkable. Their flesh is eaten at times by natives, who consider the hump a delicacy. Their dung is used for fuel in the desert.

From the earliest times the hair of the camel has been woven into fabrics. The hair from the hump and back is torn or shorn and woven into a tough, harsh cloth; but a finer, softer material is also prepared from the under-wool. The milk is consumed by the natives, who both drink it and convert it into batter and cheese.

Although the camel has been domesticated from a very early date, and although, without its aid, vast regions of the world would prove untraversible, and consequently it has always been the servant of man, there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the real character of the animal. Perhaps the latest writer, Major Leonard,[1] may be quoted as one who has had sixteen years' 'practical observation and experience of camels in India, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Soudan'; he says, 'To sum

[1] *The Camel, its Uses and Management* (94).

up the average specimen of a camel. He can abstain from food and water—the latter more especially—longer than any other animal. He is stupid and patient to excess, submissive, tenacious to a degree, docile and obstinate to a certain extent, vindictive and passionate when roused, not easily excited, usually alarmed, though at times liable to a panic or stampede—an animal in fact whose characteristics are every bit as peculiar as his structural peculiarities.' Another admirable epitome of the character of the camel as a baggage animal is given in Rudyard Kipling's 'Oomtah.'

A. F.

§ 1 *f.* 6 N. M.—A. L. S.; § 3 W. M. M.; § 4 *f.* F.

CAMON (קָמוֹן; ΡΑΜΝΩΝ [B], -ΜΜΩ [A], -ΚΩΝ [L]), an unknown locality in Gilead; the burial place of JAIR (*q.v.* 1) (Judg. 10 5). It was doubtless one of the HAVVOTH-JAIR (*q.v.*). Reland (679) rightly combines it with the Καμοῦν which, in 217 B.C., Antiochus III. the Great captured along with Pella and Gefrun (Polyb. v. 70 12). To the W. of the Jordan identified by Buhl with the ancient Gefrūn or EPHRON (*q.v.*, i. 2) in N. Gilead, and 1 m. S. of the high road from Irbid (Arbela) to the Jordan, lies a village whose name. *Kumeim*, 'little summit,' is doubtless a corruption of the ancient Kamōn.

Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 272 66 110 20) identify Camon with a place in the 'great plain' called καμμωνα, *Cimona*, situated 6 R. N. of Legio, on the way to Ptolemais. This καμμωνα, however, which is evidently Tell kaimūn (see JOKNEAM), is clearly on the wrong side of the Jordan.

CAMP (מַחֲנֶה;[1] ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ [BADEFL], GEN. 32 2[3] Ex. 14 19 Heb. 13 11). A camp is so called from the *curving* of the tents over their occupants (חנה √; cp MH חנות).[2] The term (מחנה) is applied primarily to an assemblage of tents of nomads (Gen. 32 21[22], EV 'company'; Nu. 13 EV 'camps'). Of the early Israelitish nomad camp we have no contemporary records; Doughty (*Ar. D.* 1 221 2 309) observes that some Bedouin tribes pitch their tents persedly and without order; others in a circle, to protect the cattle. The latter style is that of the מִיָּה (AV *duwār*), of which we hear in Gen. 25 16 Nu. 31 10 1 Ch. 6 39 [54] Ezek. 25 4 (AV 'castle,' but in Ezek. 'palaces,' RV 'encampment').

1. Military.

The military camps of a later age are referred to elsewhere (see WAR). Suffice it to remark here (1) that the encampments of the Hebrews were probably round rather than square: this was a legacy from their nomadic state (see above); the barricade which surrounded the camp was called מַעְגָּל ([1 S. 17 20 26 5.[3] AV 'trench,' RV 'place of the wagons,' mg. 'barricade'; in 17 20 ⊕A and in 26 5 Aq. and Sym. or Theod. στρογγυλωσις; Tg. בַּרְקוּבָא—*i.e.*, χαράκωμα]—*i.e.*, a 'round' line of defence, cp עָגוֹל 'round').[4] Also (2) that their camps have left no impress on names of places, as the Roman *castra* has on English place-names. MAHANEH DAN [*q.v.*] owes its name to a misunderstanding. We do find, however, the strange archaising phrases, 'the camp of Yahwè' (2 Ch. 31 2) and 'the camp of the Levites' (1 Ch. 9 18; cp Nu. 2 17 P), in connection with the description of the temple services. Is. 29 1 has been thought to describe Jerusalem as the camp—*i.e.*, dwelling—of David (so BDB); but this is far from certain, the prophecy of Yahwè's encampment against Jerusalem is thereby obscured.

This leads us to speak of the camp in the wilderness, as conceived by P (Nu. 1-4). Of course, it must be historically true that there was a sacred tent in which the ark or chest containing the sacred objects of the Israelitish nomads was placed when the Israelites halted in their wanderings (see ARK, 4). This tent, glorified into the so-called Tabernacle (see TABERNACLE), forms the

2. In the wilderness (P).

[1] מַחֲנֹתַי 2 K. 6 8 '(shall be) my camp' is corrupt; Th. Klo. Grätz. Benz. after Pesh. read תִּחְבֹּאוּ, 'ye shall be hid.'

[2] On חֵנִי in Jer. 37 16 see CELLS.

[3] AVmg. 'midst of his carriages.'

[4] ⊕L in 17 20 has παρεμβολή; 26 5 ⊕BAL λαμπήνη and Aq. also καμπή.

centre of the camp as described by P. The case is analogous to that of Ezekiel's ideal division of the Holy Land in the future (Ezek. 48), in which his sacerdotal conceptions find expression. The Tabernacle is the place of Yahwe's presence. This is why it is the central point, immediately round which the Levites encamp, forming an inner ring of protection for the ordinary Hebrew lest by inadvertently drawing near he should bring down upon himself the wrath of Yahwè (Nu. 1 50-53).

The positions of the various tribes are given in Nu. 2; on each side of the tabernacle, but separated from it by the Levites, three tribes encamp—a leading tribe flanked by two other tribes with their 'ensigns' (אות). Thus on the E. is Judah flanked by Issachar and Zebulun; on the S. Reuben flanked by Simeon and Gad; on the W. Ephraim flanked by Manasseh and Benjamin; and on the N. Dan flanked by Asher and Naphtali. It has generally been held that the four leading tribes were distinguished by the possession of large standards (דֶּגֶל), whereas the other tribes had only smaller ensigns (אות); but this rests perhaps on a misinterpretation of דֶּגֶל, which, as the contexts and, in part the versions show, means a company; see the discussions in *JQR* 11 (98) 72-101; and cp ENSIGN.

The foregoing details are to be gathered from what have been generally regarded as parts of the primary narrative of P. Further details as to the Levites are given in 3 14-39, which has been attributed (*e.g.*, by We. *CH* 179 *ff.*) to secondary strata of P. According to this section the various Levitical divisions encamped as follows:—Moses, Aaron and his sons (3 38) on the E., the Kohathites on the S. (3 29), the Gershonites on the W. (3 23), and the Merarites on the N. (3 35) of the tabernacle.

The Eastward is manifestly regarded as the superior position; the relative importance of the remaining three positions is less obvious; but it may be observed that the E. and S. sides are occupied by the children of Leah (exclusive of Levi) together with Gad; the W. by the children of Rachel, and the N. by the children of the handmaids (exclusive of Gad).

The priestly writers appear to have conceived of the camp as square, and this is probably another indication that we have to do with an ideal (not a historical) camp, for there is some reason for believing that the actual encampments of the Hebrews approximated to the round rather than the square form (cp § 1). Though the other hexateuchal sources furnish few details as to the camp, the direct statement of Ex. 33 7 (E) that the tabernacle was *outside* is quite irreconcilable with P's account that it formed the *centre* of the camp. The central position of the tabernacle, the intermediate position of the Levites between the tabernacle and the secular tribes, and the superior position assigned among the Levites to the sons of Aaron, are not matters of history, but the expression, in the form of an idealisation of the past, of a religious idea.

T. K. C., § 1; G. B. G., § 2.

CAMPHIRE (כֹּפֶר; κυπρος [BNAC]; Cant. 1 14 [om. B], 4 13), the earlier spelling of 'camphor,' should be HENNA (as in RV)—*i.e.*, *Lawsonia alba*, Lamk., a plant described by Tristram (*NHB* 339 *f.*) as still growing on the shores of the Dead Sea at Engedi (Cant. 1 14). According to Boissier (*Fl. Orient.* 2 744), it is frequently cultivated in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Persia; and it is probably indigenous to N. Africa, Arabia, Persia, and W. India (Bentham and Hooker, *Gen. Pl.* 1 782). The 'cluster'[1] of Cant. 1 14 is that of the flowers.

Pesh. and Targ. have the same word as MT, with which κύπρος also is identical; and the Syriac lexicographers state that this means the *hanna'* of the Arabs—the plant from which they obtain the dye for the nails. The Greek references to κυπρος will be found in Liddell and Scott, s. v.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CANA OF GALILEE (κανα της γαλιλαιας [Ti. WH]: Pesh. *Ḳatna*) appears only in the Fourth Gospel, as the scene of Christ's first miracle (John 2 1-11 4 46), and of his healing of the nobleman's son lying sick at Capernaum (4 46-54), and as the home of Nathanael (21 2). The only evidence as to its position is that it lay higher than Capernaum; Jesus went down from it to the latter (2 12).

Tradition and present opinion are divided between

[1] אֶשְׁכֹּל, which elsewhere means a cluster of grapes—possibly of dates in Cant. 7 7 *f.*; 13 *f.*; See Buddle.

the modern Kefr Kennā, a hamlet almost 3½ m. NE. of Nazareth, with a fine spring, and Khirbet Ḳana or Ḳānat el-Ǵelil, on a promontory of Gebel Ḳana over the plain of Buttauf, about 8 m. N. of Nazareth, with ruins, tombs, cisterns, and a pool.

The data of Antoninus Placentinus, 570 A.D. (*Itin.* 4), suit *Kefr Kenna*, at which the mediæval writers Phocas, John of Würzburg, and Quaresmius, place it; so also in modern times Guérin, De Saulcy, Porter, Tristram, and Conder. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*) identify it with KANAH in Asher (Josh. 19 28); to them, therefore, it would not have been at Kefr Kenna, but may have been Ḳānat el-Ǵelil. The data of Theodosius (530 A.D.) suit Ḳānat el-Ǵelil, and so in the Middle Ages do those of Saewulf, Brocardus, Fetellus, Marinus Sanutus; and others adhere. Robinson, who was the first modern to revive the claims of Ḳānat el-Ǵelil, describes the position, details the traditional evidence [illegible] is the equivalent of the N[illegible] Ḳ[illegible] *n*, is [illegible] (*GL* 3 2 [illegible]). He was followed by Ritter, Renan, Thomson, Stanley, and Socin.

The name Ḳānat el-Ǵelil is not above suspicion; it may be the creation of an early ecclesiastical tradition, just as Robinson himself points out that an attempt has been made by the native Christians in the present century to transfer it to Kefr Kenna. On the other hand, Josephus resided for a time in a village of Galilee, called Cana (*Vit.* 16); if this be the same as his residence in the plain of Asochis (*id.* 41), he means Ḳānat el-Ǵelil.

Conder (*PEF Mem.* 1 [illegible]) suggests another site for Cana in 'Ain Ḳānā, on the road between Reineh and Tabor.

G. A. S.

CANAAN, CANAANITE (כְּנַעַנִי, כְּנַעַן, χανανιτης, χανανιτις, χανανιτιδος). **1. Phœnician usage.**[1] Coins from Laodicea of the time of Antiochus IV. and his successors, bear the legend מלאדקיא אם בכנען, 'of Laodicea, a metropolis in Canaan'—probably the Phœnician town whose position is indicated by the ruins of Umm-el-'Awāmid, S. of Tyre. Well known, too, is the statement (wrongly assigned to Hecataeus of Miletus) that Phœnicia was formerly called χνᾶ (Herodian, περὶ μονήρους λέξεως, 19; similarly Steph. Byz. χνα οὕτως ἡ Φοινικη ἐκαλεῖτο). In accordance with this, Philo of Byblos (2, 27) calls the eponym of the Phœnicians 'Χνα, who was later called Phoinix' (ἀδελφὸς χνᾶ τοῦ πρώτου μετονομασθεντος φοινικος), and in Bekker, *Anecd.* iii. 1181, ὁ χνᾶς (gen. τοῦ χνᾶ) is identified with Agenor (the father of Phœnix), 'whence the Phœnicians also are called Χνα' (ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Φοινικη ὀχνᾶ λέγεται). Here we [illegible] the shorter form *Kna'* (כְּנָע; cp Olsh., *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 215 *a*), so often met with in the Amarna tablets under the form *Kinahhi*, side by side with the fuller form *Kinaḫḫi*, probably with the article prefixed (הַכְּנָעִי) as in Egyptian inscriptions (see below, § 6).

As a geographical term Canaan shares the indefiniteness that characterises much of the OT, and many of all ancient, geographical nomenclature. **2. OT usage.** In its widest sense the term seems to have been used to denote all of what may be roughly classed as Southern Syria, from the foot of Mt. Lebanon to the lower end of the Dead Sea, including territory both to the E. and to the W. of the Jordan clear to the Mediterranean. Such appears to be the case in the Book of Joshua (11 3). More commonly, however, it is restricted to the lands lying to the W. of the Jordan that is Judæa, Phœnicia, and Philistia proper. As Judæa, however, became more sharply marked off from Phœnicia and Philistia, it is natural that to Hebrew writers Canaan should have come to mean the latter districts more particularly. So in Is. 23 11 the term is applied to Phœnicia and perhaps to the entire coast, and in Zeph. 2 5 to Philistia. As an ethnic term, Canaanite is similarly applied to the inhabitants of the W. Jordan district in general, while at times—as in Nu. 13 29—the seats of the Canaanites are more specifically limited to the sea-coast and the Jordan valley. Corresponding to

[1] This section is by the author of the article PHŒNICIA.

the identification of Canaan with Phœnicia, which is also in accord with the usage of the term *Kinaḫḫi* in the Amarna Tablets (§ 10 below), the term Canaanite comes to be associated with the mercantile activity of Phœnicia, and in consequence appears occasionally—as, *e.g.*, in Hos. 12⁸ Is. 23⁸—in the general sense of merchant. According to Targ. and many moderns, it has this sense likewise in Zech. 14²¹; Wellhausen and Nowack would add, emending in accordance with ⊕[HA], Zech. 11⁷ ¹¹.

The indefiniteness and the shifting character of both the geographical and the ethnical terms point to political changes in which were involved the people to whom the term Canaanites was originally applied: indeed, the indefiniteness is the direct outcome of these changes. Analogy warrants us in assuming as the starting-point a more limited district, and that with the extension of Canaanitish conquest or settlement the term became correspondingly enlarged, though it is not necessary to assume that the correspondence between actual settlement or possession and the geographical application of the term Canaan must have been complete. The *predominance* of Canaanites in important sections of the W. Jordan lands would have sufficed for imposing their name on the whole district.

3. Geographical inference.

The Egyptian inscriptions come to our aid in enabling us to determine where to seek for the origin of the term. In the accounts of their Asiatic campaigns, which begin about 1800 B.C., the rulers of the Nile restrict the name Ka-n-'-na to the low strip of coast that forms the eastern limit of the Mediterranean; and, since it is only the northern section of this coast that affords a sufficiency of suitable harbours for extensive settlements, it is more particularly to the Phœnician coast-land that the name is applied. From the Phœnician coast it naturally came to be extended by the Egyptians to the entire coast down to the Egyptian frontier, the absence of any decided break in the continuity of the coast leading to the extension of the nomenclature, as it led in later times to the shifting character of the southern boundary of Phœnicia proper. The name of Philistia for the southern part of the coast does not occur in the Egyptian inscriptions. It was from the coast, therefore, that the name was extended to include the high lands adjacent to it; and it is interesting to note that, whilst the geographical term never lost its restricted application to the coast strip, the ethnographical term Ka-n-'-ne-mau—*i.e.*, Canaanites—embraces for the Egyptians, according to Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 206 *f.*), the population of all of Western Syria, precisely as in biblical sources. The combination of the Egyptian with the OT notices seems to justify the conclusion that the coast population sent into the interior offshoots which made permanent settlements there. In this way both Canaan and the Canaanites acquired the wide significance that has been noted, whilst the subsequent tendency towards restricting the name to the sea-coast is an unconscious return to the earlier and more exact nomenclature.

4. Egyptian evidence.

5. History of Name.

The etymology of the term Canaan bears out these historical and geographical conclusions. In the Egyptian inscriptions (cp also above, § 1) the word appears with the article—'The Canaan'—which points to its being a descriptive term; and, even though we agree with Moore (*P.AOS*, 1890, pp. lxvii-lxx) that the testimony is incomplete, the use of the stem כנע in Hebrew in the sense of 'to be humbled' suggests the possibility that this stem may, in some other Semitic dialect, have been used to convey the idea of 'low,' even though that may not have been the original sense of the stem. If we keep in view the prefixing of the article to the term, and its original application to a strip of land between the sea and the mountains, no more appropriate designation than 'the lowland' can well be imagined; and this exp[illegible] of Canaan, though not unanimously accepted, is [illegible] rate provisionally tenable.[1] Certainly it seems [illegible] ancient one; for when it is said that the Cana[illegible] the one who dwells by the sea and along the side [illegible] Jordan (Nu. 13²⁹) *i.e.*, in the two 'lowland' [illegible] of Palestine the very artificiality of the indicate[illegible] suggests that it was the etymology of the word [illegible] led the writer to such a view in contradiction to s[illegible] other passages where Canaanites are spoken [illegible] occupying mountainous districts also.

6. Etymology.

By the side of the term Canaan, however, ther[illegible] the OT another which is used, especially by the J[illegible] to cover precisely the same popula[illegible] namely, 'the land of the Amorite[illegible] is the merit of Steinthal (*Z. f. [illegible] psychologie*, 12 267) and of E. Meyer (*Z.A.T.W.* [illegible] [81]) to have definitely demonstrated this imp[illegible] point. See AMORITES. At the same time, it [illegible] be borne in mind that when the coast-land is [illegible] fically referred to, the term Amorite is not used, [illegible] as already pointed out, either Canaan for the [illegible] coast or Canaan for the northern and Philistia fo[illegible] southern. Whether the Yahwist (J) is equally [illegible] sistent, as Meyer claims, in using 'Canaanite' fo[illegible] pre-Israelitish population of the W. Jordan lan[illegible] open to question. The theory cannot be carried thr[illegible] without a certain amount of arbitrariness in the dist[illegible] tion of the verses belonging to J and E respectively [illegible] M'Curdy's note, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 406-8).

7. Amorites in OT.

Moreover, the cuneiform documents and Egy[illegible] inscriptions furnish an explanation for the do[illegible] nomenclature that places the fac[illegible] a somewhat different light. From [illegible] Egyptian side it is clear that the term 'Amoritic' [illegible] was limited to the mountain district lying to the eas[illegible] the Phœnician coast-land but extending across [illegible] Jordan to the Orontes (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 217 [illegible] The southern and the eastern boundaries are not sha[illegible] defined. The former is placed by Müller, on the [illegible] of Egyptian inscriptions, at the entrance of the pl[illegible] the so-called *Beḳa'*—between the Lebanon and [illegible] Antilibanus, and, whilst the Orontes might seem [illegible] furnish a natural eastern boundary, it would ap[illegible] that the early Egyptian conquerors extended the li[illegible] still farther to the east. At the time of Thotmes I[illegible] the Hittites had not yet made their appearance. La[illegible] in the days of Rameses III., when the Hittites f[illegible] the most serious menace to Egyptian supremacy [illegible] Western Asia, the Orontes becomes a more [illegible] boundary of the 'Amoritic' district, while as t[illegible] Hittites encroach upon the territory of the Amor[illegible] the term Hittite begins to displace 'Amorite' fo[illegible] northern mountain district of Palestine. This pro[illegible] is completed about 1000 B.C. At t[illegible] time, however, the term 'Amorite' [illegible] already been extended to the sout[illegible] range of Palestine—not by the Egyptians, but by [illegible] Babylonians and Assyrians. It is in cuneiform do[illegible] ments of (about) the twelfth century that we f[illegible] come across the term 'land of A-mur-ri' (as the sy[illegible] must be read, instead of A-har-ri, as was forme[illegible] supposed). Nebuchadrezzar I., king of Baby[illegible] whose date is fixed at *circa* 1127, calls himself [illegible] conqueror of the 'land of Amor'; and Tiglath-pilese[illegible] of Assyria, whose reign coincides in part with that [illegible] Nebuchadrezzar, names the great sea of the Amo[illegible] land as the western boundary to his conquests.

8. In Egyptian.

9. In early Assyrian.

Long ere this, however, as the use of the Babylo[illegible] language in the Amarna tablets (*circa* 1400 B.C.) sh[illegible]

[1] [So G. A. Smith, *HG* 5, whilst BDB and Buhl (*Pal.* [illegible]) decline a decision. Moore and E. Meyer (*G.A.* 170) [illegible] derivation from כנע, 'humilis esse,' which is the property [illegible] uncritical Augustine (*Enarrat.* in Ps. 101 7). Augustine [illegible] (*Exp. Ep. ad Rom.*) that the peasants near Hippo, w[illegible] asked as to their origin, answered in Punic, *Chanani, id est, Chananaeos esse.*]

Babylonia had come into close contact with the Phœnician coast and the interior. As a matter of fact, one of the earliest rulers in Southern Babylonia of whom we have any record, Sargon I., whose date is fixed at 3800 B.C., is declared, in a tablet presenting a curious mixture of 'omens' and historical tradition, to have penetrated beyond the western sea (*i.e.*, the Mediterranean), and there are indications that he actually set foot on the island of Cyprus (see Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 831). Sargon speaks only in a general way of having proceeded to the 'west' land; but the ideographic designation in the text in question—MARTU—is the same as that which the later Assyrian rulers employ for the territory which includes Canaan in the proper sense. The same compound ideogram is the ordinary term for 'west' in the legal literature of Babylonia; and the suggestion that it is also to be read Amurru—MAR being a playful acrologism of *Amur* and TU, indicating perhaps direction—is plausible. In any case there appears to be some close connection between MAR TU and the name Amurru.[1] The text in which Sargon's western conquests are spoken of is probably of a very much later date than Sargon himself; but the value of the tradition, and at all events of the geographical nomenclature, is unimpaired by this fact. The Amarna

10. In Amarna tablets. tablets, which constitute the remains of Egyptian archives of the fifteenth century B.C., confirm the great antiquity of the term *Amurru*. In the letters to their royal master written by officers under Egyptian suzerainty, the term is of not infrequent occurrence, and an examination of the passages proves that it is applied, just like the corresponding term in the Egyptian inscriptions, to the mountainous district lying immediately to the east of the coast-land of 'Canaan' in the Egyptian sense—*i.e.*, of Northern Palestine. The eastern limits are again not sharply defined. In the period to which the Amarna tablets belong, the Hittites are beginning to extend their settlements beyond the Orontes; but between 'Hatti' and 'Amor' land there was a district known as *Nuhaśśi*, which reached to Damascus. This may, roughly, be regarded as the eastern frontier of the 'Amurru' district. The agreement between the Egyptian and the Amarna nomenclature extends to the term 'Canaan,' which, under the form Kinahhi, is limited in the Amarna tablets to the northern 'lowland' or sea-coast. It was quite natural that, from being applied to the interior district of Northern Palestine, the term 'Amurru' should come to be employed for the interior of Southern Palestine as well, just as the Egyptians extended the application of 'Canaan' to the entire Palestinian coast. When the Assyrian conquerors in

11. In later Assyrian. the ninth century begin to threaten the Hebrew kingdoms, they include the dominion of the latter under the land of 'Amurru.' The term 'land of Israel' occurs only once in Assyrian inscriptions, and even this passage is not beyond dispute. Again, since the 'Amurru' district in the proper sense was the first territory that the earliest Babylonian and Assyrian conquerors set foot in after crossing the Orontes, it also happens that the term becomes for them the most general designation for the 'West.' On the other hand, it must be noted that this development in the use of 'Amurru' is directly due to Babylonian influence, and forms part of the heritage bequeathed to later times by the period of early Babylonian control over the land lying to the west of the Orontes.

At the comparatively late period when Assyria, usurping the place formerly held by Babylonia, begins her conquests, the 'Amoritic'

12. Land of Hittites. power in Northern Palestine was seriously threatened by the HITTITES (*q.v.*). In extending their settlements beyond the Orontes they encroached upon 'Amoritic' territory. The distinct traces of this westward movement of the Hittites are to be found in the Amarna tablets already mentioned. Indeed, the movement forms the key to the political situation of Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C. The Assyrian conquerors accordingly, when proceeding to the West invariably began their campaigns by a passage of arms with the Hittites. This, taken together with the waning strength of the 'Amorites,' led to another change in the geographical nomenclature—the extension of the term Hatti or Hittite to Northern Palestine as far as the Mediterranean, so as to include, therefore, Phœnicia proper. For Southern Palestine the older designation 'Amurru' held its own, and the differentiation thus resulting between 'Hatti' and 'Amurru' assumed a practical significance which was quite independent of the original application of the two terms.

It will have become evident from this sketch of the early fortunes of Palestine that care must be exercised

13 Ethnographical distinctions. in drawing conclusions from geographical nomenclature. The Hittite power does not extend to the sea-coast because of the extension of the geographical term, and so the ethnographical application of Amoritic cannot be determined from the geographical usage.

That 'Amur' originally designated a particular tribe, or possibly a group of tribes, settled chiefly in the Anti-

14. Amorites. libanus district, is one of the few facts to be deduced from the early Egyptian monuments. These Amorites of Northern Palestine are frequently represented by the Egyptians as a blond people with a cast of countenance that marks them off from what are generally considered to be Semitic traits (see Petrie, *Racial Types from the Egyptian Monuments*). It would be hazardous, in the face of our imperfect knowledge, to enter upon further speculations as to their origin. There are good reasons for

15. Heterogeneous population. believing that already at a very early period the population of Palestine presented a mixture of races, and that through intermarriage the dividing lines between these races became fainter in the course of time, until all sharp distinctions were obliterated. Hence the promiscuous grouping—so characteristic in the Hexateuch—of Amorites with Perizzites, Hivites, Hittites, etc., of northern and southern Palestinians, without any regard to ethnic distinctions. The problem of differentiating between these various groups whom the Hebrews encountered upon settling in Palestine is at present incapable of solution. Future discoveries will probably emphasise still more strongly the heterogeneous character of the tribes. Their unorganised condition

16. Their absorption. made them a comparatively easy prey to conquerors and yet difficult to exterminate. The early Babylonian and Egyptian conquerors were content with a general recognition of their supremacy on the part of the inhabitants. Native Palestinians were retained in control, and all that was demanded was a payment of tribute from time to time. When, however, the Hebrews permanently settled in Southern Palestine, about 1200 B.C., the early inhabitants lost much of their political prestige. In the course of time, also, many of the groups were reduced to a state of subjection, varying in degree, but in all cases, except in the case of the inhabitants of the coast, sufficiently complete to prevent any renewal of former conditions. With the successful establishment of the *b'ne Israel* in the lands to the west of the Jordan, the history of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants comes to an end in Southern Palestine, except so far as the influence of these Canaanitish groups upon the religious life of the Israelites is involved. The Hittites in the north, of course, survive; but the other groups, including the Amorites, gradually disappear,

[1] For a discussion of the subject and a somewhat different view, see Schrader, 'Das land Amurru,' *SBAW* Dec. 20, 1894 (Cf. Wi. *OT* I (95), 51-54. An analogy for thus indicating 'westward' by a reference to a land lying to the west is to be found in the OT designation of *Negeb* for 'south.'

either sinking into a position of utter insignificance or amalgamating with the Hebrew tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 15 *f.*; ISRAEL, § 8). The frequent injunctions in the Hexateuch warning the people against intermarriage with these conquered groups are clear indications that such intermarriages must have been common.

17. Philistines. A new element in the ethnographical environment of Palestine that appears simultaneously with, or shortly before, the invasion of the Hebrews is represented by the Philistines, who, coming (it would appear) from some island or coast-land to the west of Palestine, succeeded as a sturdy seafaring nation in making settlements along the inhospitable southern coast of Palestine. Their non-Semitic character has been quite definitely ascertained; but, once in Palestine, they appear to have exchanged their own language for one of the Semitic dialects spoken in the land to which they came. It is rather curious that these Philistines, who generally lived in hostile relations with the Hebrews, and at various times threatened the existence of the Hebrew settlements, were eventually the people to give their name to a district which they never possessed in its entirety. In the latest Assyrian inscriptions, however, *Pilaštu* still appears in its restricted application to the southern coast-land, and it is not until the days of the Roman conquest that the equation 'Palestine = Philistia + Canaan' becomes established.

18. Historical periods. On the basis of the Egyptian and the Assyrian inscriptions and of the OT, the history of Canaan may be divided into three periods: (*a*) the pre-Israelitish period, from about 3800 B.C. to the definite constitution of the Israelitish confederacy; (*b*) the Israelitish supremacy from *circa* 1100 B.C. to *circa* 740; (*c*) decline of this supremacy, ending with the absorption of Canaan by Assyria and Babylonia 587 B.C. After the return of the Hebrews from the so-called Babylonian exile, the history of the north and south becomes involved in the various attempts to found a universal empire, undertaken in succession by Persia, Macedonia, and Rome.

19. Disunion. The characteristic note in the history of Canaan down to the period of Persian supremacy is the impossibility of any permanent political union among the inhabitants. Even the Hebrews, united by a common tradition and by religion, yield to the inevitable tendency towards political division instead of union. This tendency stands in close relationship to the geographical conditions (see G. A. Sm. *Hist. Geogr.*). The land is split up into coast-land, highland, and valleys; in consequence of which, it presents climatic extremes sufficient to bring about equally sharp contrasts in social conditions. The resulting heterogeneous disposition of the population appears to have rendered united action (except in extreme necessity) impossible even among those sections most closely united by blood and traditions. [For further details regarding these three periods of Canaanitish history see the articles ISRAEL, § 6, HITTITES, PHŒNICIA, PHILISTINES, etc.]. M. J., JR.

CANALS (יארים), Ex. 7 19 Nah. 3 8 RV^mg^. See EGYPT, § 6. The Hebrew word denotes the *arms* or *canals* of the Nile (יְאֹר). On artificial water-courses in Palestine see CONDUITS.

CANANÆAN (O KANANAIOC [Ti. WH], *cananæus* [Vg.], ܩܢܢܝܐ [Pesh.]), the designation applied to Simon the apostle (Mt. 10 4 Mk. 3 18 RV; mg. 'Zealot'). The word does not mean an inhabitant of Canaan (so AV CANAANITE, based upon TR *καναναιτης*), which in Gr. is usually expressed by *χαναναιος* (χ = ϲ); nor has it anything to do with Cana. It is a transliteration of קַנָּאִיָּא, the pl. of קַנָּאִי (cp Bib. Heb. קָנָא), which in Lk. 6 15 Acts 1 13 is represented by the Gr. equivalent *ζηλωτής*, ZEALOT (*q.v.*).

CANDACE (KANΔAKH [Ti. WH]), queen of Ethiopians (*Αἰθιόπων*), is incidentally mentioned in A 8 27. For the kingdom of Ethiopia which continued maintain its independence against the Roman empere see ETHIOPIA. Its queen was often called Canda this seems, indeed, to have been regarded as an offi title, somewhat like 'Pharaoh' (or rather 'Ptolemy in Egypt. The name occurs in hieroglyphics o ruined pyramid near ancient Meroe: see Lepsius, *D mäler*, v. pl. 47 (pyram. 20 of Begerauieh). There queen is called *Amen-'aryt* and *A'(r)nl(e)ky*.[1] It difficult to say which of the two or three queens cal Candace was buried in that tomb.

1. Strabo (820; see also Dio Cass. 53 27; 54 5) speaks of one-eyed virago Candace (*τῆς βασιλίσσης . . Κανδάκης, ἣ ἡμᾶς ἤρξε τῶν Αἰθιόπων, ἀνδρική τις γυνὴ πεπηρωμένη τὸν ἕτε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*) who in 22 B.C. attacked Egypt, overpowered three cohorts of Roman soldiers stationed at the first catar and devastated the Thebaid, but was easily defeated by legate Petronius, and pursued to her northern capital, Nap which was destroyed. 2. Pliny (6 35) seems to refer the rei Candace ('regnare fœminam Candacem') to the time wh Nero's explorers passed through Nubia; his assertion that name had become somewhat common among the queens Meroë ('quod nomen multis jam annis ad reginas transiit') usually pushed much too far against the monumental evidenc

The Ethiopian officer of Acts 8 cannot well have h any connection with the Candace of Strabo; but h mistress may not improbably have been the contempora of Nero.

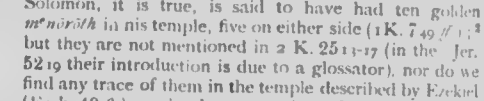
Nero's explorers reported the southern capital as in ruins, consequence of internal wars between the Ethiopians; m likely, the royal residence had already been shifted S. to W. es-Sofra and Soba, where ruined palaces and temples of the late style have been found, but the kingdom appears still to ha taken its name from the capital Meroë where the kings were, least, buried.

For the condition of the Meroitic kingdom at tha time and the part played by the queens (or rather kin mothers), see ETHIOPIA. W. M. M.

CANDLE (נֵר; ΛΥΧΝΟϹ), Job 18 6 Mt. 5 15 etc.; c below, and see LAMP.

CANDLESTICK, the EV rendering of (1) *menōrā* מְנוֹרָה Ex. 25 31 etc. (ΛΥΧΝΙΑ), the well-known candela brum of the temple, and (2) Aram. *nebrāštā* נִבְרְשְׁתָּא (deriv. uncert.), Dan. 5 5 (ΛΑΜΠΑϹ [Theod.], Φοο [Θ]), to the former of which the present article will con fine itself, leaving to the articles LAMP and TEMPLE further remarks upon the use of lights in temples or shrines, and of lights (and 'candlesticks' or rather 'lampstands') for secular purposes.

1. Not pre-exilic. There is no critical evidence to support the supposition that the temple candelabrum described by P in Ex. 25 *ff.* 37 17 *ff.* existed before the Exile. On the contrary, an old passage 1 S. 3 3 (written, perhaps, at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. [Bu., *SBOT*; cp SAMUEL, i. § 3 (*a*)]) speaks only of a 'lamp' (נר) which seems to have burnt from night-fall until the approach of dawn. Solomon, it is true, is said to have had ten golden *menōrōth* in his temple, five on either side (1 K. 7 49 *ff.*);[2] but they are not mentioned in 2 K. 25 13-17 (in the Jer. 52 19 their introduction is due to a glossator), nor do we find any trace of them in the temple described by Ezekiel (Ezek. 40 *ff.*), or in the restoration of temple-treasures by Cyrus (Ezra 1 6 *f.*).[3] These facts, as well as internal evidence, support Stade's conclusion that the passage in 1 K. is an interpolation (*ZATW* 3 168 *ff.* [83], *GVI* 1 230; cp Now. *HA* 2 40 n. 2, and Benz. *ad loc.*). The



1 ; read for the disfigured fifth sign.

2 Apart from the instruments used in tending this candlestick and the lamps themselves, mention is made only of the 'flowers' (פְּרָחִים, Θ in Ki. λαμπαδ[ε]ια [in Zech. 4 2 = לַפִּיד, 'bowl'], in 2 Ch. 4 21 λαβίδες [*i.e.*, מְלָקְחַיִם, 'tongs']).

3 Unmentioned also in 2 Macc. 2 5 and the Apoc. of Baruch 6 7 *ff.*

ten candlesticks of the temple of Solomon have probably been evolved from the imagination of a later scribe, who seems to have adopted the number ten to agree with the ten 'bases' (מְכֹנוֹת); cp 1 K. 7 39. Obviously it is no real objection to our view of the critical value of 1 K. 7 49 that the Chronicler mentions candlesticks of gold and silver among David's gifts to Solomon in 1 Ch. 28 15. That this verse in its present form has suffered amplification appears from a comparison with 𝔊.

Tradition held that these ten candlesticks (Jos. augments the number to 10,000! [*Ant.* viii. 3 7]) either were already present along with the Mosaic candelabrum, or were exact copies of it (cp 2 Ch. 4 7, מִקְשָׁם). Naturally Solomon's great wealth was considered a sufficient explanation of the otherwise curious fact that, whereas he employed ten candlesticks, the Mosaic tabernacle and the second temple were content with one. *Bammidbar Rabba*, 15, adds that the candlestick was one of the five things taken away and preserved at the destruction of Solomon's temple.

The candlestick of gold, called also the 'pure candlestick' (Lev. 24 4), is described at length by P in Ex. 25 31 *ff.* (= 37 17 *ff.*). It was placed outside the veil, in front of the table of shewbread (see the Vg. addition to Nu. 8 2).

2. Description. The *m*ᵉ*nōrāh* comprised the יָרֵךְ (AV shaft),[1] קָנֶה (branch, καλαμίσκος), גָּבִיעַ (AV bowl, RV cup, κρατήρ, *scyphus*), כַּפְתּוֹר (knop, σφαιρωτήρ; Targ. Pesh. 'apple'),[2] and פֶּרַח (flowers, κρίνον [similarly Targ. Pesh. Vg. 'lily']), perhaps collectively 'ornamentation.' The workmanship was מִקְשָׁה, 'beaten-work' or repoussé (so 𝔊 τορευτός; but στερεός in Nu. 8 4 Ex. 37 14[17]; Jos., on the other hand, has κεχωνευμένος, 'cast'). From an upright shaft three arms projected on either side. Each branch comprised three cups described as מְשֻׁקָּדִים, 'shaped like [or ornamented with] almonds' (ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρύϊσκοις – see ALMOND), together with *kaftōr* and *pérah*. Under each pair of branches was a *kaftōr* (Ex. 25 35), and four sets of *kaftōr* and *pérah* were to be found 'in the candlestick' (מְנוֹרָה, *i.e.*, on the shaft, *v.* 34). These four may have included the three of *v.* 35, in which case the fourth was between the base and the lowest pair, or near the summit. Possibly, however, the four sets came between the topmost pair of branches and the summit (cp the illustration in Reland *De Spoliis Templi*, facing p. 35). The centre shaft in Zechariah's vision was surmounted by a bowl (4 2 λυχνία λαμπάδιον).

From Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 6 7) we learn that the candelabrum was hollow, and comprised σφαῖραι, κρίνα with ῥοίσκοι and κρατηρίδια, seventy ornaments in all.[3] It ended in seven heads 'κατάλληλαι,' and was situated obliquely (λοξῶς) before the table of shewbread, and thus looked E. and S. 𝔊's version of Ex. 37 17 *ff.* (differing widely from the present MT) supplies the interesting statement that from the branches (καλαμίσκοι) there proceeded three sprouts (βλαστοί) on either side 'ἐξισούμενοι ἀλλήλοις.' Rabbinical tradition (cp Talm. *Menach.* 28*b*, Abarbanel, Rashi, etc., on Ex. *l.c.*) maintained that the candelabrum stood three ells in height and measured two ells between the outer lights; and that it stood upon a tripod (Maimonides; cp Cornius, *Opusc.* fasc. vi. 21 *f.*). The seven lamps were provided with pure olive oil (Ex. 27 20 *f.*), and for the general service were supplied 'tongs' (מַלְקָחַיִם), 'snuff dishes' (מַחְתּוֹת), and various 'oil vessels' (כְּלֵי שָׁמֶן).[4] The lamps were to be tended daily (Ex. 30 7 *f.*); but tradition varied as to how many were kept lit at one time.[5] The light was never allowed to be extinguished, and tradition relates that the approaching fall of the temple was prognosticated by the sudden occurence of this mishap (Talm. *Yoma*, *l.c.*; cp the lament in 4 Esd. 10 22 (written after the fall of Jerusalem), *lumen candelabri nostri extinctum est*.

It was forbidden to reproduce the candlesticks exactly (cp Onias and the temple of Leontopolis, *BJ* vii. 10 3), but this law could be evaded by making them with five, six, or even eight arms (*Tb. Zara*, 43*a*).[6]

The holy candelabrum is referred to comparatively seldom in subsequent writings.[7] It forms the motive in Zechariah's vision (Zech. 4, cp Rev. 1 12 *f.*).

3. History. In B.C. 170 Antiochus Epiphanes carried it off along with the golden altar etc. (1 Macc. 1 21, ἡ λυχνία τοῦ φωτός [𝔅𝔄]. om. V); but a fresh one (tradition relates that it was of inferior material) was reconstructed by Judas after the purification of the temple (164 B.C., 1 Macc. 4 49). Jesus the son of Sirach employs the λυχνος ἐλλάμπων ἐπὶ λυχνίας ἁγίας as a simile for beauty in ripe old age (Ecclus. 26 17). The same is doubtless the λυχνία ἱερά seen by Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 4 4), which, with its seven λυχνοι, was one of the three famous objects in the temple of Herod (*BJ* v. 5 5). Its fate at the fall of Jerusalem is well known. The holy candelabrum, or, more probably, a copy of it, was carried in the triumph of Titus (*BJ* vii. 5 5), and was depicted upon the famous arch which bears his name. Vespasian deposited it in the temple of Peace, and after various vicissitudes (see Smith, *DB*⁽²⁾, *s.v.*) it was placed in the Christian church at Jerusalem (533 A.D.). All trace of it has since been lost. Possibly it was destroyed or carried off by Chosroes II. of Persia, when, in 614, he took and pillaged Jerusalem (see Levesque in Vigouroux, *DB*, *s.v.*).

Curiously enough, Josephus, in his account of the triumph of Titus, states that the workmanship (ἔργον) of the candlestick was not the same as that which had been in the temple.[8] As was the case with other objects in the triumph, it was probably constructed from the descriptions of the captives; besides, such conventional candlesticks were not unknown at that time.[9] The griffin-like figures depicted upon the base of the candelabrum may be possibly ascribed to the artist; so far as can be judged, they do not resemble the mythical symbols from Palestine or Assyria. Consequently, in endeavouring to gain an idea of the original seven-branched candlestick, one must not adhere too strictly to the representation upon the Arch of Titus.

The language employed to describe the sacred *m*ᵉ*nōrāh* shows that it must have closely resembled a tree.[7] Seven-branched trees are frequently met with in sculptures, etc., from the E.[8] and, as Robertson Smith observes, 'in most of the Assyrian examples it is not easy to draw the line between the candelabrum and the sacred tree crowned with a star or crescent moon' (*KSI*⁽²⁾ 488). Since it is only natural to look for traces of Assyrian or

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[1] יָרֵךְ (Ex. 25 31 37 17 Nu. 8 4) is difficult. RV renders 'base'; so Pesh. (ܫܘܫܐ [*i.e.*, βάσις], ܪܓܠܐ); but AV finds support in 𝔊 Vg. (καυλός, *hastile*, *stipes*, and in Ex. 37 17 20 *vectis* [used also of the בַּדִּים 'staves' for carrying the ark]). יָרֵךְ when used of inanimate objects denotes the 'flank' (cp Ex. 40 22 24 Lev. 1 11 Nu. 3 29 35 2 K. 16 14). The specific mention of the 'base' of the candlestick accordingly seems uncertain, unless perhaps we should read כֵּן, 'stand,' 'base' (cp 2 Ch. 6 13), instead of יָרֵךְ. On the other hand, the candlestick may have had originally no base (cp above, § 4).

[2] Perhaps a pear-shaped ornament: cp Syr. ܟܦܬܘܪܐ and see *BDB*, *s.v.*

[3] It is difficult to see how he obtains this number. Six branches each with 3 sets of *gebia'*, *kaftōr*, and *pérah* (32 *f.*), including the shaft with 4 similar sets (*v.* 34) and the 3 *kaftōrim* (*v.* 35), amount to 69 (54 + 12 + 3). Perhaps to this we must add the figure at the summit of the central shaft (possibly ornamented in a different manner). The artist in a Hebrew MS of the first half of the thirteenth century (Brit. Mus., Harley, 5710, fol. 136*a*), following a different interpretation of Ex. 25 33, assigns only one *pérah* and *kaftōr* to each branch, including the shaft. Each of the seven branches has 3 *gebi'im*, and at the extremity a lamp (נֵר). Below the *kaftōr* joining the lowest pair of branches the artist has drawn (reckoning downwards) a *pérah*, a *kaftōr*, and a *gebia'*.

[1] Zech. 4 12 mentions also צַנְתְּרוֹת, 'pipes,' for conveying the oil (μυξωτήρες).

[2] Cp Ex. 27 20 *f.* 2 Ch. 13 11 and Jos. *Ant.* iii. 8 3. Rabbinical tradition held that only *one* was lit by day. This, it has been suggested, was the lamp upon the central shaft (called נֵר מַעֲרָבִי).

[3] Thus, *e.g.*, in the Feast of Tabernacles (see *Succah*, 5 2).

[4] The evidence for the existence of more than one in post-exilic times rests only upon Jos. *BJ* vi. 8 3. With *Ant.* xii. 5 4 (1 Macc. 1 21) contrast *ib.* 7 6.

[5] *BJ* vii. 5 5 [ed. Niese]. The passage is not free from obscurity. Noteworthy is the remark that slender arms (καυλίσκοι) resembling the form of a trident were drawn forth. (See § 4.)

[6] Cp their use as symbols in Rev. 1 12 *f.* 2 1 *ff.* 4 5.

[7] Cp similarly the candelabrum in the temple of the Palatine Apollo (Pliny, 34 8).

[8] A seven-branched palm upon a coin of the Maccabees; see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 71, n. 7.

Babylonian influence in the second temple, it is not improbable that the *menōrāh* was originally a representation of the sacred seven-branched tree itself, possibly indeed the tree of life.[1] The six arms, instead of coming up and forming a straight line with the top of the central shaft, probably tapered off, the extremities of each pair being lower than those of the pair above it, thus presenting more accurately the outline of a tree. Examples of candelabra with the arms thus arranged are not unknown.[2]

It is not impossible that the *Ethrog* and *Lulab* ('citron' and 'palm-branch'; cp APPLE, § 2 [3]) of the Feast of Tabernacles (wherein candlesticks played so important a part) are to be connected also with this sacred seven-branched tree, from which, it has been suggested, the *menōrāh* has been evolved. The specific tree represented was one which, for various reasons, was considered the most unique and valuable. The choice may have depended more strictly upon the belief that it was supposed to represent the tree of temptation in the Paradise myth (so at all events in Christian times; cp Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, 80).

See Reinach, *De Septimo Templi*, H. Opitz, *Disquisitio . . . de candelabro . . . structura* (1707); Reinach, *L'Arc de Titus* (Paris, 1900); and Vigouroux, *DB*, *s.v.* 'Chandelier,' with the literature there quoted.

S. A. C.

CANE, SWEET (קָנֶה). Is. 43 24 Jer. 6 20. See R[illegible] 2 (*b*).

CANKERWORM (יֶלֶק; βρουχος or ακρις). [illegible] 105 34 Jer. 51 14 27 Joel 1 4 [twice]. 2 25 Nah. 3 15, 16 [illegible] Ps. and Cr. AV has CATERPILLER. The Hebrew is usually regarded as denoting a young stage in the history of the locust; but this seems doubtful. LOCUST, § 2, n. 6.

CAL NEH (כַּלְנֵה), Ezek. 27 23. MT usually taken for name of a place in Mesopotamia with which Tyre [illegible] commercial dealings, and identified with Calneh [illegible] Schr. in Riehm's *HWB*[illegible], 1 256). Cornill even re[illegible] 'Calneh' (כלנה), appealing to a single Heb. MS w[illegible] reads thus, and to variants of 𝔊—viz., χαλλαν [A] χαλκαλ [V]. But the name is really no existent [illegible] words rendered 'and Canneh and Eden' should ra[illegible] be 'and the sons of Eden.'

Everywhere else we read either of Beth-Eden or of P'ne E[illegible] it is not probable that there is an exception here. χανεε [B], or χανεαν [AQ] of 𝔊, is not כנה, but כנע or [illegible] where ע or ע is a relic of ע, and ע a corruption of כנ. [illegible] MSS of 𝔊 give only two names, and the second name is Canneh (as Smith's *DB*[illegible]), but a corruption of B'ne Eden. [illegible] discovery (for such it seems to be) is due to Mez (*Gesch. Stadt Harrân*, 1892, p. 34).

T. K. C.

CANON

INTRODUCTION: THE IDEA OF A CANON (§§ 1-4).

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

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- Extent and classification (§ 5).
- Order of books (§§ 7-9).
- In Septuagint (§ 10 *f.*).
- In Josephus, Jerome (§§ 12-14).

ii. CLOSING OF CANON (§§ 15-22).
- Early tradition (§§ 15-17).
- Elias Levita and 'The Great Synagogue' (§§ 18-21).
- Scientific method (§ 22).

iii. HISTORY OF CANON (§§ 23-59).
- *First canon*: the Law (§§ 23-27).
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- Why not canonised with Law (§§ 28-35).
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- Non-Palestinian views (§ 57 *f.*).
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B. NEW TESTAMENT.

- Gradual growth (§§ 60-64).
- Evidence of orthodox writers (§§ 65-68).
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- Versions (§ 70).
- General traces of NT (§ 71).
- Muratorian canon (§ 72).
- Books temporarily received (§ 73).
- Result (§ 74).

Bibliography: OT and NT (§ 75 *f.*).

The word canon is Greek; its application to the Bible belongs to Christian times; the idea originates in Judaism.

1. Greek terms. The Greek (ὁ) κανων (allied to κάννα, κάνη, 'a reed'; borrowed from the Semitic, Heb. קָנֶה) means a straight rod or pole, a rod used for measuring, a carpenter's rule; and, by metonymy, a rule, norm, or law; a still later meaning is that of catalogue or list.

As applied to the books of Scripture κανών is first met with in the second half of the fourth century: thus βιβλία κανονικά (as opposed to ἀκανονίστα) in c. 59 of the Council of Laodicea (*circa* 360 A.D.), and β. κανονιζόμενα in Athanasius (*ep. fest.* 39, 365 A.D.); κανών for the whole collection is still later. The original signification is still a question. Did the term mean (*a*) the books constituted into a standard; or (*b*) the books corresponding to the standard (*i.e.* of the faith; cp κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, κ. τῆς ἀληθείας, κ. τῆς πίστεως) and measured by it (κανονίσαι in Ptolemy's Letter to Flora, *circa* 200 A.D., in Holtzmann, p. 115 *f.*), or perhaps underlying it (*c*) the books taken up into the authoritative catalogue or into the normal number? The subject is discussed with full references to the literature in Holtzmann, p. 142 *ff.* It is not improbable that the word passed through various phases of meaning in course of time.

2. Early usage.

The idea involved is clearly fixed; θεόπνευστοι γραφαί (Amphilochius, *ob.* 395), πιστεύεται θεία εἶναι β. (Athanasius, *ut sup.*) are expressions concurrently used to convey the same meaning. It was, as we saw, clearly a loan from Judaism, and within the Christian domain originally applied only to the sacred books of the synagogue—the OT. So already in the NT itself (2 Tim. 3 16). The doctrine of the synagogue was that all the writings included in its canon had their [illegible] divine inspiration, and that it was God who spoke [illegible] them (Weber, § 20 1). The canon, with the doctrine attached to it, passed over to the Christian church and became its sole sacred book,[1] until many writings of Christian origin came to be added, and the Jewish canon, as the Old Testament, was distinguished from the New.

The composite expression 'canonical books' has an analogue in the usage of the synagogue. From the first century A.D. such books are designated מְטַמְּאִים אֶת יָדַיִם ('that defile the hands'), *Yadayim* 3 2 4 5[3] 4 5 6; cp *Ḥaguigah* 5 3, [illegible]

3. Hebrew terms.

[1] Perhaps originally a symbol of the universe—the tree of life being viewed as distinct in its origin from the sacred mountain of Elohim with which in a later myth it was combined. (Cp JACHIN and BOAZ.) It is noteworthy that a seven-branched palm is represented by the side of an altar on an old Greek vase (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. 155, fig. 3).

[2] Cp *PEF Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land*, 154, the representation upon an amethyst reproduced in Reland, *De Spol.*, facing p. 35, also *ib.* facing p. 42. The older form may in time have tended to approach the conventional form represented upon the arch of Titus, which agrees with later Jewish tradition. This form, resembling a trident in its outline, is especially noted by Jos. as a novelty (*BJ* vii. 5 5). For illustrations of the latter variety see Martigny, *Dict. Ant. Chrét.* (77) 113; the plates in Calmet's Dictionary, and one at Ṭabariyeh (Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Jud.* 1 250).

[1] But see also below, §§ 57-59.

[2] See below, § 42.

[3] See below, § 53.

Weber, § 21 1). Of this surprising expression still more surprising explanations have been offered.

Thus (a) Buhl still prefers that drawn from *Yadayim*, 4 5, according to which the designation was intended to prevent profane uses of worn-out synagogue rolls. (b) Weber, Strack, C. H. H. Wright, and Wildeboer adopt that suggested by *Shabbath*, 13b, 14a. According to this the object was to secure that, as unclean, the sacred writings should always be kept apart, and thus kept from harm such as might arise, *e.g.*, if they were kept near consecrated corn, and so exposed to attack from mice. (c) A. Geiger (*Hinterlassene Schriften*, 4 14) actually maintains that only such roll as had been written on the skins of unclean beasts were intended to defile the hands.

All such explanations are disposed of by *Yadayim* 3 4, where there is a special discussion of the question whether the unwritten margins and outer coverings of sacred rolls defile the hands. Under none of the above explanations could any such question as this possibly arise. The fact that defilement only *of the hands* is

4. Sanctity. attributed to the sacred writings demands more attention than it has hitherto received. Interpreted in positive terms this can mean only that *contact with them involves a ceremonial washing of the hands*, especially as the ruling in the matter occurs in that Mishna treatise which relates to, and is named from, such hand-washings. The expression would be an unnatural one if it implied a command that the hands should be washed *before* touching (so First, p. 83). As enjoining washing *after* contact it is quite intelligible. The Pharisees (under protest from the Sadducees; cp *Yad.* 4 6) attributed to the sacred writings a sanctity of such a sort that whosoever touched them was not allowed to touch aught else, until he had undergone the same ritual ablution as if he had touched something unclean.[1] The same precept, according to the stricter view, applied to the prayer ribbands on the *tephillim* (*Yad.* 3 5, FRONTLETS, end). To this defilement of the hands the correlative idea is that of holiness;[2] both qualities are attributed together, but only to a very limited number of writings, namely the canonical (cp *Yad.* 3 5). See also CLEAN, § 3.

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

I. EXTENT AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE OT CANON.

The extent of the OT canon, so far as the synagogue

5. No. of 'books.' is concerned, is exactly what we find in our Hebrew printed texts and in the Protestant translations. The original reckoning of the synagogue, however, does not regard the books as thirty-nine. The twelve minor prophets count as one book called 'the twelve,' שנים עשר (so already in *Baba Bathra*, 14b, 15a text), *Dodekapropheton*; so also Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; whilst Ezra and Nehemiah form one book of Ezra. Thus 11 + 3 + 1 = 15 have to be deducted from our 39, leaving only 24.[3] See § 11 *ff*.

The twenty-four canonical books fall into three main divisions: תורה (the law) with five books, נביאים (the

6. Classification. prophets) with eight, and כתובים (the writings, Hagiographa) with eleven.[4] The prophets consist of four historical books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) and four prophetical (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor). Since the Massoretic period (cp Strack, *PRE*[3] 7 439) the first group has borne the name of נביאים ראשונים ('former prophets') to distinguish it from the second, נביאים אחרונים ('latter prophets'). Among the Hagiographa a distinct group is formed by the five (festal) 'rolls'—חמש מגלות—printed in modern impressions in the order of the feasts at which they are read in the synagogue: Canticles (Passover), Ruth (Pentecost), Lamentations (9th Ab, Destruction of Jerusalem), Ecclesiastes (Tabernacles), Esther (Purim). Only once (in the *Baraytha*[1] *Baba Bathra*, 57b) do we find the three larger poetical books—Psalms, Proverbs, and Job—grouped together as אמ"ת; and the three smaller—Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations—as מ"ק. Finally, Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles close the list.

Compass and threefold division of the canon are already taken as fully settled in a very old and authoritative passage in the tradition of the

7. Uncertain order. synagogue, viz. the *Baraytha Baba Bathra*, 14b 15a; but as to the order of the books within their several divisions the same passage gives a decision for the first time. The explanation of this is that in the oldest times the sacred writings were not copied into continuous codices. Each book had a separate roll to itself.[2] Accordingly, in the preceding Baraytha (*Baba Bathra*, 13b), we find the question started whether it be permissible to write the entire Holy Scriptures, or even the eight prophets, on a single roll. On the strength of some precedent or other the question is answered in the affirmative; and this leads up to the further question as to the order in which the single books in the second and the third divisions ought to be written. This plainly shows that there was as yet on the subject no fixed tradition, and therefore too great importance ought not to be attached either to the Mishnic determination of the question or to the departure from Mishnic usage which we meet with.[3] Both, however, are worthy of attention.

The order of the prophets proper, according to our passage, ought to be: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the

8. Prophets. twelve. The position of Isaiah seems to have struck even the teachers of the Gemara as remarkable, and is explained by them in a fanciful way. The Massora gives Isaiah the first place, and in this it is followed by the MSS of Spanish origin (as by the printed texts), while the German and French MSS adhere to the Talmudic order. Just because of its departure from strict chronology, we are justified in assuming that the Talmudic order rests on old and good tradition. We may safely venture, therefore, to make use of it in the attempt to answer the question of the origin not only of the individual books but also of the canon.

For the first books of the Hagiographa, the order given in our printed texts—Psalms, Proverbs, Job—

9. Hagiographa. which is that of the German and French MSS, gives place in our passage to this order: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs. Supposing this to be the original place of the Book of Ruth, we might account for its later change of position by a desire to group together the five festal rolls. This explanation, however, is impossible for the reason that the Massora and the Spanish MSS put Chronicles instead of Ruth in the first place and before the Psalter. Of course, the same purpose is served by either arrangement: each of them prefixes to the (Davidic) Psalter a book which helps to explain it. The Book of Ruth performs this service inasmuch as it concludes with David's genealogical tree and closes with his name; and the Book of Chronicles does so in a still higher degree, inasmuch as, in addition to the genealogy (1 Ch. 2 9 *ff*.), it gives an account of David's life, particularly of his elaborate directions for the temple service and temple music. Thus the claim of the Psalter to the first place

1 See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2b] 161, 452. He well adds that the high priest on the Day of Atonement washed his flesh with water, not only when he put on the holy garments of the day, but also when he put them off (Lev. 16 24; *Yoma*, 7 4).

2 With this corresponds the Mishnic name of the canon כתבי הקדש, while the names ספרים הכתבים tacitly supplement the idea of holiness. To these exactly answer the NT expressions γραφαὶ ἅγιαι, ἱερὰ γράμματα, ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί. For other names see below, and for fuller details cp Strack, 438 *f*.

3 Hence a very common old name for the collection, still frequently in use: 'the twenty-four books,' עשרים וארבעה ספרים, written also כ"ד ספרים.

4 Hence the old collective title תורה נביאים וכתובים with its Massoretic contraction תנ"ך.

1 Baraytha (בָּרַיְתָא) is a Mishna tradition which has not been taken into the canon of the Mishna, but comes from the same period (about 200 A.D.). On the very important passage referred to cp Marx, *Traditio etc.*

2 The Law was an exception; its five books as a rule constituted but one roll, although the five fifths (חומשים) were to be met with also separately (cp *Megilla*, 27a).

3 Cp the excellent synoptic table in Ryle (*Canon of OT*, 281).

is only confirmed by both variations (that of the Talmud and that of the Massora) from the usual order.[1] On the other hand, the Massora and the Spanish MSS support the order, Psalms, Job, Proverbs (Job before Proverbs), which therefore must be held to be the older arrangement, the other being explained by the desire to make Solomon come immediately after David.

The arrangement of the five rolls in the order of their feasts is supported only by the German and the French MSS. The Massora and the Spanish MSS have Ruth, Cant., Eccl., Lam., Esth., whilst *Baba Bathra*, after transposing Ruth in the manner we have seen, gives the order Eccl., Cant., Lam., then introduces Daniel, and closes the list with Esther. We may venture to infer from this (1) that the arrangement of the Megilloth in the order of their feasts in the ecclesiastical year is late and artificial; (2) that about the year 200 A.D. they had not even been constituted a definite group; (3) that the inversion of the order of Daniel and Esther, and the removal of Ruth from the head of the list, were probably designed to effect this, the position of Daniel before Esther having thus a claim to be regarded as the older;[2] and (4) that the original position of the Book of Ruth is quite uncertain, because the first place among the rolls may have been assigned to it by the Massora simply because it had been deposed from the first place among the Hagiographa. We may, further, regard it as probable that Proverbs was originally connected, as in *Baba B.*, with the other Solomonic writings. Finally, it may be taken as perfectly certain that Ezra and Chronicles closed the list.[3]

10. The LXX.

The definition, division, and arrangement of books as given above, which rests on real tradition, and must constitute the basis for our subsequent investigations, is violently at variance with that of the LXX. It will be sufficient merely to indicate the differences here for, as compared with the canon of the synagogue, that of the LXX represents only a secondary stage in the development.

(1) The arrangement of the LXX is apparently intended to be based on the contents of the books. The poetical books are, on the whole, regarded as didactic in character, the Prophets proper as mainly predictive, whilst the Law leads up to the historical books and is closely connected with the Former Prophets. As the Prophets are placed at the end, the progress of the collection is normal—from the past (historical books) to the present (didactic books) and the future (books of prophecy).

Certain, however, of the miscellaneous collection which forms the Hagiographa—these, namely, that are historical—are transferred to the first division, where a place is assigned them on chronological principles. Ruth (cp 11) is inserted immediately after Judges, whilst Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther are appended at the end. Lamentations, on the other hand, regarded as the work of Jeremiah (cp 2 Ch. 35 25 and the opening words of the book in 𝔅), is transferred to the third division (prophetic books) and appended to Jeremiah; whilst Daniel closes the entire collection. Lastly, Job, regarded as a purely historical book,[4] serves to effect the transition from the historical to the didactic writings.

Of the prophetical books, the Dodecapropheton heads the list (in a somewhat varying order of the individual books), presumably on account of the higher antiquity of the writings which open it.

(2) Samuel and Kings together are divided into four books of Kings. Chronicles is divided into two books, as is also (subsequently) Ezra. (3) In varying degrees new writings unknown to the Hebrew canon are interpolated.

[1] Cp also 2 Macc. 2 13 *f.*; Lk. 24 44.

[2] This is supported by Jerome in *Prol. Gal.* (cp the text in Ryle, 287 *ff.*). Other variations, it is true, occur in the same author.

[3] It should be added that the MSS show the utmost irregularity in their arrangement of the Hagiographa; cp Ryle, *Excursus C*, 281 *f.*, and, for some important details, A. Rahlfs, 'Alter u. Heimat der vaticanischen Bibelhandschrift,' *GGN*, 1899, Heft 1 (Philol.-hist. Klasse).

[4] There is, however, considerable vacillation as to its position. For other variations, which are very numerous, cp Ryle, 213 *ff.*, and the table appended to 281.

The very various arrangements of the Hebrew c[illegible] which have been adopted in the Christian Church [illegible] all be traced back to the LXX, [illegible] more or less far reaching correct[illegible] based on the canon of the synagog[illegible]

11. Ruth and Lam.

Among all the divergences of the LXX from the synagogue arrangement, there is only one concerning wh[illegible] it is worth while considering whether it may not possi[illegible] represent the original state of things as against the sy[illegible] gogue tradition. Ruth is made to follow Judges, [illegible] Lamentations Jeremiah. If the actual state of the c[illegible] be that these two books ranked originally among [illegible] prophets, but were afterwards transferred to the Hag[illegible] graphia, the historical value of the threefold division [illegible] the canon is very largely impaired. Now this o[illegible] of the books is supported by the oft recurring reckon[illegible] of twenty-two books instead of twenty-four (cp abo[illegible] § 2), a reckoning which can be explained only on t[illegible] assumption that Ruth and Lamentations were [illegible]

12. Josephus.

counted separately, being regard[illegible] as integral parts of Judges and Je[illegible] miah. Our sole Jewish witness to this is Josephu[illegible] (*Ap.* i 8 *circ.* 100 A.D.). He gives the total as two [illegible] two, made out as follows: Moses, 5; Prophets, [illegible] Moses, 13; hymns to God and precepts for men [illegible] The last-named category doubtless means the Ps[illegible] and the three Solomonic writings. Thus Da[illegible] Esther, Ezra, Chronicles, and even Job, are, as [illegible] torical books, reckoned with the prophets, and [illegible] and Lamentations are not counted at all, th[illegible] to say, they are included in Judges and Jeremi[illegible] Here clearly a compromise has been struck [illegible] tween the threefold division of the synagogue, w[illegible] places the prophets in the intermediate position [illegible] the division of the Alexandrians, which arranges [illegible] books according to subjects. The Alexandrian [illegible] is obviously in view also in the pointed addition [illegible] τὰ δικαίως πεπιστευμένα,[2] by which the books not [illegible] tained in the canon of the synagogue are excl[illegible] We may conclude, therefore, that also the reason [illegible] Ruth and Lamentations are not reckoned as sep[illegible] books is that the LXX is followed, and thus we [illegible] no fresh testimony here. There is a further [illegible] to be made. That the seven books just men[illegible] should be removed from the prophetic canon [illegible] once were there, to a place among the Hagiog[illegible] could be explained only by a desire to have the [illegible] rolls beside one another. In the oldest tradition, h[illegible] ever, there was no such group of rolls (see above, § [illegible]

13. Origin of No. 22.

The supposed motive, therefore, c[illegible] not have been operative. On the oth[illegible] hand, the number twenty-two [illegible] artificial and external motive, not indicated by Jose[illegible] but mentioned by all the Church fathers from O[illegible] downwards.[4] there is thus one book for each l[illegible] the Hebrew alphabet. This childish fancy is carried [illegible] an extreme point when the books are reckoned as twenty-seven (an alternative which is offered by Epiphanius and Jerome) to do justice to the five final letters also: the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra are divided, the fifth being supplied in Epiphanius by Judges and Ruth, in Jerome by Jeremiah *and* Lamentations. That this is mere arbitrary trifling is obvious.

On the other hand Jerome gives also the number twenty-four (*Prol. Gal.*), cautiously describing it [illegible]

14. Jerome, etc.

reckoning accepted by 'nonnulli,' Ruth and Lamentations thus being [illegible]

[1] For various blundering attempts to put another meaning on the canon of Josephus, cp Strack, 428, Ryle, 169. [illegible] (see [illegible] below, § 75, p. 127 *f.*) inclines to the opinion [illegible] Josephus did not recognise as canonical the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. See, on this point, below, § [illegible] *ff.*

[2] The word θεία after δικαίως is disallowed by Niese as an interpolation.

[3] A thing improbable in itself, as implying a degradation. See below, § 43.

[4] Cp the passages in Ryle, 221, and still more exhaustively in Strack, 435 *ff.*

counted among the Hagiographa. A symbolical sense, based on Rev. 4 10, is found for this number also. In the Prologue to Daniel, however, Jerome adopts 24 as the [illegible] reckoning: he counts 5, 8, and 11 books to each of the divisions respectively, though he does not mention the total. Support is given to the *Baraytha Baba B.* 14*b*, 15*a* in like manner by the contemporary testimony of *Berachoth* 57*b*, which quotes Cant. Eccl. and Lam. as 'writings,' and by the Targum of Jonathan on the prophets where Ruth and Lam. are wanting. Finally, our oldest witness—4th Esdras, probably written under Domitian (85-96 A.D.), and therefore contemporary [illegible] represents Ezra as writing at the div[illegible] 94 books (chap. 14)—*i.e.*, after deduction [illegible] other books, the 24 books of the canon.[1]

The number twenty-two, therefo[illegible] from a Jewish source; but it is a [illegible] The original place of Ruth and [illegible] ingly, was in the third part of t[illegible]

II. TRADITION RELATING [illegible] CANON.—Even had there [illegible] a qualified [illegible] of books [illegible] be canonic[illegible] excluded from the canon, the[illegible] any tradition of it. According t[illegible] ing and origin of canonicity enterta[illegible] (the sole custodian of tradition), and i[illegible] the Christian Church, canonicity depen[illegible] and thus attribute each of the twenty-fou[illegible] with it into the world quite independently of any [illegible] and in a manner that unmistakably distinguished it from every other writing. The growth of the canon was represented as being like that of a plant; it begin with the appearance of the first inspired book, and closed with the completion of the last. The question accordingly was simply this: When was the latest canonical book composed? or, if this admits of being answered, Who was its human author?

18. No canonization.

To this question the tradition of the synagogue actually offers an answer,—in the same *Baraytha Baba Bathra* 14*b* 15*a* in which the order of the Prophets and the Writings is determined. The passage proceeds thus:—'And who wrote them?'—and names the writers of the several books in exact chronological sequence. The last of them is Ezra. With him, therefore (*i.e.*, according to traditional chronology, about 444 B.C.), the canon closed.[2]

16. Baba Bathra.

One can easily understand that, once Ezra had been named as the latest author of any biblical book, men did not remain content with the assertion (quite correct, if we admit its premises) which attributed to him the closing of the canon merely *de facto*, without deliberate act or purpose. Rather did each succeeding age, according to its lights, attribute to him (or to his time) whatever kind of intervention it conceived to be necessary in order to secure for the canon a regular and orderly closing. The oldest form of this kind of tradition, so far as known to us, goes back earlier by a whole century than the tradition of the synagogue. It is to be found in the passage of 4 Esdras (chap. 14) that has been referred to already.[3] Ezra (*v.* 18 *ff.*) prays God to grant him by his Holy Spirit that he may again write out the books

17. 4 Esdras.

[1] The numbers differ in the various forms of the text. Besides 94 we find 904, 204, 84, 974. All, however, agree in the decisive figure 4; cp Ryle, 156 *ff.* 285.

[2] The real date of Ezra and the promulgation of the law related in Neh. 8-10 will be considered elsewhere (see CHRONOLOGY, § 14; NEHEMIAH). The results of the present article would not be altered essentially by fixing it, *e.g.*, in the year 427 or even 397, instead of 444. In what follows, therefore, 444 B.C. means simply the date of Neh. 8-10. A full discussion of the point and a survey of recent literature will be found in C. F. Kent, *A History of the Jewish people during the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek periods*, New York, 1899, pp. 108 *ff.* 354.

[3] For what follows cp Ryle, *Canonicity*, 219 *ff.*, where a very copious literature with fully translated quotations is given.

(here called 'the law,' *torah*, in which perhaps lingers a trace of an older form of tradition) which had been burnt (with the temple, one understands). God bids him take to himself five companions, and in forty days and nights he dictates to them ninety-four books (see above, § 14), of which seventy are esoteric writings, and the remaining twenty-four are the canon of the OT. Of this legend no further trace has hitherto been found in the remains of Jewish literature.[1] But within the Christian Church it shows itself as early as the time of Irenæus, frequently recurs in certain of the fathers (so Tertullian, Clem. Al., Orig., Euseb., Jerome, etc.), and is prevalent throughout the scholastic period, although there it is weakened by references to the powers of ordinary human

[illegible] of the humanists and of the reformation [illegible] this as well as many other legends;[2] but [illegible] disappeared, it was only [illegible] to make way for a modern one, not mysti[illegible] but rationalistic in character. This latter obtained credence through Elias Levita who says[3] that *Ezra and the men of the great* (אנשי כנסת הגדולה), among other things, had one volume the twenty-four books (which until [illegible] circulated separately) and had classified them [illegible] three divisions above mentioned, determining the order of the Prophets and the Writings [illegible] it is true, from the Talmudic doctors in *Bathra*). This assertion satisfied the craving of [illegible] for a duly constituted body, proceeding in a [illegible] manner. Accordingly the statement of Elias Levita, especially after it had been homologated by J. Buxtorf the elder in his *Tiberias* (1620), became the authoritative doctrine of the orthodoxy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To it were added, as self-evident, though Levita said nothing of them, the authoritative *decree* (Hottinger), and the *separation* of the non-canonical writings (so already Buxtorf, and after him Leusden and Carpzov).[4]

It is vain to seek for the tradition on which Elias Levita based his representation. The Talmud, which says a great deal about 'the men of the great synagogue,' has not a word to say about this action of theirs with reference to the whole body of Scripture. The mediæval rabbins also touch on the matter but lightly. We conclude therefore that, to suit the needs of his time, Levita merely inferred such an action from the existence of the body in question.[5]

The evidence for the very existence of a body of the kind required, however, is extremely slender. From the middle of the seventeenth century it was continually disputed anew. If even we moderns must admit that there was a body of some kind, the kind of existence that we can accord to it supplies the strongest refutation of the statement of Elias Levita. The question as to what we are to understand by 'the men of the great synagogue' (or

19. Its true nature.

Strack gives the originals of the most important passages; cp also Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus V T* 1 (1713), 1153 *ff.*, 2 (1722), 955 *ff.*

[1] Cp, however, the elucidation of the passage in *Baba B.* 14*b* 15*a*, below, § 21.

[2] See, for the attacks directed against it on rationalistic grounds in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic church, Ryle, 247 *ff.*

[3] See third preface to *Massoreth hammassoreth* (1538, ed. Ginsburg, 1867, p. 120); cp Strack, 416.

[4] Cp the passages quoted in Ryle, 251 *ff.* It should be added that the same step had been taken already in the late post-Talmudic tractate *Aboth de R. Nathan* (chap. 1), where it is said of 'the men of the great synagogue' that they decided on the reception of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, against objections that had been urged (see the passages in C. H. H. Wright, 11). We shall see below that an artificial antedating can be clearly demonstrated here.

[5] When Levita points out that the order of the Prophets and the Writings, as fixed there, was different from that in *Baba B.*, this only goes to show that the sages of the Mishna still found something for them to give decisions about. Elias Levita forgets that these sages found the books written on separate rolls, and that, therefore, there was not yet any order to fix. Cp above § 7.

rather 'assembly') in the sense in which the expression was originally used, may be regarded as now fully cleared up. By a brilliant application and criticism of all that tradition had to say and all the work of his modern predecessors, Kuenen[1] demonstrated that the 'synagogue' is no other than the great assembly at Jerusalem described in Neh. 8-10: the assembly in which the whole body of the people, under the presidency of Nehemiah and through the signatures of its representatives, pledged itself to acceptance of the law book of Ezra. This assembly, as the latest authority mentioned in the OT, was afterwards, by the tradition of the synagogue, made responsible for all those proceedings of a religious nature not referred to in the OT, which, nevertheless, so far as known, dated from a period earlier than the tradition laid down in the Talmud. Since this last, however, with its most ancient (and almost mythical) authorities, the five 'pairs' and Antigonus of Socho, does not go back farther than the second century B.C., there gradually grew out of the assembly, whose meetings began and closed within the seventh month of a single year, a standing institution to which people in that later time, each according to his needs and his chronological theories, attributed a duration extending over centuries. This was made all the easier by the chronology of the Talmud bringing the date of the Persian ascendency too low by some 150 years, and thus bringing the beginning and the end closer together.[2]

The activity as regards the canon, then, which Elias Levita and his followers ascribe to 'the men of the great synagogue,' implies for the most part a comparatively late and false conception of the character of that supposed body. What ancient tradition has to say about it remains well within the limits of time assigned to it by criticism. In *Baba B.* 14*b* 15*a*, 'the men of the great synagogue' have assigned to them a place immediately *before* Ezra; they *write* Ezekiel, the Dodecapropheton, Daniel, and Esther. When, therefore, Ezra had contributed his share (Ezra and Chronicles), forming the closing portion of the series of the twenty-four books, the canon was forthwith complete. It is evident (1) that here the activity of 'the men of the great synagogue' does not extend below Ezra's time; and (2) that it extends only to four books, not to the whole canon. Therewith the absolute untenableness of Levita's assertion becomes apparent. Expedients have been resorted to in vain; as, for example, that כתב, 'to write,' means in the *Baraytha* to 'collect,' or to 'transcribe and circulate,' or both together (cp Marx, 41). 'The writer' of the Mishna most certainly means *the author of the books*—so far as there can be a question of authorship where, in the last resort, the author is the Holy Spirit. Of authorship nothing but writing is left. This, accordingly, is the sense assumed by Gemara and by rabbinical exegesis. What we are told concerning 'the men of the great synagogue' is not more startling than it is to learn that Hezekiah and his companions wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes,—books of which tradition is unanimous in saying that the last two were

20. 'Writing' of books.

[1] *Over de mannen der grote Synagoge* (Amsterdam, 1876), translated into German by K. Budde in his edition of Kuenen's collected essays (*Gesammelte Abhandl.*, 1894, p. 161 *ff.*).

[2] Kuenen's proof has, in Great Britain, been accepted (among others) by Robertson Smith (*OTJC* [2] 161 *f.*), Driver (*Introd.*[6] xxxiii), and (at least in all essentials) by Ryle, to whose very careful *Excursus A* (233-272) the reader is especially referred. It has indeed found an uncompromising opponent in C. H. H. Wright (*Koheleth*, 5 *ff.* 475 *ff.*), whose arguments, however, amount to little more than this: the necessity (which in fact produced the legend) for some corporate body by whom the religious duties of that time could have been discharged. This, however, cannot convert what is demonstrably legend into history. Whatever has to be conceded is granted already by Kuenen (*Ges. Abh.* 1 156, 158); and writers like Strack (*PRE*[2] 18 330, footnote*) are skilful enough to reconcile the demand for such 'organised powers' between Ezra and Christ with Kuenen's results. The most recent apology for the tradition is that of S. Krauss ('The Great Synod,' *JQR*, Jan. '98, p. 347 *ff.*). Of course he does not defend the theory of Elias Levita.

wholly, and the second in great measure, writte Solomon two centuries before Hezekiah. Here, in it is the miraculous that is deliberately related. meaning is that Solomon had only *spoken* (cp 1 K. 5 what is contained in these books, and that 200 later, divine inspiration enabled the men of Hezeki *wrote it out*, and so make it into canonical books. exactly the same operation 'the men of the great s gogue' were enabled to write out what an Amos a Hosea, a Micah and a Nahum, and so forth had spo in the name of God. There is nothing to surpris about such a view as this, if we remember what we already found in connection with 4 Esdras (above, § In the present instance, indeed, it is only a portion the OT that comes into question, not the whole mas in 4 Esdras; but, on the other hand, in 4 Esdras only the reproduction of books that had been lost is spoken of, whilst here it is their very composition

That stories such as these should ever have pas current as real historical tradition resting upon fact

21. Origin of fancy.

surprising enough. Almost more aston ing is it that such baseless fancies sh not yet have been abandoned, definitely for good, by the theology of the Reformed Churches

Whether the tradition is genuine need no longer asked. The only question is, How was it possible th the Mishnic doctors, and perhaps those who imme ately preceded them, arrived at such a representatio This question in some cases already greatly exerci the exegetes of the Gemara, and even led them attempted corrections; and Rashi (*ob.* 1105) gives solution of some of the knottiest points which, if we to believe Strack,[2] represents the view of the Rabbi According to this explanation, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther did not write their own books, because th lived in exile, and outside the borders of the Holy L it was impossible for any sacred book to be writte Even, however, if this view had some element of tru in it, it hardly meets the main point. The *veritas* each book the scribes, as was natural to their o sought to assign to a writer like themselves, a vent *cpher* (see SCRIBE), and attributed the authorship of book only to one to whom writing could be assigned the authority of a proof text. In the case of book whose reputed authors could not be shown to h been *sôpherim*, the authorship was attributed to writers of such other books as stood nearest to the point of time.

That Moses was a scribe was held to be shown by Dt. 31 (the Book of Job also was attributed to him on account of supposed antiquity), and the same is true of Joshua (Jos. 24 Similar proof was found for Samuel in 1 S. 10 25, and accordingly was assigned, not only the book that bears name, but also Judges and Ruth. In the case of David, if words תפלה in 2 S. 1 18 were not enough, there was at all sufficient proof in 1 Ch. 23 *ff.* and especially in 28 11; were found also for reconciling the tradition that he the whole Psalter with the tradition (oral or written) assigned certain psalms to other authors. It was declared he wrote the psalms, but מן בג of those other writers. Solomon all that was said in 1 K. 5 12 was that he *spo* that he *wrote*; but no one felt at any loss, for in Pro the production of a portion of his Book of Proverbs is buted to *the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah*. These sc scribes were utilised to the utmost. They had ascribed not only all the Solomonic books, but also the book contemporary Isaiah, although Is. 8 1 might well hav taken as saying something for the prophet himself. Whe this instance some special cause contributed to the re whether it was merely that prophet and scribe had at any be kept separate, it is impossible to say. For Jere one prophet in the narrower sense of the word an who are named, Jer. 36 spoke too distinctly to be ignor Kings also should have been attributed to him is at ob ciently explained by 2 K. 24 18, and chap. 25 compared w 52. Next in order as biblical authors come '*the great synagogue*,' who, as contemporaries of Ezra the *excellence* (himself also one of their number) but

[1] That the two legends have an intimate connection means improbable.

[2] *Op. cit.* 418, with the quotation there given; also Ryle, 263 *f.*

time also as signatories of the act in Neh. 10 1, were expressly called to this. Why Ezekiel (the scribe, if any scribe there was among the prophets), to whom the act of writing is repeatedly attributed (37 16 *ff.* 43 11), should not have been credited with his own book, may perhaps be rightly explained by Rashi. The twelve prophets could not have written severally their own books, because all the books together form (see § 6) but one book (a somewhat different turn is given to this in Rashi), and as the latest of them belonged to the period of the great synagogue, and, indeed, according to tradition, were actually members of that body, the assignment of the authorship to it presented no difficulty. Finally Daniel and Esther, regarded as books of the Persian period, easily fell to their domain. Ezra, with his account of his own time, closes the series. Some explanation is needed of the fact that whilst 'the genealogies in Chronicles down to himself' (this is no doubt the easiest explanation) also are assigned to Ezra, no account is taken of the remainder of that work. The most likely reason is that the main portion of Chronicles was regarded as mere repetition from Samuel and Kings, the origin of which had been already explained.

It is not of the slightest importance to consider how far this attempted explanation of the origin of the various books is in agreement with the real thought of the Baraytha; in any case it remains pure theory, the product of rabbinical inventiveness, not of historical tradition. Apart from a fixed general opinion about certain individual books and about the Pentateuch, the tangible outcome of the beliefs of the whole period with which we are dealing is that the canon was held to have been closed in the time of Ezra. The theory upon which this belief proceeded will occupy us later (§ 44 *f.*).

As against this congeries of vague guesses and abstract theories, science demands that we should

22. Scientific method. examine each book separately, and endeavour, with the evidence supplied by itself, and with continual reference to the body of literature as a whole, to ascertain its date and to fix its place in the national and religious development of the Jews. This is the task of 'special introduction'; but its results must always have a direct bearing on the history of the canon. This history must give close attention also to all the external testimonies relative to the formation and to the close of the canon, and, after weighing them, must assign to them their due place. Above all, it must trace out all general opinions and theories, such as we have been considering, ascertain their scope and meaning, and satisfy itself as to the period at which they arose, and as to their influence on the formation of the canon. In so far as we succeed in these endeavours, we shall arrive at a relatively trustworthy history of the canon.

III. HISTORY OF THE OT CANON.—(1) *The first canon: the Law.*[1]—Whatever difficulties we may have

[1] W. J. Beecher (see below, § 75) offers a solemn protest against the fundamental proposition of this article (as of all modern discussions of the subject) a triple canon, collected and closed in three successive periods. He denies that there is any evidence of a time when the Law alone was regarded as canonical, or of a time when the Law and the Prophets stood in authority above the Writings. He denies that the other OT writings were originally regarded as less authoritative than the Pentateuch. He sees in the canon of the OT an aggregate of sacred books growing gradually and continually to a definite time when the part written latest was finished and the collection was deemed complete. Law (or rather, Message), Prophets, and Writings are nothing but three different names for the same books—*e.g.*, the prophetic writings. We are not told how these terms came to be the names of three different parts of this collection. The fundamental fact that the Law alone was promulgated and made authoritative by Ezra and Nehemiah, is obscured by Beecher by the statement that the term 'book of Moses' is applied to an aggregate of sacred writings including more than the Pentateuch. His only proof is Ezra 6 18, where 'we are told that the returned exiles set up the courses of the priests and Levites, "as it is written in the book of Moses." The Pentateuch contains nothing in regard to priestly or Levitical courses. Possibly the reference is to written precepts now found in 1 Chronicles.' Beecher does not translate accurately. The text runs: 'They set up the priests *in* (*by*) *their courses* and the Levites *in* (*by*) *their divisions*.' This means that the priests and the Levites are set up 'as it is written in the book of Moses'; but it does not necessarily mean that their courses and divisions were based on the same authority. Beecher never mentions the fact that the Samaritans accepted only the Law (see below, § 25), nor does he investigate what grain of truth is contained in the same statement as to the Sadducees

in dealing with the later stages of the history of the canon and with its close, there is no obscurity about its commencement. It was indeed by those

23. The Torah. 'men of the great synagogue,' to whom orthodoxy assigns the close of the canon, that its foundations were laid, in the clear daylight of well authenticated history. From the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month of the year 444 B.C. onwards, Israel possessed a canon of Sacred Scripture. It was on this day that the great popular assembly described in Neh. 9 *f.* solemnly pledged itself to 'the Book of the Law of Yahwè their God' (9 3), 'which had been given by the hand of Moses the servant of God' (10 29), and had been brought from Babylon to Jerusalem shortly before by Ezra the scribe (Ezra 7 6 11 14, Neh. 8 1 *f.*). In virtue of this resolution the said law-book at that time became canonical; but only the law-book.

Already, indeed, in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, between 623 and 621 B.C., there had been a solemn act of a similar character, when the king and people pledged themselves to the law-book that had been found in the temple, the 'book of the covenant' (2 K. 23). The entire editorial revision of the Books of Kings, and especially the express references to the law-book (1 K. 2 3, 2 K. 23 25, and above all, 2 K. 14 6 compared with Dt. 24 16) clearly prove that it had canonical validity during the exile period, whilst the book of Malachi (cp esp. 4 4 *ff.* 3 5 8 *ff.* 22) shows that also in the post-exile period down to the time of Ezra it continued to hold this place in Jerusalem.[1] The critical labours of the present century, however, have conclusively established that this first canonical book contained simply what we now have as the kernel of our Book of Deuteronomy.

The law canonised in 444 was a very different document. The only possible question is whether it was the

24. Its extent. entire Pentateuch as we now have it, or only the Priestly Writing, the latest and most extensive of the sources which go to make up the Pentateuch. The latter is, so far as we can at present see, the more likely hypothesis. In that case what happened in 444 B.C. was that the Deuteronomic Law, which had until then ruled, was superseded by the new Law of Ezra. A determination of this kind, however, was unworkable in view of the firm place which the older book that had been built up out of J E and D[2] had secured for itself in the estimation of the people. Accordingly, the new law was revised and enlarged by the fusing together of the Priestly Writing and the earlier work, a process of which our Pentateuch, the canon of the Law, was the result.

This last stage was most probably accomplished in the next generation after that of Ezra, and completed

25. Samaritan Torah. before 400 B.C. We have evidence of this in the fact that the schismatic community of the Samaritans accepts the entire Pentateuch as sacred. It is true that the solitary historical account we possess (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 2-8 4) places the separation of this community from that of Jerusalem as low down as the time of Alexander the Great (about 330 B.C.); but the cause that led to

(see below, § 18), or consider the reason why the Law is wanting in 2 Macc. 2 13 (see below, § 27). On the other side, it may be hoped that he will find the difficulty caused by the Book of Joshua, a difficulty greatly exaggerated by himself, removed (in fact turned into a help) in § 28 *f.* of this article, written two years before his paper was published. This is only one of many instances. The theory of the triple canon of the OT, based on incontestable facts, is not as mechanical as Beecher represents it. It is able to satisfy every demand for organic growth in the collection of OT writings. Beecher's paper (a total failure, it seems to the present writer, in the main point) may do much good in cautioning against too mechanical a conception; but it did not furnish to the present writer any occasion to alter the views developed in this article.

[1] The reasons for saying that the references in Malachi are to Dt. and not to Ezra's law-book cannot be given here (see Now, *KL Proph.* 191; but cp MALACHI).

[2] On this and on the larger critical question cp HEXATEUCH.

the separation—the expulsion of the high priest's son, the son-in-law of Sanballat, who founded the community and sanctuary of the Samaritans—is rather, according to Neh. 13 28, to be referred to the period of Nehemiah (about 430 B.C.). It has already been mentioned (§ 19) that Jewish chronology has dropped a whole century and a half, so bringing the periods of Nehemiah and Alexander into immediate juxtaposition; and this is the explanation of the confusion found in Josephus. We may suppose that before the final separation of the Samaritans there elapsed an interval of some decades which would give ample time for the completion of the Law.[1] This does not exclude the possibility that adjustments may have been made at a later date between the Samaritan Pentateuch and that of Jerusalem, or that later interpolations may have found their way into the Samaritan law. The compass of the work, however, must have remained (to speak broadly),[2] a fixed quantity, otherwise the Samaritans would not have taken it over.[3]

At the same time the Samaritan canon, which contained nothing but the (complete) Law, is our oldest witness to a period during which the canon consisted of the Law alone, canon and Law being thus coextensive conceptions. If alongside of the Law there had been other *real* writings, it would be inexplicable why these last also did not pass into currency with the Samaritans. There are other witnesses also to the same effect. The weightiest lies in the simple fact that the name Torah or Law can mean the entire canon, and be used as including the Prophets and the Writings. We find it so used in the NT (Jn. 10 34 12 34 15 25 1 Cor. 14 21), in the passage already cited from 4 Esdras (14 20), and, at a later date, in many passages of the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the Rabbins (cp Strack, 439). This would have been impossible if the words 'canon' and 'law' had not originally had the same connotation, other books afterwards attaining to some share in the sanctity of the Law. The same thing is shown by an often-quoted and much-abused passage in 2 Macc. (2 13). There we read that Nehemiah, in establishing a library, brought together the books concerning the kings and prophets (τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν) and the (poems) of David (τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ) and the letters of kings concerning consecrated gifts (to the temple: ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων). The passage occurs in a letter from the Jews of Palestine to their compatriots in Egypt, and is an admitted interpolation in a book which is itself thoroughly unhistorical; it is thus in the highest degree untrustworthy (cp MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7). As evidence of what could be believed and said at the time of its composition, however, in the first century B.C., it is unimpeachable. When we find the Former and Latter Prophets and the Psalms catalogued as forming part of a library, and, alongside of them and on the same level, letters of kings (heathen kings of course), it is clear that there is no idea of sacro-

26. Torah = entire canon.

27. 2 Macc. 2 13.

1 This explains why the Book of Nehemiah closes with the expulsion of the son-in-law of Sanballat, but says nothing as to the setting up of the temple and church of the Samaritans. There is no [illegible] the entire story in Josephus (Ant. [illegible] 7 [illegible] 2, and Schürer, [illegible]).

2 See below, § [illegible].

3 Again [illegible] the [illegible] of the law at this date [illegible] (*Jewish*, [illegible]). He thinks that [illegible] as the time of the Chronicler [illegible] the Priestly Document [illegible] the attention of the Book of [illegible] J E and D; [illegible] convene the Priestly Document (which [illegible] of Joshua) [illegible] Kings, which [illegible] however, [illegible] the Chronicler [illegible] with the creation [illegible] the [illegible] work that [illegible] J E D). Since [illegible] a history only of [illegible] and the temple [illegible] that [illegible] At the [illegible] P this [illegible] with the other [illegible] P continued to be used [illegible] a long time.

sanct books. The Law is not mentioned in the s[illegible] connection; as the sacred canon, it receives a place [illegible] itself and has nothing to do with the library. Whe[illegible] all the contemporaries of this author shared his v[illegible] is another matter; in any case, the possibility of s[illegible] a view being held is proof of the original isolation [illegible] the Law. Moreover, it appears from this passage t[illegible] at the time when it was written, or within the writ[illegible] circle, the legend of the closing of the canon by Ezra [illegible] have been prevalent only in the (narrower and historica[illegible] much more accurate) sense that the canon of the Law [illegible] ceived its validity as such by Ezra's action. The fact, mo[illegible] over, that in the LXX the version of the Law appears to [illegible] distinctively an official work, not the result of private ent[illegible] prise, confirms the inference already drawn from t[illegible] exclusive attention given to the Law in the period rep[illegible] sented by Ezra.

(2) *The second canon: the Prophets.*—The nuc[illegible] for a second canon was laid to the hand of the scr[illegible] of the fifth century in the very fact that t[illegible] canon of the Law had been set apart [illegible] place by itself. It is one of the certain results of [illegible] science of special introduction that the Priestly Docum[illegible] on which Ezra's reform rested, followed the history [illegible] Israel, including the division of Canaan, down to t[illegible] end of the Book of Joshua: the portions derived fro[illegible] it can still be distinguished in our present Book [illegible] Joshua. The same holds good for J E D. We can g[illegible] further. It may still be matter of dispute, ind[illegible] whether the material for the subsequent books (Jud[illegible] Samuel, Kings) also was derived from J and E; but s[illegible] much is indisputably certain, that the Deuteronomi[illegible] daction embraced these books also, in fact, the wh[illegible] the Former Prophets, and that at the end of Kings [illegible] narrative itself is from Deuteronomistic hands. [illegible] even now each of these books is seen to link itself ve[illegible] closely to that which precedes it, it follows that J E D [illegible] ultimately at least, in the form in which the w[illegible] was used in the fifth century, included the Law *and* [illegible] Former Prophets. That the Law might attain [illegible] form as a separate unity, therefore, it [illegible] not enough that P and J E D shou[illegible] worked up into a single whole. T[illegible] whole must be separated from the history that fol[illegible] it. How and when this was effected we can im[illegible] variously. According to the view taken above, wh[illegible] most probably is that in 444 the entire Priestly W[illegible] ing, including the closing sections relating to [illegible] entrance into Canaan and the partition of the coun[illegible] was already in existence and canonized in its full ext[illegible] Not until its subsequent amalgamation with the [illegible] sponding sections of J E D did the hitherto quite [illegible] nificant historical appendix to the 'law,' strictly [illegible] called, acquire such a preponderance that the d[illegible] was found to be inevitable. It was made at th[illegible] of the account of the death of Moses, and th[illegible] of the Priestly Writing also (as well as [illegible] severed from the body to which it be[illegible] case, however we may reconstruct the detail[illegible] fact abides that, after the Law had been separ[illegible] remained the compact mass of writings wh[illegible]

28. J E D.

29. Pentateuch.

30. 'Former Prophets.'

31. 'Latter Prophets.'

[illegible] came to be know[illegible] prophets, [illegible] from the [illegible] not [illegible] take an exceptional position from the [illegible] been connected with th[illegible] have been prized by the comm[illegible] a possession never to be [illegible]

Equally certain is it that by [illegible] of the 'latter prophets' was [illegible] the scribes of the fift[illegible] books God spoke [illegible]

A [illegible] trace of some reminiscence of this short pr[illegible] Book of Joshua [illegible] the Apocryphal Book of Joshua of the Samar[illegible]

reason enough for assigning to them the attribute of holiness. If, nevertheless, the books were not reckoned to the canon, the explanation is to be sought in the practical character of the first canon: Ezra gave to the community in the canon of the Law all that it required. It was not no[illegible] when he gave it; he only gave over again what God had once already given through Moses to the people as his one and all. If the people had remained true to this Law not only would they have escaped all the disasters of the past, but also they would never have needed new revelations from God through his prophets. These prophets contributed nothing new; they were sent only to admonish the unfaithful people to observe the Law, and to announce the merited punishment of the impenitent. The Law thus had permanent validity, whilst the work of the prophets was transitory; the Law addressed itself to all generations, the prophets each only to his own, which had now passed away. The generations that had sworn obedience anew to the Law under Ezra, therefore, had no need for the prophets. Should similar circumstances recur, it might be expected that God would send prophets anew; but the prevailing feeling was, no doubt, that the time of unfaithfulness, and consequently of the prophetic ministry, had gone for ever.[1]

32. Provisional.

The view here set forth is that of the OT itself, preeminently that of the Deuteronomistic school, where it is constantly recurring.[2] Indeed, since the Deuteronomic and the Priestly Laws alike, each in its own way, had assimilated the results of the work of the prophets, this view must be called, from their point of view, the right one. Accordingly it has throughout continued to be the view of the synagogue, as can be proved from many passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim.[3] It explains at the same time why it is that the historical books (Joshua–Kings) are called 'prophets.' They speak just in the manner of the prophets of the unfaithfulness of past generations to the law, and of the divine means—chiefly the mission of prophets—used to correct this. Both relate in a similar way to the past. For the same reason the prophets, conversely, are called history; for 'tradition' in the sense of 'history' is what is meant by אגדתא (*agadta*), the Massoretic term for the canon of the prophets, the נביאים (*nbi'im*), as a whole (cp further, Strack, 439).

33. Historical books 'prophetic.'

We can thus very easily understand how it was that the Prophets could not be canonized simultaneously with the Law. To pledge people to the Prophets was not possible, and the obligation to the Law would only have been obscured and weakened by a canonization of the Prophets at the same time. The idea of canonicity had first to be enlarged; it had to be conceived in a more abstract manner, on the basis of a historical interest in the past, before the canonizing of the Prophets—that is to say, their being taken in immediate connection with the Law—could become possible.[4]

34. Not yet canonized.

Of course a considerable period of time must have been required for this, and the same result follows from the established facts of 'higher criticism.' Of the Prophets properly so called, not only are Joel and Jonah later than the completion of the Law, but also the older books, over wide areas of their extent, bear more or less independent evidence of a secondary literary activity.[1] These phenomena are so manifold, and there are traces of periods so widely separated, that we must believe not a few generations to have borne a part in bringing the prophetical books to their present form. Yet these extensive additions and revisions, at least most of them, must of course have taken place before the canonization.

35. Freely edited.

This obvious conclusion is indeed contradicted by the tradition of the synagogue, which tells us that the books of the prophets were written by 'the men of the great synagogue,' on which view the canon of the prophets was already complete in 444 B.C. Nor does this assertion, the baselessness of which we have already seen, stand alone. It is backed by others. Josephus (*c. Ap.* 1 8) says expressly that it was down to the time of Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes (*i.e.* Artaxerxes I., Longimanus, 465–424) that the literary activity of the prophets continued. The passage in the Mishna in which the unbroken chain of tradition is set forth (*Pirkê Aboth*, 1 1) represents the Law as having been handed down by the prophets to the men of the great synagogue; which again brings us to the same date, and dispenses with the need of any further testimony.

36. Gap in tradition.

It is exactly this chain of tradition, however, that suggests the interval of time that we need. The passage goes on to say: Simon the Just was one of the last survivors of 'the men of the great synagogue'; he handed on the tradition to Antigonus of Socho, by whom it in turn it was transmitted to Jose b. J[illegible] and Jose b. Johanan, the first of the so-called 'pairs.' That the chronology of this section leaves much to be desired is clear.[2] It seems to be as good as certain, however, that the fourth of the five pairs lived about 50 B.C., the third about 80 B.C. The same ratio would bring us to somewhere about 140 or 120 B.C. for the first 'pair,' whilst the time of Antigonus and Simon would fall about 200 B.C., or a little [illegible] In that case, Simon the Just would be the high priest Simon II. b. Onias who is briefly mentioned by Josephus (*A.* xii. 4 10). The cognomen of 'Just,' however, is given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2 5 4 1) to Simon I. b. Onias, who lived almost a century earlier, soon after 300. If we must consider that he is the Simon who is meant, it is clear that the alleged chain of tradition is [illegible] in its earlier portion, only a single name having reached us for the whole of the third century. Further, Simon the Just is the connecting link with 'the great synagogue,' and as the assembly that gave rise to this name was held in 444, there is again a gap, this time of a century, even if we concede that Simon reached a very advanced age. The long interval between Simon the Just and 444 B.C., however, is not to be held as arising from a different view about the synagogue; it is to be accounted for by the hiatus (already referred to, §§ 19, 25) in the traditional chronology between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great [illegible] Zeth'

37. Activity in interval.

label into immediate relation with the time of Ezra.[4] It is within this vacant period that we must place these reflections, the fact of which has been so incontestably proved by critical inquiry. The main reason why the synagogue has no recollection of this period, is that during this time the activity of the scribes (with the history of which alone the chronology busies itself from Ezra onwards) had no independent life, but devoted itself [illegible] it

1 [illegible] of a new prophet, but only of the return of Elijah, and that in Zech. 13 2 *ff.* to come forward [illegible]

2 [illegible] however (especially), the confession of sin [illegible] the taking of the covenant (particu- [illegible]

3 [illegible] Mace. 2 13), already spoken of, in which [illegible] interest appears, but leads only to the foundation [illegible] not to the canonizing of its contents.

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

accomplished was put to the credit of the earlier times. This holds good, in the first instance, of the Law, to which considerable additions were still made as late as the third century (see above, § 25). Still more extensive was this activity in the case of the prophetical books; it was now that they took their final literary shape.[1] The additions naturally corresponded to the thoughts and wishes of the age in which they arose; on the lines of older models, the elements of hope and of comfort received a much fuller development, and thus the prophets were made of practical interest for a present time that, contrary to expectation, had turned out hardly.[2]

38. Canonization perhaps opposed.

It is possible that we even possess a proof that the canonization of the prophets did not take place quite without opposition and dispute, a thing in itself not improbable. In the Church fathers we meet with the very definite assertion that the Sadducees had scruples about acknowledging any sacred writings (especially the Prophets) in addition to the Law.[3] It cannot be supposed that there is here any confusion with the Samaritans, who are expressly named along with them as sharing the same view; a somewhat superficial view is that what is referred to is their rejection of the oral legal tradition.[4] Let it be borne in mind, however, that we here have to do with our best Christian authorities on matters Jewish—Origen and Jerome, the former of whom was contemporary with the period of the Mishna. That neither the Mishna itself nor yet Josephus, has a word to say on such a dangerous subject, is intelligible enough. It is, of course, not for a moment to be supposed—even though this is suggested by some of the passages cited—that the Sadducees rejected the prophets, or, in other words, refused to recognise them as having been channels of divine communications. On the other hand, it is not difficult to believe that these conservative guardians of the old priestly tradition should have resisted the addition of a second canon to that of the Law, which until then had held an exclusive place. In doing so, they would only have been maintaining the position of 444 B.C., whilst in this, as in other matters, the Pharisees represented the popular party of the time. The controversy

[1] Cp We. *HG* 155 *ff.* 2nd ed. 190 *ff.*; Montefiore, *Origin and Growth of Religion* (*Hib. Lect.* 1892), 401 *ff.* The assertion, frequently repeated in the tradition of the synagogue, that it was expressly prohibited to commit to writing the traditional law (at not of course, strictly speaking, be maintained (cp Strack, art. 'Thalmud' in *PRE*[2] 18 331 *ff.*). Still it is not impossible that there lies at the bottom of it a true reminiscence. Hardly, indeed, such a one as Strack supposes (p. 333 *f.*); but rather this: that the addition of all sorts of *novellæ* to the canonical Law was definitely put a stop to, and that, as a reaction against this tendency to add, there arose, some time (say) in the course of the second century, a certain reluctance to write the further developments of the law—the Halakōth—until at last the codification of the Mishna put an end to this.

[2] Ryle's conjecture (p. 117) that the gradual admission of the Prophets to a place in the public reading of the synagogue preceded and led to their canonization, rests unfortunately on an insecure foundation, as we do not know whether the Haphṭārā goes back to a sufficiently early date. The first mention of the public reading of the Prophets is in the NT (Lk. 4 16 *f.*; Acts 13 15), the next, in a very cursory and obscure form, is in the Mishna (*Megilla*, 3 4 6), and, very full and clear, in the Tosephta (*Megilla*, 4 [3], ed. Zuckermandel, 225 *ff.*). This much may be taken for certain, that the reading of the Prophets came in very considerably later than that of the Law. That what led to it was the destructive search after copies of the Law in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. 1 57) is pure conjecture. Even if proved it would be insufficient for Ryle's purpose. For the age of the Haphṭārōth, see Zunz, 5 *f.*, Ryle, 116 *f.*; and on the Haphṭārōth in general, see Schürer, 2 379 *f.* It is necessary to raise a note of warning as to Grätz, 156 *ff.*

[3] See the passages textually quoted in Schürer, 2 342: Orig. *Comm. in Ps.* 14 9 (ed. Lommatzsch, 18 [1]); *Comm. in Matth.* 17, chap. 35 *f.* on chap. 22 29 31 *f.* (ed. Lomm. 4 166 [69]); Jer. *Comm. in Matth.* 22 31 *f.* (Vall. 7 1 179): *contr. Luciferianos*, chap. 23 (v. 2 167); *Philosophumena*, 9 29; Pseudo-Tert. *adv. Haer.* chap. 1.

[4] Yet in the last-cited passage there follows immediately: 'Prætermitto Pharisæos qui additamenta quædam legis adstruendo a Judæis divisi sunt.'

about defiling the hands (M. *Yadayim*, 4 6) may have been a last echo of this.[1]

Lastly, we must endeavour to fix an inferior limit for the date at which the prophetical canon was closed.

39. Inferior limit = Ecclus.

For the literary close of the prophetic collection, we fortunately have a terminus ante quem almost three centuries older and much more exhaustive than 4 Esdras—Josephus, namely the hymn to the great men of the past with which Jesus b. Sira (Ecclesiasticus), in chaps. 44-50, concludes his didactic poem. From Enoch downwards all the righteous are panegyrised exactly in the order in which they occur in the Law and the Former Prophets. The kings are treated quite on Deuteronomistic lines. David, Hezekiah and Josiah receive unqualified praise. Solomon is commended half-heartedly, whilst Rehoboam is spoken of as a fool and Jeroboam as a seducer. Elijah and Elisha have their place in the series immediately after the kings, whilst between Hezekiah and Josiah comes Isaiah. Of him we are told in one and the same sentence (which we read in chaps. 36 39 (= 2 K. 18 20) ff.) that he was mighty in inspiration (or foresees the future) and comforted those that mourn in Zion (cp 40 1). This proves that not only chaps. 36-39, but also chaps. 40-66, also were parts of the Book of Isaiah, and thus that the essential steps to its final redaction had been made (Che. *Intr. Is.* xviii.). Still more significant is it that after Jeremiah (who is associated with Josiah, as Isaiah is with Hezekiah) and after Ezekiel, the twelve prophets (οἱ δώδεκα προφῆται) are mentioned, and disposed of collectively in a single panegyric. Here already we have, that is to say, we have the same consolidation as we have seen (§ 21) in the Mishna (where a single authority, the persons of 'the men of the great synagogue' are to be found for the one book of the twelve). We may be sure that Jesus b. Sira found the twelve books already copied upon a single roll, and thus in their final form. By his time the prophetic canon had been closed.[2]

The conclusion of this hymn (chap. 50) raises a question as to the date of its author. It is the panegyric on Simon b. Onias who was high priest in Jesus b. Sira's own day. In this instance, it is certainly not Simon the Just (cp § 36) that is intended, if it were only on account of the absence of the surname distinctively applied by Josephus and the Mishna. The question is decided for Simon II. (*circa* 200) by the prologue of the translator, grandson of the author, who made his version later than 132 B.C. (see ECCLESIASTICUS, § 8).[4] We then

[1] The arguments for utter rejection of this statement can be read in Winer, *HWB*[5] 2 353 *f.* The view taken in the text seems to be shared by We. when he writes (*HG* 251; 2 36; 3 1 ed. 297): 'They (the Pharisees) stood up against the Sadducees for the enlargement of the canon.' Another view is expressed in *Einl.*[6] 514.

[2] The precedence here given him has no bearing on the place assigned to his book in the Prophetic canon (cp above, § 8). It is the chronological succession of the persons that is here dealt with.

[3] The doubt raised (not for the first time) by Bu[illegible] (*ZATW* 7 280 ['87]) against the genuineness of Daniel in the XII are referred to, was excellently disposed of by N[illegible] (*ZATW* 8 159 ['88]), by the evidence of the Syriac ta[illegible] (which rests immediately on the Hebrew), and by showing that in 7. 10*b*, according to Cod. A and others, the correct reading is the plural παρεκάθισαν (followed by γαρ instead of [illegible]) ἐλυτρώσαντο, so that 10*b* refers not to Ezekiel but to the XII. Another circumstance ought to be noticed. If the prophecy of Ezekiel is completed in 7. 8 *f.*, it agrees in length and [illegible] exactly with that of Jeremiah in 7. 7, with that of Hosea (apart from Isaiah) in 48 24 *f.*, and finally with that of the XII if 7. 10 is taken as applying wholly to them. To place it before 10*a* as Zöckler (*Die Apokryphen* [illegible] p. 348 *f.*) silently does is quite inadmissible. Doubt can now be added the testimony of the lately discovered Hebrew. The genuineness of 48 23 *ff.* is doubted by Duhm (Jes. 1892, p. vii), but without any reasons being given. [illegible] he appears to be able to accept the genuineness.

[4] The arguments by which J. Halévy (*Étude sur la tradition du texte Hébreu de l'Ecclésiastique* [illegible] 1897) endeavours to prove that Simon I., the Just, is the author of chap. 50, have failed to convince the present writer. It should be kept in mind that even if Halévy were right

conclude—and the conclusion agrees with the course of the development traced above—that the prophetic collection already existed as such, pretty much in its present form, about the year 200 B.C.[1]

40. Other evidence.

Notable reasons for the same conclusion are supplied by the Book of Daniel (written about 164 B.C.). In the first place there is a reason of a positive character: in 9 2 we find Jer. 25 11 f. cited as בכתבים ('in the [Holy] Scriptures'). Of greater weight, however, is a negative reason: the Book of Daniel itself found a place—not among the Prophets, but—among the Writings. Other reasons for this may be conjectured,[2] but the most probable one still is that at the time of its recognition as canonical the canon of the Prophets had in current [illegible] already definitely completed. The time of admission, however, must be taken to have been considerably later than the date of composition (164 B.C.), and so this evidence does not go for much. Still less important is the further fact, that the work of the Chronicler (composed during the first half of the third century) is not included among the Former Prophets. Its special character as a Midrash to already accepted books must long have prevented its attaining the dignity of canonization; but a further circumstance helped to impede its recognition. The immediate contiguity of the Former Prophets and the Books of Jeremiah and Isaiah (brought to their final form at an early date) would comparatively soon have come to be regarded as fixed and unalterable,[3] whilst, on the other hand, to append Chronicles to the later prophets was plainly impossible.

41. Prophetic canon subordinate.

It remains, then, that the completion of the canon, we might almost say also of the canon of the Prophets, took place in course of the third century. This, however, does not yet bring us to an altogether unambiguous [illegible] tion.' It is only m[illegible] [illegible] quaintanceship, to carry back the idea of [illegible] to the fully-developed form which it finally reached, to the earliest beginnings of the formation of a canon. It was impossible for the Prophets ever to receive a canonical value in the same sense in which the [illegible] given to the Law: the subordinate character of the Prophetic canon remains fixed for all coming time.[4] Holiness was, and continued to be, a relative conception, and we do not need to give to the designation הכתבים in Dan. 9 2 the same fulness of meaning that it has in the Talmud. The gulf between the Law and all the rem[illegible] [illegible] only artificially, and we know with certainty that the bridging idea—the idea of a property common to all holy books, that of 'defiling the hands'—was an invention of Pharisaic scholasticism, [illegible] by the Sadducees even after the destruction of Jerusalem (*Yad.* 4 7). Until this bridge had been securely constructed there was no idea of a canonical [illegible] that included all three portions equally. This is proved by a fact to which we have already referred,—the Sadducean recognition of nothing but the Law. Before a definitive union of the Prophetic canon with that of the

[1] [illegible] of Ecclesiasticus ought not to be p[illegible] [illegible] sixty years. The out[illegible] may be [illegible] [2] remembrances from his early youth. See Kautzsch [illegible]

[3] The possibility of much later additions to the books admitted to this canon is unfortunately by no means excluded, as is [illegible] evidenced by the simple fact that even the L[illegible] to long after its canonization (see § [illegible]). Has there is nothing in the nature of the case to prevent us from attributing the appendices to Zechariah (chaps. 9-14) to the Later Maccabean period, as We. (*HG* 228, n. 2, 3rd [illegible] (cp ZECHARIAH ii.), or admitting the [illegible] passages in Isaiah (already enlarged by the addition [illegible] 40-66) as is indicated by Duhm's results. In [illegible] ver, we are justified in demanding very conclusive [illegible] p, for example, Duhm [illegible] Zech. xi. n. 1. [illegible] the Book of R[illegible]

[4] A[illegible] this cp the very significant passage (*Megilla*, 27 a) quoted in Marx, 29, n. [illegible]

Law could be effected the way had to be prepared by a continually rising appreciation of the prophetic literature, and by an ever growing conception of its sanctity. To this result the Maccabean period must unquestionably have contributed much. Such passages as 1 Macc. 4 46 9 27 14 41 and the Song of the Three Children (v. 14; cp Ps. 74 9) show not only how far people then felt themselves to be removed from the prophetic times, but also how highly those times were thought of. Still we must bear in mind the passage in 2 Macc. (2 13) already referred to (§ 27), which seems to show that, even in the last century B.C., it was still possible to speak of the Prophets and of profane writings, in the same breath, as parts of the same library.

42. Prophets preceded Hagiographa.

On the other hand, it can be shown that there was once a time in which the Prophets, but not the Hagiographa, could be spoken of along with the Law as included among the sacred writings. As the name 'the Law' can be used to designate the whole trip[illegible] to canon (see above, § 26), so also can the double [illegible] 'the Law and the Prophets.' (Cp. in N.T. Mt 5 17 7 12, Lk. 16 16 29 31, Acts 28 23; and, in the tradition of the synagogue *Rosh hash Shana*, 46; *Baba B.* 8 14; Tanhu J. *Mishpatim*, 31; also *Bab. B.* 13 b.) It may also be pointed out that the name *Kabbala* ('Tradition') [illegible] Writings (cp the numerous passages in *Zunz*, 44 n. *a*), but the synonymous expression [illegible] § [illegible] correctly [illegible] Strack, 4 [illegible] the p[illegible] is only.

43. Distinction between them.

(3) *The third canon: the Hagiographa.*—Here, again, there is no possibility of doubt that, at the time when the prophetic collect[illegible] was closed, much of what we now find in our third canon was already in existence, and [illegible] the collection and found no place in the canon of the [illegible]. At bottom the reason [illegible] of prophets that was being made, a collection, that is to say, of writings in which G[illegible] the Law by the mouth of his messengers. [illegible] writings as were then extant did not profess to be נאם יהוה 'oracle of Yahwe' (AV 'thus saith the Lord'), the immediate utterance of the God of Israel. One of them, indeed, the earlier nucleus of the [illegible] [illegible] but to have admitted it into the canon on that account would [illegible] very much the same as if now a Christian [illegible] extension of the idea 'Sacred Writings' (cp [illegible] he word with caution) of the idea of the 'canon,' and so to say) a reduced intensity, before any further books could find admission, not of course into either of the canons already existing, but into a third, subordinate [illegible] to these. It is obvious, further, that again a considerable period must have elapsed before this extension of the idea could make way, and thus render possible the admission of books which, at the time when the [illegible] canon was closed, were still unwritten.

44. End of prophetic period.

Besides the (obvious) condition of a book's having a religious character, the only remaining condition demanded by the test implied in the expanded idea of canon is the condition of date. Those books were accepted which were considered to have been [illegible] the pr[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (cp 1 [illegible]), aft[illegible] setting forth his trip[illegible] [illegible] the sacred writings [illegible] [illegible] πιστεως ὁ ουχ ομοιας ηξεωται τοις προ αυτων δια το μη [illegible] σθαι την του προφητων ακριβη διαδοχην. That is to say, the [illegible] [illegible] Nehemiah,

[illegible] Strack, 150 f., wishes to exclude the Hagiographa in both [illegible] [illegible] being certain in the case of the 'Law' [illegible] in the case of the 'Law' alone.

and canonicity (even in the case of non-prophetical books) is guaranteed only by contemporaneousness with the continuous series of the prophets. This view is confirmed by the Talmudic tradition. Tos. Yadayim, 2 13 (p. 683) rules that 'books such as Ben Sira [Ecclesiasticus] and all books written מכאן ואילך do not defile the hands.' This מכאן ואילך—*i.e.*, 'from that time forward'—is the standing expression for the cessation of the prophetic period. Corresponding with it is the other phrase עד כאן ('until then'), denoting this period. Further confirmation is found in *Sanh.* 28a: 'Books like Ben Sira and similar books written *from that time onwards* may be read as one reads a letter' (cp on this, Buhl, § 2). The point of time is fixed by a passage in *Seder olam rabba*, 30, as the time of Alexander the Macedonian: 'The rough he-goat (Dan. 8 21) is Alexander the Macedonian, who reigned twelve years; *until then* the prophets prophesied by the Holy Spirit; *from that time forward* incline thine ear and hearken to *the words of the wise.*'[1] If Alexander the Great here takes the place of Artaxerxes in Josephus, the explanation is simply that, according to the Jewish chronology and conception of history, Haggai and Zechariah, Ezra and Malachi all lived at the same time, which is contiguous with that of Alexander.[2]

We now know, therefore, that it is not out of mere caprice, but in accordance with a settled doctrine, that 4 Esd. 14 and *B'ba Bathra* 15a declare all the canonical books to have been already in existence in Ezra's time. The time limit was a fixed one; difference of view was possible only with regard to the person of the author. From this doctrine we deduce the proposition: *Into the third canon, that of the Hagiographa, were received all books of a religious character of which the date was believed to go back as far as to the Prophetic period, that is, to the time of Ezra and the Great Assembly.*

45. Reason of limit.

The reason for the setting up of such a standard is easily intelligible. Down to the time of the Great Assembly, the Spirit of God had been operative not only in the Law but also outside of it, namely in the Prophets; but 'from that time onwards' the Law took the command alone. 'Until then' it was possible to point to the presence of the factor which was essential to the production of sacred writings, but 'from that time onwards' it was not. Hence the conviction that the divine productive force had manifested itself even in those cases where the writing did not claim to be an immediate divine utterance; but only down to the close of the prophetic period. The proposition we have just formulated is sufficient to explain the reception or non-reception of all the books that we now have to deal with. Job was received as, according to general belief, a book of venerable antiquity; Ruth as a narrative relating to the period of the judges, and therefore (as was invariably assumed as matter of course in the case of historical narratives) as dating from the same time; the Psalms as broadly covered by the general idea that they were 'David's Psalms'; Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes as resting on Solomon's name; Lamentations as resting on that of Jeremiah; Daniel as a prophet of the Persian period (which in its whole extent was supposed to fall within the prophetic age) overlooked in the earlier collection. The same consideration held good for Esther, regarded as a history book. At the close comes the Book of Ezra—separated from the general work of the Chronicler[3]—which, in its account of the Great Assembly continued the original document on the close of the Prophetical period and so, as it were, puts the coronation to the completed canon. Had whatever [illegible] Chronicles *i.e.*, the first part of the Chronicler's work—been incorporated with the canon simultaneously with the [illegible] the Book of Ezra, the [illegible] separated and even arranged in an order [illegible] to the chronological (cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § [illegible]). We may therefore say with all confidence that Chronicles did not come in till after-

46. Appendices.

1 'The wise' are the (post-canonical) scribes; cp Weber, 121 ff.

Cp copious proofs for this point, already more than once touched on above, in Marx (see below, § 75), 53, n. 4.

3 Cp CHRONICLES, § 2 and EZRA, § 8.

wards, as an appendix to the canon. The reason its original exclusion was no doubt the consciousness strictly, it was but a Midrash to other canonical bo The second part of the Chronicler's work, once canoni tended to take the other along with it; possibly too Book of Chronicles may have been helped by the min ness with which it goes into the temple service—a fea to which at a later date, in the Massoretic arrangem (see above, § 8), it was indebted for a first place am the Hagiographa. From this one certain case, the may be inferred the possibility that other books a especially the immediately preceding ones (Ezra, Est Daniel; perhaps also Ruth: see above, § 9), were gradually added, one by one, to the third canon way of appendices. At least, they all of them have appearance of being, as to their contents, appendic the two halves of the Prophetic canon, whilst the rem ing six books form a class by themselves. We are however, in a position to speak with certainty here.

47. Excluded books.

Conversely, all other writings, so far as not exclu by reason of their language or some exception ta to their contents, may safely be suppo to have been excluded either becau manifestly and on their own confess they did not go back to the Prophetic time, or beca their claim to do so was not admitted.[1] The first-mentioned reason must have been what operated in the of works of so high a standing as 1 Macc. and Ecc asticus; as instances of the application of the sec principle, we may take (in contrast to Daniel) the boo of Baruch and Enoch.[2]

48. Date, inferior limit.

The attempt to determine the date at which canon of the Hagiographa, and with it that of t entire OT, was finally closed, is ag surrounded with the very greatest di culty. Let us, to begin with, fix t *terminus ad quem.* It is given us in the passage frequently referred to already, in Josephus (*c. Ap.* I and 4 Esdras (chap. 14), where the entire corpus of t OT Scriptures, in twenty-two or twenty-four books, set apart from all other writings. As to the extent the canon, unanimity had been reached by at le somewhere about the year 100 A.D.

49. Superior limit.

For a superior limit we shall have to begin where o investigation as to the prophetic canon ended wit the son of Sirach. In his hymn he memorates, as the last of the heroes o Israel, Zerubbabel and Joshua as w Nehemiah, thereby conclusively showing that he w acquainted with the work of the Chronicler (49 11 Moreover, he makes use of passages from the Psalm Neither fact proves anything for a third canon the fact that he found his ideal and pattern in the pr is rather against this (24 33: ἔτι διδασκαλίαν ὡς προ φητείαν ἐκχεῶ). The prologue of his descendant (la than 132 B.C.) shows still more unmistakably th definite third canon was then in existence, even already a certain number of books had begun themselves to the Law and the Prophets. Three he designates the whole aggregate of the literat had been handed down, to which also h sought to add his quota, as ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθηκότα; ὁ ν. κ. οἱ πρ. κ. τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία; ὁ ν. κ. αἱ προφητεῖαι οἱ προφῆται [C]) κ. τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων. What is t designated by three different indeterminate expres cannot have been a definite collection. That books, in whole or in part, there were alr translations we can gather from the Prologue get no help either from this or from the LXX.

1 'Some found their way in, others not, on grounds the taste of the period,' says Wellhausen (*Isr.*[4] 512). No doubt considerations of taste must have had influence on the decision whether the books in question came up to the standard; but it was the doctrine that formally decided.

2 As to Ecclesiasticus note the express [illegible] and Gemara (above, § 44).

In 2 Macc. 7 16 *f.* we find Ps. 79 2 *f.* cited with the formula κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν (τοῖς λόγοις οὓς [A]) ἔγραψε, in other words, as Holy Scripture. In 2 59 *f.* Daniel and his three friends are named as patterns in immediate connection with Elijah, David, Caleb, and others; 1 54 seems to quote Daniel's prediction (Dan. 9 27). We here see, somewhere about the close of the second or the beginning of the last century B.C., the Book of Daniel for the first time coming into evidence as a fully accredited authority - we could not possibly have expected so to find it at any earlier date

Unfortunately these testimonies, such as they are, are followed by a very wide hiatus. Philo (*ob. circ.* 50

50. Philo. A.D.) is our next resort; but, great as is the extent of his writings (all proceeding uncompromisingly on the allegorical method of biblical interpretation), they do not yield us much that is satisfactory in our present inquiry.[1] Nowhere do we find a witness to a tripartite canon.[2] Of the canonical books he nowhere quotes Ezekiel, any of the five Megilloth, Daniel, or Chronicles.[3] The blank is a great one. Still we may find some compensation in the fact that at least the Book of Ezra is cited with the solemn formula applicable to a divinely inspired writing.[4] A certain conclusion as to the incompleteness of the canon cannot be drawn from this silence regarding many books. On the other hand, real importance attaches to the following piece of negative evidence: Philo, although (as an Alexandrian) he must have been acquainted with many non-canonical books, and indeed actually betrays such acquaintance, in no instance uses them in the same way as the canonical. This allows as probable the inference that a definitely closed canon was known to him; only we are not able to say from any data supplied by him what was the extent of that canon in its third part.

Our next witness is the NT. In Lk. 24 44 we have evidence of the tripartite division, for 'the psalms' prob-

51. NT. ably stands *a potiori* for the whole of the third canon. Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, and Ezra are not referred to at all. Of course here again nothing certain is to be inferred from the silence; but, if other considerations came into play, this fact also ought to be taken into account. On the other side, the certain reference to Chronicles in Mt. 23 35, Lk. 11 51[5] is entitled to have weight. The quotation of Dan. 7 22 in 1 Cor. 6 2 also must be referred to.[6]

There thus remains a space of something like two centuries—say from the end of the second century B.C.

[1] Cp Hornemann (*Observationes ad illustrationem doctrinæ de canone V.T. ex Philone*, 1775, copious extracts from which are given in Eichhorn's *Einl.*[4] 1 123 *ff.*). Till the appearance of Prof. H. E. Ryle's *Philo and the Holy Scripture* (95), the statements of Hornemann had never been verified with sufficient care; though, on the other hand, they had not in any point been shown to be inaccurate. Prof. Ryle's results do not, however, differ much from those of Hornemann.

[2] Apart from *De Vit. Contempl.*, § 3, probably a work of a much later time. Cp Lucius, *Die Therapeuten*, 1879, and Schürer's review of Conybeare's *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, *TLZ*, 20th July 1895.

[3] That 1 Ch. 7 14 is quoted in the tract *De congr. quær. erud. gratia*, 8, is asserted by Herzfeld (*GIT* 3 96 [1857]; but cp also Richter's edition of Philo, 1828), and has been taken over from him by all subsequent writers; but it is rather Ⓖ's enlarged form (enlarged perhaps from Ch.) of Gen. 46 20, which varies from Ch. Ryle (*Philo*, etc., p. 289) finds 1 Ch. 9 1 *f.* quoted (*De Praem. et Poen.* § 13, ii. 420); but there is very little likeness between the two passages (see, however, the next note). Of the minor prophets only Hosea, Jonah, and Zechariah are made use of; but this guarantees the entire Dodekapropheton.

[4] Unless here (*De cont. Linguarum*, § 22, 1 *f.*) the whole of 1 Ch. 3 be intended, rather than (as is universally assumed) Ezra 8 2 (see in 1 Ch. 8 22 the one descendant of David mentioned in Ezra 8 2). Cp the plur. οἱ ἀκμάσαντες κ.τ.λ and εἰ βασιλικοῖς βιβλίοις.

[5] By many the expression 'from . . . to' there used is actually taken to mean 'from the first book to the last book of the OT.' Then the passage would prove the close of the canon with the Book of Chronicles, and, in fact, its close also; but the expression may refer to the sacrilege implied in the history of Zechariah's murder.

[6] Cp Ryle, p. 14 *f.*

to about 100 A.D.—within which we are unable to point out any sure indications of the close of the third canon.

52. No decision. 2nd cent. B.C. Ryle (p. 173 *ff.*) thinks it can be made out with a very high degree of probability that the close took place as early as the second century B.C., between 106 and 105, the year of the death of John Hyrcanus II. His one positive reason[1] is that the civil wars and scholastic controversies of the last century B.C. must have withdrawn interest from such things and made impossible any union of schools or any public step that could alter the *status quo*. That there ever was a union of schools, however, we have every reason to deny; the extension of the canon was in all probability only one of the internal affairs of the Pharisaic school (cp above, § 37). From this it necessarily follows that there is no question about any public step being taken—say a deliberate decision, reached once for all, or a decree of any authoritative assembly.

We actually have express information, however, of such a decision at a much later time. It is obvious

53. Mishna. that no such thing would have been necessary if a binding decision had already been long in existence. We refer at present to the controversy of which we read in the Mishna (*Yad.* 3 5: cp *Eduyoth*, 5 3).

The general proposition there laid down runs as follows: 'All holy scriptures (כתבי הקדש)[2] defile the hands' (cp above, § 9); next follows the particular: 'Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands.' Then we have the controversy. 'R. Judah said: Canticles indeed defiles the hands; as regards Ecclesiastes opinion is divided. R. Jose said: Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands, but as regards Canticles opinion is divided. R. Simon said: About Ecclesiastes the school of Shammai gives the laxer, the school of Hillel the severer decision (here compare the elucidation in *Eduyoth*, 5 3, that according to the former [Shammai] Ecclesiastes does *not* defile the hands, according to the latter it does).[3] R. Simon b. 'Azay said: To me it has been handed down from the mouth of the seventy-two elders that, on the day on which R. Eliezer b. 'Azaryah was made supreme head, it was decided that (both) Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. R. 'Akiba said: God forbid that there should ever have been difference of opinion in Israel about Canticles, as if it did not defile the hands; for the entire world, from the beginning until now, does not outweigh the day in which Canticles was given to Israel. For indeed (כי) all Scriptures (כתובים) are holy (קדש), but Canticles is holy of holies (קדש קדשים). If people were divided in opinion, it was as to Ecclesiastes alone. R. Johanan b. Jehoshua, the son of R. 'Akiba's father-in-law, said: As the son of 'Azay says, people *were* thus divided in opinion, and it is thus that the matter has been decided.'[4]

It has been contended that the dispute here was not about the question of canonicity, both books being clearly

54. Meaning of dispute. included in the opening sentences under the category of holy, and that the word גנז, 'to preserve, lay aside, hide,' the technical expression for the treatment with which the books in question were threatened, does not mean 'to pronounce apocryphal' but only something like 'to exclude from public reading.'[5] Both contentions are incorrect. The word in question is not used with reference to Ecclesiasticus or other apocryphal works, simply because no one had ever spoken of canonizing them, and thus there could not possibly be any question about doing away with them or removing them. And that our passage certainly is discussing the question whether the two books are Holy Scripture or not, is

[1] A second argument adduced by Ryle, that obtained by reasoning backwards from the position in Josephus, is toned down by Buhl (p. 27) to the more moderate view that 'the third part [illegible] already received its canonical completion before the Christ[illegible]'

[2] By this we are certainly, in accordance with 3 2, to understand the entire canon. On the other hand, the כתובים mentioned [illegible] mean merely the Hagiographa.

[3] One easily perceives that in point of fact here also the stricter school of Shammai remained true to its [illegible] no less so the laxer school of Hillel.

[4] The tract *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (chap. 1), as we saw above (§ 12), carries this decision back, as also in the case of Proverbs, to the time of 'the Great Synagogue.'

[5] So especially Buhl, 7 *ff.* 26, and Ryle, 167 *f.* On the other hand, Cheyne (*OPs*, 457) acknowledges that the question is that of canonicity.

made unmistakably evident by the words of R. 'Akiba. In this final stage of the development the question cannot possibly be whether perhaps, though integral parts of Holy Scripture, they nevertheless do not defile the hands: it is established that 'all Holy Scriptures defile the hands.' Then follows the Mishnic *decision* that the books of Canticles and Ecclesiastes also belong to this class; after this, the discussion which preceded the decision, and the grounds on which it was reached, are given.

In this connection the precise fixing of the day on which this decision was arrived at is important: the day

55. 100 A.D. on which at Jamnia (Yabna) R. Gamaliel II. was incidentally deposed from his place as president of the court of justice, an incident for which we have also other early testimonies.[1] This event certainly falls within the decades that immediately followed the destruction of Jerusalem—whether so early as 90 A.D. (the usual assumption) is questionable, but 100 A.D. will not in any case be very wide of the mark. This period, then, saw the settlement of a twofold controversy, which, as regards one half of it at least, had already occupied the schools of Hillel and Shammai about a century before. This last point is conceded even by a zealot like R. 'Akiba; his unrestrained exaggeration as regards Canticles is only a veil to cover the weakness of his position.[2] We hear nothing of any decision of the question preceding that of Jamnia. That, after the proceedings of that stormy day, the question should have been discussed again some decades later (R. 'Akiba *ob.* 135), need not surprise us. No new decision is arrived at: the question is answered by a confirmation of that of Jamnia.[3]

Thus, then, about the year 100 A.D. there was still, as an unsettled controversy, the same question as to the canonicity of two books, which as regards one of them (Ecclesiastes; see ECCLESIASTES, § 3) had been a notorious point of difference between the two great schools of the Pharisees.[4] By that time, however,

[1] For brevity's sake it will be enough to refer to the exceedingly careful history of the activity of the scribes, with copious proofs, given in Schürer (2 301 *ff.*).

[2] The remark has a wider application to rabbinical Judaism generally and the other Megilloth: cp We. *Einl.*[4] 554, 6th ed. 514.

[3] The reader is referred to Buhl (28 *ff.*), Wildeboer (58 *ff.*), Kyle (192 *ff.*), and the articles PURIM and SHUSHAN for the later and less amply attested disputes about Esther, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and Jonah (mentioned in the order of the degree of their attestation). It is only in the case of the Book of ESTHER (*q.v.*, § 12) that such disputes can have been really serious. In the case of Ezekiel, there may be a genuine reminiscence of the embarrassment caused to the scribes by the discrepancies between the Law and Ezek. 40-48, perhaps also of the objections raised by the Sadducees on this account. In part at least, we must admit the truth of Strack's remark (p. 429) that 'in many cases the discussions leave one with the impression that the objections were raised merely that they might be refuted.' This impression, however, no way impairs that of the real seriousness of the decision of Jamnia. That the four books mentioned above are not named in *Yad.* 3 5 proves in any case that at that time serious objections to them were no longer entertained, and as we are here dealing only with the close of the canon, not with the individual books of which it was composed, this fact must suffice for us.

[4] This is not inconsistent with the fact (which we learn from various sources) that Simon b. Shetaḥ (who belonged to the third of the five 'pairs,' in the first half of the first century B.C.) quotes Eccles. 7 12 as Holy Scripture (for details see Buhl, p. 15 *f.*). He represents the one side of the case. The subject is one that belongs to 'special introduction'; but, in passing, the present writer may be allowed to express the view that, in the present text of Ecclesiastes, traces are to be clearly found of the assistance which it was found necessary to give, in order to secure for this book a place in the canon. In 1 2 10 it is testified of the preacher (קהלת) that he was a well-meaning and respectable man (of course otherwise unknown). The contradiction to 1 1, where he is represented as being 'the son of David,' 'king in Jerusalem,' is glaring. These words, as also 1 12 12, a good deal in 2 4-9 and perhaps also 7 15*a* and certainly 12 11-14 are interpolations, by means of which alone the reception of the book into the canon was rendered possible. It is self-evident that Canticles also became a part of the canon, only by virtue of its superscription which ascribes it to Solomon. A valuable light is thrown on R. 'Akiba's assertion that Canticles had never been disputed, and at the same time a trustworthy evidence,

the question had long been (substantially) a settled [illegible] as is shown by the passages quoted from Josephus, 4 Esdras; settled, however, not by any single decis[illegible] but only by the gradual clearing up of public opin[illegible] Of other books in addition to the twenty-four ther[illegible] no question whatever, and as regards those two al[illegible] which alone any difficulty is possible, common opi[illegible] came to be so decidedly in favour of what claime[illegible] be the stricter but in reality was the looser opin[illegible] that the zealot R. 'Akiba comes forward fanatically [illegible] the side of Hillel.

We may now venture to figure to ourselves what [illegible] the probable course of the development, and what

56. Result. attitude assumed by various sections of [illegible] community towards the decisive questio[illegible] It is probable that among the Sōpherim (professio[illegible] students of Scripture) of the last century B.C., [illegible] without the co-operation of the Sadducean pre[illegible] nobility, there was gradually formulated a schola[illegible] doctrine as to which of the many religious writings th[illegible] current[1] could establish a just claim to a sacred ch[illegible] acter. We have already seen by what standard [illegible] writings were judged. As this doctrine gradually to[illegible] shape, unanimity was reached on every point ex[illegible] on a dispute with reference to two minor boo[illegible] in which, as was natural, the victory was ultimat[illegible] gained by the more liberal view. This doctrine of [illegible] Sopherim, as being the view of those who were the o[illegible] qualified judges on the special subject, readily gai[illegible] admission amongst such as were in doubt and so[illegible] to inform themselves.[2] Thus the learned Philo, thou[illegible] living in Alexandria, takes very good care not to [illegible] travene the stricter practice; what we know about [illegible] opposition offered to the books of Ecclesiastes, Cantic[illegible] and Esther, even suggests the possibility (incapable [illegible] course of proof) that his silence about certain bo[illegible] (cp above, § 50) really arises from a still greater st[illegible] ness. As a convert to Pharisaism, Josephus prof[illegible] the school doctrine of his teachers with an emph[illegible] the greater because his own personal lean[illegible] (perhaps) against such exclusiveness. On the [illegible] hand, though the doctrine made way, yet the maj[illegible] of the people betook themselves quite naturally to [illegible] mass of apocalyptic and legendary literature, wh[illegible] in the century immediately before and after the [illegible] Jesus, exercised a very great influence, and [illegible] to prepare the way for Christianity. The fo[illegible] theory possessed obvious advantages, however, and [illegible] Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem le[illegible] Pharisees in sole possession of the leadership of [illegible] This is shown most clearly by 4 Esdras. Against [illegible] will, the author of that book is constrained to ack[illegible] ledge the divine authority of the canon with its two [illegible] four constituent parts. Being, however, a thorough[illegible] partisan of the apocalyptic literature, he outdoes [illegible] Pharisees. To the seventy books[3] which they ex[illegible] attributes a still higher authority, placing them [illegible] esoteric as distinguished from an exoteric canon.

By the end of the first century the scribes had set[illegible] the last of the questions controverted in the s[illegible] and not long after the beginning of the second c[illegible] (R. 'Akiba *ob.* 135), to refer to the decision [illegible] is decisive. Later, following in 'Akiba's foo[illegible] scribes succeeded, not only in obliterating ev[illegible]

showing how long its true character still continued [illegible] is [illegible] by the information that R. A[illegible] an anathema against those who sang the [illegible] with voice in house of public entertainment (H[illegible] *Sanh.* chap. 12, cp Wü[illegible] 2 [illegible]).

[1] To this period [illegible] belongs the emphatic expression in the [illegible] (Eccles. 1 [illegible]).

[2] If, as we have [illegible] opposed to [illegible] suspicions of the [illegible] writings besides the Law, there would be [illegible] for a view like that of the Pharisees, which took a m[illegible] between Sadducean rigour and the fashionable tend[illegible] of less multiplication of religious literature.

of variations in the text, but also in driving from circulation the whole body of extra-canonical literature.[1]

57. Christianity. Christianity, however, in the vigour of its youth, emancipated from the authority of the scribes, continued to pursue the old ways. In the rejected literature it discovered prophecies of the appearing of Jesus; and what the Pharisees destroyed in the original language it eagerly handed down in translations and revisions to succeeding generations. The NT writers show no scruple in quoting extra-canonical books as sacred, and we find ascribed to Jesus some expressions quoted as Holy Writ (Lk 11 49; Jn. 7 38) which are not contained in the OT.[2] What is more, examples of this form of Jewish literature fused with Christian elements, or worked over from the Christian point of view, have found their way into the canon of the NT itself—a fact which only lately has begun to receive the attention it deserves.[3]

This independent drift of tendency within the Christian Church greatly increases the difficulty of estimating the

58. Alexandrian canon. so-called 'canon of the Alexandrians.'[4] As is well known, even the oldest extant MSS of the LXX contain, in addition to the canonical books, a greatly varying number of writings which are not recognised in the canon of the synagogue, and indeed in some cases were not even originally written in Hebrew. On the other hand, the oldest of these MSS are several centuries later than the Christian era, and are the work of Christian copyists. It becomes a question, therefore, which is the earlier, the freer praxis of the Alexandrian Jews or that of primitive Christianity; whether the greater compass of the LXX canon of the Alexandrians influenced the view of the Christian communities or whether the influence flowed the other way.[5] The probability is that, in fact, the influence worked both ways. What principally concerns us here, however, is this. About the middle of the first century A.D., when the Greek-speaking Christian community began to break entirely with Judaism, the narrow Pharisaic doctrine of the canon had certainly not as yet penetrated into the domain of Hellenistic Judaism so deeply as to delete completely, or to exclude from the MSS of the LXX, all the books that Pharisaism refused to recognise. The vacillation in individual MSS must at that time have been even greater than it is in those which have reached us; although on this point definite knowledge is unattainable. It is certain, however, that to some extent precisely those books belonging to this category which lay nearest to the heart of the Christian community in its most primitive days (especially Enoch and 4 Esdras) have come down to us in no Greek MS. The conclusion is that the additions to the LXX are for the most part older than Christianity.

The doctrine of the Pharisees, however, ultimately won the day, also in its proper home. Not only did

[1] Indeed it was supposed, until the recovery in 1896 of part of Ecclesiasticus, that they had actually succeeded in extirpating it; so far, that is, as it was not able to hide itself under the [illegible] of exegesis in the Haggada, Midrash, and Talmud (We[illegible], [illegible] ed. 287). Even Ecclesiasticus would be no [illegible]ption if we could admit the contention of D. S. Margoliouth [illegible] *Original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus*, 1899). [illegible] opinion the 'Original Hebrew' is a bad retranslation [illegible] the Syriac version and a Persian translation of the Greek) [illegible] after 1000 A.D. by an Arabic-speaking Jew for C[illegible] [illegible] Hebrew by a Jew with a pronunciation [illegible] Christians of Urmi. The reader will [illegible] to accept this theory; still it cannot [illegible] has availed himself with great skill of many weak [illegible] Hebrew text, which in any case [illegible]

[illegible] this cp Wildeboer, 48 *f*, who must be held in [illegible] have the better of the argument as against [illegible] of Ryle, [illegible] *ff*

[illegible] APOCALYPSE

[2] In fact, to speak strictly, there never was [illegible] Holy Books never [illegible] the Pharisaic conception of 'defil[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

it succeed in extending its influence over the Hellenists by means of the new Greek translation of Aquila; but also the Church itself ultimately surrendered.

59. Partial return to Heb. Canon. A strange and significant fact! From about 150 A.D. onwards there constantly occur patristic statements on the extent of the OT canon, which avowedly rest upon Jewish authority. This certainly had its advantages; for in this way many books of merely temporary value were excluded which, if recognised authoritative, could hardly have furthered the interests of Christianity. On the same ground too, the return of the Reformers to the canon of the synagogue is justifiable, especially when, as in the case of Luther, the relative importance of the Apocrypha is duly recognised. On the other hand, it must be confessed that even the unanimously accepted canon[1] of the Church is not without books of a similar character (notably Esther and Canticles; also Ecclesiastes and Daniel), and that thus the distinction between canonical and uncanonical books (if they are judged by their intrinsic value) is a fluctuating one.[2] Besides this, it is certain that in the excluded books, of which we know so many already, and are continually coming through new discoveries to know more, there has come down to us a treasure of unspeakable value for a knowledge of religious life as it was shortly before and after the time of Jesus, and so for an understanding of the origin of Christianity (see APOCRYPHA, APOCALYPTIC).

K. B.

B. NEW TESTAMENT

The problem of the NT canon is to discover by what means and at what period a new collection of sacred

60. Jesus' Words and Deeds. books came to be invested with all the dignity which belonged to that of the Synagogue. Jesus had claimed to speak with an authority in no way inferior to that of the OT, and had placed his own utterances side by side with some of its precepts as fulfilling or even correcting them. The remembered words of Jesus thus became at once, if the expression may be allowed, the nucleus of a new Christian canon. At first they circulated orally from hearer to hearer. Then narratives were compiled recording the Sacred Words, and the no less Sacred Deeds which had accompanied or illustrated them. Some narratives of this kind underlie our Gospels, and are referred to in the preface to the Third Gospel. In course of time these were superseded

61. Gospels. by the fuller treatises which bear the names of apostles or the chosen companions of apostles, and their superior merit, as well as the sanction thus given to them, soon left them without rivals as the authorised records of the Gospel history. They were read side by side with books of the OT in the public worship of the Church, and were appealed to as historical documents by those who wished to show in detail the correspondence between the facts of the life of Jesus and the Jewish prophecies about the Messiah. This stage has been definitely reached by the time of Justin Martyr; but as yet there is no clear proof that a special sanctity or inspiration was predicated of the books themselves. The final step, however, could not long be delayed. The sacredness of the Words and Deeds of Jesus which they contained, the [illegible] authority by which they were [illegible], [illegible] their familiar use in the services of the Church, gradually raised them to the level of the ancient Scriptures; and the process was no doubt accelerated by the action of heretical and schismatical leaders, [illegible] after another to base their tenets upon

[illegible] particular passage in the sixth of the [illegible] Holy Scripture [illegible] these [illegible] and the New Testaments, of whose [illegible] the Church,' [illegible] Bishop West[illegible] [illegible] Spanish, [illegible] 443, and cp preceding [illegible]

certain of these documents or upon others peculiar to themselves.

Meanwhile a similar process had been going on in regard to other writings of the apostolic age. These were for the most part letters, written in many instances to particular churches, and designed to meet special needs. The writers betray no consciousness that their words would come to be regarded as a permanent standard of doctrine or of action in the Christian Church; they write for an immediate purpose, and just as they would wish to speak, were they able to be present with those whom they address. In their absence, and still more after their death, their letters were cherished and read w[illegible] and again by the churches which had first received [illegible] and by others who naturally welcomed such pre[illegible] of the apostolic age. For the apostles were the authorised instructors of the Christian Church. In the age which succeeded them, 'the Lord and the apostles' became the natural standard of appeal to which reference was to be made in all matters of faith and practice. For some time 'the tradition of the apostles,' as handed down in the churches of their foundation, was regarded as the test of orthodoxy. Oral tradition, however, is necessarily variable and uncertain. It was natural that, when actual disciples of the apos[illegible]s were no longer living, appeal should more and more be made to their written words, and that these should be set side by side with the Gospels as the primary documents of the Christian faith. Here again the same elements as before come into play, though probably at a slightly later period, viz., the liturgical use of the epistles, and the necessity of maintaining them intact against the mutilations or rejections of heretical sects.

63. Epistles.

In the collection which was thus gradually being formed by the pressure of various circumstances and with no distinct consciousness of the creation of a canon, a place was found beside the Gospels and the epistles for two other books. The Apocalypse of John opened with the salutation of an epist[illegible], and, even apart from this, its apocalyptic character claimed for it a special and abiding sacredness; moreover it contained an express blessing for those who should read and listen to it, and a warning against any who should presume to alter or add to it. The Acts of the Apostles would find an easy entrance, partly as an authorised account of the deeds of apostles written by one who had contemporaneous knowledge of them, and still more as being in form the second part of the Third Gospel and properly inseparable from the earlier book.

63. Other books.

Thus, side by side with the old Jewish canon, and without in any way displacing it, there had sprung up a new Christian canon. Although its exact limits were not yet precisely defined, and local variations of opinion were to be observed w[illegible] regard to the acceptance of particular books, we find the idea of such a new canon in full play in the writings of great representative men of the period from 180 to 200 A.D.—of Irenæus speaking for Asia Minor and Gaul, of Tertullian in N. Africa, and of Clement in Alexandria. The Church is by this time fully conscious that she is in possession of written documents of the apostolic age; documents to which reference must be universally made, as to a final court of appeal, in questions of right faith and right action. The authority of Jesus and his apostles is, in the main, embodied for her in writings which she reads together with the OT in her public services, quotes as Scripture, and regards as the inspired revelation of divine truth. Of the stages by which this result has been reached the writers referred to have nothing to tell us. It was, as we have seen, the issue of an unconscious growth, natural and for the most part unchallenged, and so leaving no recorded history behind it. If the Church was awakened to a consciousness of

64. A new canon.

her great possession, and to the importance of insi[illegible] upon its integrity, by the attempts made by heretic[illegible] defraud her of portions of it, there is no evidenc[illegible] deliberate efforts on her part to band up the concep[illegible] of a new canon in opposition to them; much le[illegible] any formal declarations, such as those of later ti[illegible] defining what books should or should not be inclu[illegible] in it. In the stress of controversy she fell back on [illegible] treasures which she possessed, and realised that m[illegible] books which she was accustomed to read for the [illegible]struction of her children she had, on the one hand, [illegible] full and harmonious expression of all those pos[illegible] truths whose isolation or exaggeration formed [illegible] groundwork of the several heretical systems, and [illegible] the other hand, the decisive contradiction of [illegible] negations in which their capricious selections [illegible] involved those who rejected any part of the comm[illegible] heritage.

2. That the sketch given above of the gradual gro[illegible] of a new canon with its twofold contents, in the pe[illegible] anterior to Irenæus, Tertullian, [illegible] Clement, is justified not only by [illegible]trinsic probability but also by [illegible] references of early Christian wri[illegible] to books of the NT, may be seen [illegible] consulting the collections of such references acc[illegible] in modern treatises upon the canon. Here a [illegible] outline of the evidence must suffice.

65. Evidence of orthodox writers: Clement, etc.

In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corint[illegible] (*circa* 95) we have two precepts introduced by [illegible] mand to 'remember the words of our Lord Jesus [illegible] Acts 20 35): in neither case do they exactly [illegible] with the language of our Gospels; they may be [illegible] result of a fusion due to citation from memory, or t[illegible] may possibly be derived from oral tradition. [illegible] epistle is saturated with the phraseology of the P[illegible] Epistles (Rom., 1 Cor., Eph.; less certainly Ti[illegible] others) and of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but [illegible] are not directly cited, and the expressions 'Scriptu[illegible] and 'it is written' are applied to the OT alone.

In the genuine Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch (short Greek recension, *circa* 110 A.D., Lightfoot) the [illegible] direct citation of words of Jesus ('Lay hold o[illegible] handle me and see that I am not a spirit, δαιμόνι[illegible] without body,' *Ad Smyrn.* 3) is possibly derived f[illegible] an apocryphal book or from an oral tradition. [illegible] language of these Epistles shows traces of acquai[illegible] with Mt. and Jn. and with several of the Pauline E[illegible] The Epistle of Polycarp (*circa* 110 A.D., Lightf[illegible]) largely composed of quotations from NT books (espe[illegible] Mt., Lk., 1 and 2 Jn., 1 Pe., and the Pauline E[illegible]). There is but one (somewhat uncertain) instance of the citation of NT words as Scripture.

The Epistle of Barnabas (*circa* 98 A.D., Lightfoot [illegible] though most scholars place it later) prefixes t[illegible] saying 'Many called but few chosen,' the forma[illegible] 'is written.' If this be cited from Mt. 22 14—and [illegible] reference makes it not improbable—then we have [illegible] the earliest use of this formula in reference to a book [illegible] the NT.

The *Teaching of the Apostles* (date uncer[illegible] perhaps 110-130) introduces a form of the Lord's Pr[illegible] which has variants both from Mt. and Lk., [illegible] words, 'as the Lord commanded in his Gospel, so [illegible] ye' (chap. 8; cp chaps. 11, 15). It clearly pr[illegible] poses a written Gospel, and shows acquaintance wi[illegible] Mt. and Lk. It has embodied an ancient [illegible] Jewish) manual, 'The Two Ways' (used also in *Ep. Barn.* and elsewhere), and also certain early eucharistic prayers which incorporate the language of Jn.

The *Apology* of Aristides, the Athenian philo[illegible] (*circa* 125-130 A.D.), addressed to the emperor H[illegible] (acc. to Eus. and the title of Arm. vers.; the [illegible] the Syr. vers. would place it a few years later [illegible] Antoninus Pius), twice refers expressly to writings o[illegible] Christians; in the first instance, after enumerating [illegible]

main events of the life of Jesus—including his birth 'from a Hebrew virgin' and his ascension—it distinctly appeals to the written Gospel for corroboration. It also embodies language from the Epistle to the Romans.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* (date uncertain: 110-140) betrays a close acquaintance with many NT books, though it makes no direct citations either from OT or from NT. The language of our four Gospels (even of the Appendix to Mk.), of the Pauline Epistles including the Pastoral Epp., of 1 Pe., Acts, Apoc., and above all of Jas., is adopted by the writer; and even 2 Pe. seems to have been used.

Before we come to the fuller testimonies of Justin Martyr and subsequent writers it is necessary to examine the evidence to be derived from Papias. His date and the interpretation to be placed on his fragmentary remains have been the subject of much criticism (see esp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 142-216). He was the hearer of at least two personal disciples of Jesus, and his great work may be placed *circa* 130-140. It was entitled Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, 'Expositions of the Oracles of (or 'concerning') the Lord.' As λόγια is a term used in the NT of the OT writings, the title of the book naturally suggests some kind of commentary on the writings relating to Jesus—*i.e.*, on written Gospels which held a recognised position of sacredness in the Christian Church. It is probable that similar commentaries on one or more of the Gospels had already been composed by Gnostic writers: thus Basilides is said to have written twenty-four books on 'the Gospel' (*circa* 117-138). Such books are disparaged by Papias as wordy and misleading; he prefers to fall back on the testimonies of the living disciples of those who had seen the Lord. He gives accounts, not free from difficulties, of the composition of Gospels by Matthew and Mark. On the whole, the facts seem to be most readily accounted for if we suppose that Papias in his five books expounded and illustrated by traditional stories the four Gospels as we at present know them. Eusebius further expressly informs us that Papias used 1 Jn. and 1 Pe. There can be little doubt that his chiliastic views were based on the Apocalypse.

66. Papias.

Justin Martyr (*circa* 152), when mentioning the words of the institution of the Eucharist, says: 'So the apostles handed down in the Memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels' (*Ib.* 66). In describing the Sunday worship, too, he refers to 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' (*Ap.* 1 67; see LORD'S DAY), and these Memoirs (ἀπομνημονεύματα) are placed on a level with the 'Writings of the Prophets' as an alternative means of edification in the gatherings of the Christian Church. Justin's use of them, here and in his *Dialogue* with the Jew Trypho, is conditioned by the necessities of his argument. In themselves they would have no weight with heathen or Jewish opponents. The OT prophecies, however, could be freely appealed to in either case, as the argument rested on their fulfilment rather than on their sacredness. Justin accordingly uses 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' as historical documents in proof of the fulfilment of Messianic predictions in the recorded events of the life of Jesus. Twelve times he refers to them directly in the *Dialogue*, all the instances being in connection with his exposition of Ps. 22. In every case, both here and in the *Apology*, the reference is fully accounted for by the supposition that these 'Memoirs' were our four Gospels, the phraseology of each of which can be traced in his writings. Where he most carefully describes them, after referring to an event recorded only by Lk., he says that 'they were compiled by Christ's apostles and those who companied with them.' This exactly agrees with the traditional authorship of our Gospels, as written two by apostles (Mt., Jn.), and two by followers of apostles (Mk., Lk.). Justin likewise refers

67. Justin.

for corroboration of his statements to official *Acts of Pilate*: he may perhaps have been acquainted with a more primitive form of the apocryphal materials still surviving under that designation. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence that he used any apocryphal Gospel (unless perhaps a [illegible] or Gospel of the Infancy). He refers [illegible] to the Apocalypse as written by the apostle Jesus [illegible], and shows acquaintance with most of the Pauline Epistles.

From Justin we pass to his pupil Tatian (*circa* 150-100 A.D.), who helps to confirm our conclusions as to Justin himself by his use of our four Gospels and no other in his *Diatessaron*. This remarkable book, which for a long period must have been the only Gospel of many Syrian churches, is known to us mainly through a Commentary upon it written by Ephraim, and preserved to us in an Armenian translation, and also through an Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* itself—made, however, after the later text of the Peshitta Syriac had been substituted for Tatian's own text, which had many interesting variants of an early type. The two sources of evidence supplement each other, and make it certain that Tatian's Gospels were none other than our own. There is some reason for thinking that Tatian also introduced into Syria a collection of the Pauline Epistles.

68. Tatian.

3. Although Tatian adopted heretical opinions after the death of his master, his great work on the Gospels appears to be quite independent of these and was accepted without question by the Syrian Church. It will be well, however, to notice at this point the evidence to be derived from other heretical leaders in regard to the estimation in which various books of the NT were held by those who were dissatisfied with the teaching of the main body of the Church. It will suffice to take three writers of whom we have a considerable amount of information preserved to us. Basilides of Alexandria flourished in the reign of Hadrian. His Expositions on the Gospel, in twenty-four books, have already been mentioned. Accepting with Hort, the account preserved in the *Refutation of Heresies* (generally attributed to Hippolytus) as representing portions of the work, we meet with the striking fact that quotations from the NT, introduced with the words 'The Scripture saith,' and 'as it is written,' are found in a heretical writer at a period at which they cannot with certainty be said to be so introduced by any writer within the Church. Several passages from the Pauline Epistles are so cited by Basilides. He also used Mt., Lk., Jn., and apparently 1 Jn.

69. Unorthodox: Basilides, etc.

Marcion (*circa* 140) undertook to restore the simplicity of Christianity on the basis of Paul, whom he regarded as the only true apostle. He rejected the OT and retained of the NT only Lk. in a mutilated form, and the Epistles of Paul; the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews not being included in his canon. There is no indication that he applied any other standard than that of correspondence with his own dogmatic position, in making what must be considered the earliest attempt at the conscious definition of a NT canon.

Heracleon (*circa* 170, or earlier), a disciple of Valentinus, wrote a Commentary on Jn., of which considerable fragments are preserved by Origen. His system of interpretation shows that he held the exact words of the Evangelist in the highest veneration, as instinct with spiritual meaning. He also commented on Lk., and shows acquaintance with Mt., Heb., and the Pauline Epistles including 2 Tim.

Thus the first certain citations of NT writings with the formula familiarly used of the OT, the first attempt at defining a NT canon, and the first commentary on a NT book, come to us not from within but from without the Church. These are striking evidences of the authority generally accorded to the NT writings; in

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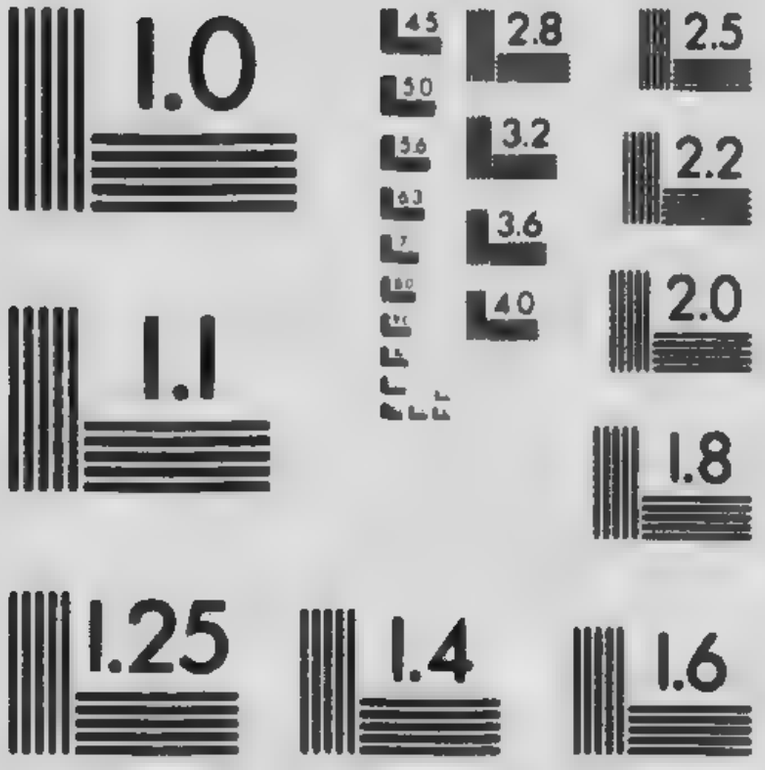

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the words of Irenæus (iii. 271: 'So strong is the position of our Gospels, that the heretics themselves bear witness to them, and each must start from these to prove his own doctrine.'

4. The early history of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac versions is wrapt in obscurity; but there is reason for believing that the translation of parts at least of both these versions must be placed not much later than the middle of the second century (see TEXT, §§ 20, 32). The Old Latin version seems to have been made in N. Africa, and to have included, probably before the time of Tertullian, all the books of the later canon, excepting Jas., 2 Pe., and possibly Heb. When the Scillitan Martyrs (N. Africa, 180 A.D.) were examined as to what was contained in their book-chest, their brief recorded reply was 'Books and Epistles of Paul, a just man.' Such was their description of the writings which, doubtless, were used by them in their services. It is conditioned by the circumstance of its utterance before heathen judges; it would be wrong to conclude from it that the Pauline Epistles were placed by them on a different level from the other sacred writings. The Old Syriac of the Gospels has till lately been known only from Cureton's imperfect MS; but the palimpsest recently found at Mt. Sinai enables us to reconstruct this version for the most part with approximate certainty. A selection of comments by Ephraim on the Acts of the Apostles, and his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, preserved in Armenian translations, point to an Old Syriac version of these books also. The older MSS of the revised Syriac version (the Peshitta) do not contain 2 and 3 Jn., 2 Pe., Jude, and Apoc.

70. Early versions.

We have been concerned hitherto with tracing the growth of the conception of a NT canon, without considering, except incidentally, the range of writings included in it. The influence of the main body of the NT literature upon the writers of the period with which we have been dealing cannot be at all fully appreciated from our scanty analysis. Their writings must themselves be studied line by line, if we are to understand the debt which they owed, as regards both ideas and phraseology, to the documents of the apostolic age. In that age new conceptions had been given to the world, and a new terminology had been formed for their expression. The next age reproduced these; but it was not itself creative. This is seen, for instance, in the technical terms of even the boldest of the Gnostic speculations. Whatever may have been men's conscious attitude towards the NT writings, it is clear that they are dominated by them from the very first. Gradually they come to recognise them more and more as their masters; and then, both within the Church and outside it, we find them definitely declaring the limits of the canon to which they owe this allegiance.

71. General traces of NT.

Marcion's list of sacred books has already been noticed. The next list of which we have any knowledge is unfortunately a fragment, and tells us neither its date nor its author's name or locality. It was published in 1740 by Lodovico Antonio Muratori, the librarian at Milan. Hence it is known as the Muratorian canon. It is in barbarous Latin, in a seventh or eighth century MS; but its original must have been Greek, and it is generally agreed that it was written in the West (perhaps at Rome) towards the close of the second century. Lightfoot conjectured that it was a portion of the 'Verses on all the Scriptures' assigned to Hippolytus. The fragment commences with the end of a description of Mark; it goes on to speak of Luke and John, and refers to the different beginnings of the four books of the Gospel. After Acts come the Epistles of Paul; the seven churches to which he wrote being paralleled with the seven of the Apocalypse, and enumerated in the following order—Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., Gal., Thess.,

72. Muratorian canon.

Rom. Then come four private letters—Philemon, [illegible] the Pastoral epistles. Two other epistles are [illegible] clared forgeries, viz., those to the Laodiceans and [illegible] the Alexandrians. Then we have Jude, two epist[illegible] of John (1 Jn. has been quoted from at an ear[illegible] point, so that these may perhaps be 2 and 3 Jn.), [illegible] the Wisdom of Solomon, 'written in his hon[illegible] Then the 'apocalypses of John and Peter alone [illegible] receive, which (*ung.*) some among us will not [illegible] read in the church.' The *Shepherd of Hermas* [illegible] to be read,' but not reckoned either with the prop[illegible] or with the apostles. After a few more lines, as [illegible] rejected books, the text being very corrupt, the fragm[illegible] suddenly closes. The omissions are deserving of no[illegible] nothing is said of 1 and 2 Peter, James, and Hebre[illegible] but the omitted epistles were undoubtedly (if we ex[illegible] 2 Peter) known at this time in the Roman church. [illegible] is difficult, therefore, to draw conclusions from the omission in a fragment of whose history so little [illegible] ascertained and whose text is so obviously corrupt. [illegible] Muratorian canon is fully discussed by Zahn, *H[illegible] the Canon* ('90) 21-43; quite recently Dom Amel[illegible] Monte Cassino has published fragments of it from oth[illegible] MSS (*Misc. Cassin.*, 1897).

5. The inclusion (though with an expression [illegible] variance of opinion) of the Apocalypse [illegible] Peter in the 'Muratorian Fragment' [illegible] us to say something of books which, [illegible] a time claimed a place in the canon, [illegible] were ultimately excluded.

73. Books temporarily received.

The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and [illegible] *Homily*, miscalled his 'Second Epistle,' are conta[illegible] after the Apocalypse, in Cod. A (the great Greek B[illegible] of the 5th cent. in the Brit. Mus.). The Epist[illegible] Barnabas and the *Shepherd of Hermas* hold a sim[illegible] place in the Sinaitic Bible (ℵ, 4th cent.). The [illegible] latter books are occasionally cited as Scripture [illegible] patristic writings, and this is the case also with [illegible] *Teaching of the Apostles*.

Of apocryphal Gospels two deserve special not[illegible] The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is known [illegible] by a few fragments, which show that it bore a [illegible] relation to our First Gospel. Clement of Alex[illegible] and Origen quote from it, although they insist [illegible] sole authority of our four Gospels. The *Gospel* [illegible] *ing to Peter*, a considerable fragment of which [illegible] published in 1892 from a MS found in Egypt, is kn[illegible] to have been used in the church of Rhossus [illegible] Antioch. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (190-20[illegible] first permitted its use, but subsequently disallowed [illegible] the ground of Docetic errors. The extant [illegible] embodies the language of all our four Gospels, th[illegible] it often perverts their statements. There is no [illegible] the use of any other Gospel in its composition, [illegible] certain phrases may possibly be borrowed fr[illegible] earlier apocryphal book. Its composition may [illegible] probability be assigned to *circa* 165. Its testimony [illegible] the canon is thus somewhat parallel in date and extent to that of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

The *Apocalypse of Peter*, of which a fragment [illegible] recovered at the same time, was an early book wh[illegible] powerfully influenced subsequent literature of a sim[illegible] kind—*e.g.*, the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It seems to [illegible] responsible for much of the mediæval conception [illegible] heaven and hell. It presents curious coincidences w[illegible] 2 Peter. It is quoted as Scripture by Clement [illegible] Alexandria; and as late as the fifth century it was [illegible] on Good Friday in certain churches of Palestine.

6. Our inquiry has revealed to us that towards [illegible] close of the second century, by the time of Ire[illegible] Tertullian, and Clement—writers [illegible] testimonies are so abundant that we need [illegible] not dwell upon them here—the Church had attained [illegible] a conscious recognition of a canon of the New Testament. Three classes of books have come into [illegible] (1) the main bulk of the NT books, as to w[illegible]

74. Result.

doubt at all is expressed by writers within the Church; (2) books whose position in the canon was challenged in certain quarters, although they ultimately were included; (3) books which were read in certain churches, but were ultimately classed as non-canonical. With regard to books of the second of these classes the later history of their reception will be found under the special articles devoted to them, and in the works to which reference is made below. With regard to the third it may suffice to say that the verdict of the Church has been fully justified by the fact that no serious effort has ever been made to reinstate them. J. A. R

75. Bibliography: OT. *Literature of the Subject.* i. *OT Canon.*—The following works dealing with the OT canon may be mentioned. The authors are arranged in alphabetical order.

W. J. Beecher, 'The alleged Triple Canon of the OT,' *JBL* 1890; C. A. Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, 1899; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text d. ATs*, 1891; De Wette-Schrader, *Einl. in d. AT*, 8th ed. 1869; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 1892, *Die Entstehung des AT*, 1897; Furst, *Der Kanon des AT*, 1868; Graetz, *Koheleth*, 1871; Holtzmann, *Einl. in d. NT*, 3rd ed. 1892; Koenig, *Essai sur la formation du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*, 1894; Marx, *Traditio Rabbinorum veterrima*, etc. 1884; WRS, *OTJC*[2], 1892; Ryle, *The Canon of the OT*, 1892; Schürer, *GJV* ii. 1886; Strack, art. 'Kanon des AT' in *PRE*[2] 7; Weber, *System der altsyn. pal. Theologie*, 1880; We. 'Die Sammlung der Schriften des AT' in Bleek, *Einl.*[4] (78) and *Einl.*[6] (93); Wildeboer, *Die Entstehung des AT-lichen Kanons*, 1891 (ET '95); C.H.H. Wright, *The Book of Koheleth*, 1883; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2nd ed. 1832. Moreover, Wildeboer in his valuable article, 'De voor-Thalmudische Joodsche Kanon' (*Theologische Studiën*, 1897) cites the following books and articles, written, with the exception of the first, by Roman Catholics: T. Mullen, *The Canon of the OT*, 1893; A. Loisy, *Histoire du Canon de l'AT*, 1890; Magnier, *Étude sur la Canonicité des Saintes Écritures*, I. 1892; B. Pörtner, *Die Autorität der deuterokanonischen Bücher des ATs*, 1[illegible]; J. P. van Kasteren, *De Joodsche Canon* (*Stud. op. godsd. [illegible] letterk. gebied*, xxviii.), 1895. K. B.

ii. *NT Canon.*—A brief outline of a subject of the highest importance, which bristles with points of controversy, has necessarily passed over in silence a large portion of the evidence, and needs to be supplemented by a list of books in which the various topics are treated in detail and, in some cases, from a different point of view. The following will prove most useful to the modern student:—

76. Bibliography: NT.

Westcott *On the Canon of the NT* (7th ed. 1896), a mine of information on the early Christian writings; Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion* (republished 1889), specially important for Papias and other early writers; Salmon's *Historical Introduction to the NT* (8th ed. 1897), a vigorous examination of adverse criticism; Sanday's Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration*, a careful and sympathetic account of the present position of controversy; Weiss's *Introd. to the NT* (1886; ET, 1887), a clear exposition of the early history; Zahn's *Gesch. d. NT Kanons* (1888-92), together with his *Forschungen* (in five parts 1881-84), by far the most exhaustive treatise that has appeared; Harnack's examination of vol. i. pt. 1 of this work in *Das NT vor das Jahr* 200 ('89), a severe criticism—his own position is stated positively in his *Dogmengesch.* (1888; 2nd ed. 1888, pp. 324-328); Jülicher's *Einl. in das NT* ('90), an able statement of a position intermediate between Weiss and Harnack. Harnack's preface to his *Chronologie der altchr. Litteratur* ('97) is a noteworthy utterance, indicating the abandonment of the Tübingen positions in regard to the dating of NT documents.

[Holtzmann may also be mentioned as an eminently fair-minded guide, and abundant in literary references (*Einl. in das NT*[3], 1894). Among older books, see Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons* ('47), and his *Gesch. des NT Kanons*; edited by Volkmar ('60), important for the history of the study of the canon; also Hilgenfeld's *Einl. in das NT*, 1875.] J. A. R.

§§ 1-59, 75, K. B.; §§ 60-74, 76, J. A. R.

CANOPY (חֻפָּה), Is. 4 5 RV, AV 'defence'; see TENT, § 4.

CANTICLES. We have before us a book which has suggested as many problems as Shakespeare's Sonnets. The name which we give to it, therefore, should not be a question-begging name. We will call it in this article neither 'Canticles' nor 'Song of Solomon,' but, following the best interpretation of 1 1, 'Song of Songs'—the

1. Problems.

choicest of all songs (like 'servant of servants,' Gen. 9 25; cp. 'lowest of servants').

The first difficulty arises when we seek to determine precisely the subject of the Song (§§ 2-4); the next, when we investigate its poetical form (§§ 5-11), and seek to fix its date (§§ 13-15). We will consider these difficulties in order; but the first cannot be treated completely (§§ 10 *f.* 17) until we have overcome the second.

2. Hist. of Interpretation.

I. *Subject* (preliminary). Jewish tradition laid down very positively that, both as a whole and in its several parts, the Song describes the phases of a spiritual (not merely an earthly) love. The bride was the symbol of Israel, the bridegroom that of its divine king; and by the labours of countless homilists the Song became a lyric record of the intercourse between the Lord and his people from the Exodus (cp Jer. 2 2) to the Messianic time. Of those exegetical labours, or rather poetical broodings, we have a summary in the Midrash ha-Shirim (transl. Wünsche, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, 1 *f.* 6), with which the not less fervidly-written Targum (of post-Talmudic origin) may be compared.[1] This theory was introduced in a modified form into the Christian Church mainly through the influence of Origen, of whom Jerome says that, 'while on the other books he surpassed all others, on the Song of Songs he surpassed himself' (Origen, *Op.* 311). This theologian treated the bride as being either the Church or (an important variation) the soul of the believer. The boldly avowed heterodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who interpreted the Song solely as relating to the Egyptian marriage of Solomon, was fruitless. Its condemnation at the second council of Constantinople (553 A.D.) postponed the acceptance of the literal interpretation in the Church for a thousand years. The great St. Bernard wrote eighty-six sermons on Song 1 and 2 alone, and his example fostered similar mystical studies in the Latin Church. Only among Jewish commentators was a natural exegesis not wholly unrepresented.[2] Ibn Ezra, in particular, is so thorough in his literal exegesis that it is doubtful whether he is serious when he proceeds to allegorise. Though Luther was moving in this direction, no Christian scholar before Sebastian Castellio (1544) ventured to maintain the purely secular character of the poem, and all that mediæval mysticism could do was to exercise its right of selection from the two allegoric views. The idea that the bride was the Christian soul became the favourite: partly because it seemed to promote edification, and partly because it commended itself to the romantic spirit of the young western nations. Thus, Dante surprises us when (*Convivio*, 2 15, end) he identifies the bride with Heavenly Wisdom.[3] Even in the time of the Reformation we find the evangelical 'Horace of the cloister,' Fray Luis de Leon, translating the Song mystically in 'ottava rima'; and in our own day Bishop Alexander, though a Hebraist, has made an earnest poetic protest in favour of a mystic and against a dramatic theory (*Poems*, 1886, pp. 26-51).

3. Not an allegory.

Grammatical exegesis, however, destroys the basis of the old verse-by-verse allegorical interpretation. The only question possible is, whether a general allegory of subject may have been intended by the poet—whether he considered the earthly love that he described to have a true symbolic resemblance to the spiritual love.[4] The answer is, that

[1] On the Jewish interpreters see S. Salfeld, *Das Hohelied Salomo's bei den jüd. Erklärern des Mittelalters* ('79); on both the Jewish and the Christian, W. Riegel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüd. Gemeinde u. der griech. Kirche* ('92).

[2] See Salfeld, 52; Graetz, *Schir ha-Shirim*, 119 *f.*, and cp Mathews, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Canticles* (74), Preface.

[3] Dante's Jewish friend, Immanuel ben Sh'lomoh, identified the bride with the 'material intellect' (Salfeld, 91). The biblical point of contact is Prov. 8.

[4] Bp. Lowth is one of the chief defenders of a secondary and general allegorical sense. He appeals not only to 'the most

such a symbolic resemblance is inconsistent with the spirit of Hebraism. It is true that the relation between Yahwè and his people is described in the prophets by the symbolism of wedlock (Hos. 1-3; Jer. 2 2 3; Ezek. 16; Is. 50 1 54 5 6). It is true, also, that the phrase 'to love (אהב) Yahwè' occurs frequently in Deuteronomy and (less often) in the Psalter, and that the word דוד (used in the Song) is applied once by Isaiah (5 1) to Yahwè. Still, the notion implied by the prophetic allegory of wedlock, as well as by the phrase 'to love God,' is not that of free inclination on Israel's part towards the All-beautiful One, but rather of an obedience which is in the first instance the condition of divine protection, though, as favours multiply and the essential goodness of the divine commands appears, it becomes a habit and a passion. In Deuteronomy, therefore, the love of Yahwè is prescribed as a duty not invited or presupposed; and even in the Psalter, where devotional feeling finds the freest expression there are only three passages in which the phrase 'to love Yahwè' occurs (Ps. 31 23 97 10 (?) 145 20), and in the first of these it occurs in the imperative mood. It is in harmony with this that three other passages (Ps. 5 11 69 36 119 132) contain the fuller phrase 'to love Yahwè's name,' which appears to mean (see Is. 56 6) the performance of religious duties with a certain fervour. Such a conception of the love of God we find in the Koran (Sur. 3 29; cp 19 96). It was one of the Jewish elements in Mohammed's teaching, and failed to satisfy later generations of Moslems. In Syria and in Egypt, and still more in Persia, arose a mystic type of devotion, which sought by contemplation to lift the veil between man and God. The mystic love-songs of the Cairo dervishes, and the fine love-poems of the Sufi-poet Hâfiz, have been compared by Orientalists with the Song of Songs; but it has been forgotten that, fervid as the love of God became among the later Jews, it never divested itself of the chastening restraints of legalism, and that, in Persia at least, mystic poetry is one of the fruits of a national reaction against the aridity of Islam. It is still stranger that Sir William Jones and Sir Edwin Arnold have compared the Gitagovinda of the admired Indian poet Jayadeva (14th cent. A.D.), in which it would appear (but may we not suspect an afterthought of the poet?), 'from the few stanzas scattered through the poem where the author speaks in his own person, that he means his verses to be taken' in a mystic sense — Krishna symbolising the human soul, the shepherdesses the allurements of sense, and Rādhā the knowledge of, or meditation on, divine things. Surely the pantheistic atmosphere in which Jayadeva lived, and the excessive imaginative fervour of the Indian genius, are altogether unlike the conditions under which the Song of Songs must have been penned.

4. Origin of allegorical interpretation.

How came it, then, it may be asked, that the Jews of a later time, in their exegesis of the Song, adopted a theory which is, strictly, contrary to the spirit of Hebraism? Probably thus. We know from the Mishna (*Taanith*, 4 8) that, before the destruction of the temple, passages from the Song were sung at certain popular yearly festivals. We know, too, that after the great catastrophe all expression of exuberant joy was forbidden. Now, what in those gloomy days was to be

ancient authority,' but also to the analogy of Ps. 45 and (more safely) to passages in the prophets. Such a position, however, was tenable only provisionally. The Bishop expressly rejects the most poetic form of the allegorical theory, for which alone most Christians have cared — it was defended by Bossuet — that which explains the Song of the loving intercourse between Christ and the soul. Surely the election of a Gentile Church ('dark but comely') might have been foreshadowed at a less expenditure of poetry. Rightly, therefore, did J. D. Michaelis and the acute Bp. Warburton criticise Lowth for not going further. Lowth answered that without allegory the place of the Song in the canon could not be justified. All his literary taste could not dissolve his narrow notion of the authority of the canon.

done with the Song, which tradition already ascribed to Solomon? The answer was ready:—Consecrate it by allegorical interpretation. This course corresponded to the change which had passed upon the national character. The enthusiastic element in Jewish piety was becoming, in adversity, more intense. This element needed the expression which it found in the Song of Songs (see *Berachoth* 57*b*, where חגיגות is ascribed to the Megilla of the Song of Songs as well as to the Book of Psalms). It should be added, however, that even after 70 A.D. the natural interpretation found some supporters. At the synod of Jamnia (90 A.D.) R. 'Akiba had still to defend the sacredness of the Song of Songs (Mishna, *Yadayim*, 3 5), and in *Sanhedrin*, 101 we find a solemn anathema on those who treat the Sha-Shirim as a secular song (בשיר הזמר). The grounds on which this secular character was asserted may be guessed from the *Aboth de R. Natan*, chap. 1, which states that 'formerly' some counted the Song 'apocryphal' (חיצון) quoting in support of this, not 7 1-9, but 7 11 *f.*

It is about, or soon after, 90 A.D. that we find the first traces of the allegorical view (see 4 Esdras 5 24 26 7 and R. Simeon ben Gamliel's allegorical interpretation of Song 3 11 in *Taanith* 4 8). Before that time Jewish teachers seem to have shrunk from quoting the Song; even Philo neglects it. Nor is any use made of it (or of Kōhĕleth) in the NT. Eph. 5 27 alludes perhaps to Ps. 45 13, but certainly not to Song 4 7; and the parallelism between Rev. 3 20 and Song 5 2-6 (Trench, *Seven Churches*, 225 *f.*) is incomplete. This silence on the part of early Jewish and Christian writers shows the weakness of the argument from tradition adduced by the allegorists.

II. *Poetical form.* Is the Song of Songs a drama or a bundle of loosely connected songs? The earliest advocate of a definite dramatic theory was the learned Jesuit, Cornelius Lapide († 1637), who, like Ewald, divided the poem into five acts. Our own Bishop Lowth takes up a middle position. He finds no trace of a regular plot, and only one thing in which the Song closely resembles the Greek dramatic models — the chorus. He allows, however, that the Song may be classed with imperfect dramatic poems such as the Eclogues of Virgil and some of the Idylls of Theocritus. The first scholar to adopt the second solution of the problem was Richard Simon; but the first to make it plausible was Herder.[1] Influenced partly by the disintegrating tendency of the newer criticism, but still more by an irresistible impulse to search for traces of old popular poetry, he boldly denied the continuity of the poem, dividing it into about twenty-one independent songs (with a fragmentary conversation for an appendix), threaded like so many pearls on a necklace. These songs are sometimes very short; but brevity, Herder thinks, is the soul of a love-song; nor is it important to determine the exact number of songs. Herder does not deny a certain pleasing appearance of unity, but ascribes this to the collector, who wished to show the gradual growth of true love in its various *nuances* and stages, till it finds its consummation in wedlock. In its present form the Song may be taken to consist of six 'scenes'; but the critic apologises for the term, and insists that the poem was intended to be read, and, as it stands, is neither a theatrical piece nor a cantata. Herder's 'exquisite little treatise'[2] could not fail to make an impression. It gained the approval of Eichhorn and Goethe; but, without a more

5. Poetical form: history of views.

[1] *Lieder der Liebe. Die ältesten und schönsten aus dem Morgenlande* (1778). See Herder's *Werke* by Suphan, Bd. 5, and cp Haym's *Herder*, 2 175, where it is shown that it was Bishop Percy's *Reliques* which opened Herder's eyes to the element of folk-song in the OT. Herder, however, came to recognise that this element was somewhat modified in the Bible by a certain inherent and distinctive sanctity.

[2] We have borrowed this and a few other characteristic phrases from the *EB* article 'Canticles' by Robertson Smith for the pleasure of quoting from such a fine piece of critical exposition.

thorough justification than Eichhorn gave, it could not permanently subvert the rival theory. Apart from its eloquent defence of the literal interpretation, its chief contribution to biblical study is perhaps this—that it has unintentionally proved the impossibility of recovering the original songs (if songs there were) and of retracing the plan (if plan he had) of the hypothetical collector. Goethe appears to have felt this. Tempted himself, as he tells us in the *Westöstlicher Divan*, to select and arrange some of 'these few leaves,' he took warning from the failure of previous efforts, and left the poem in its hopeless but lovely confusion.

A first step in the criticism of the Song was taken by Ewald in his early commentary (1826). He did not as yet venture to suppose that the 'cantata' was really acted on the stage; but from the first he asserted its genuinely dramatic character, and in 1839 he repaired his original omission (*Die poet. Bücher des AT*, Eng. tr.). Was this a step backward? Only in appearance. Until the necessity of disintegration had been convincingly proved, Ewald was always on principle opposed to it. The cleverness and moderation of his critical theory, aided by his growing reputation for broad and deep scholarship, led to a very general adoption of the dramatic hypothesis, though the names of De Wette, Gesenius, Bleek, and Magnus may be quoted on the other side. The last-named scholar, however, did not effect much for his cause. His theory 'involved the assumption that the editor often displaced part of a song, sacrificing the unity of the original lyrics to an artificial composition of the whole.' It is only fair to add that in 1850 Bötticher did his best to make the opposite view absurd by introducing into the supposed Hebrew drama 'the complexities and stage effects of a modern operetta.' In 1860 Renan observed, with truth, that the dramatic theory had become 'almost classic,' and in 1891 and 1893 it was put forward as correct in the *Introductions* of Driver and Konig. Other eminent defenders of this theory are Hitzig (1855), Ginsburg (1857), Kuenen (1865), Delitzsch (1875), Robertson Smith[1] (1876), Kaempf (1877), Kohler (1878), Stickel (1888), Oettli (1889), Bruston (1891), Martineau (1892), and Rothstein (1893).

By degrees, however, the theory of the separatists recovered from the effects of Magnus's imprudence. It began to pass into a new phase, and to exercise a stronger attraction. Diestel (art. 'Hohes Lied,' Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* iii. ['71]); Reuss ('79, in *La Bible*, etc., also *Gesch. der Schriften des ATs*[2] ['90], 231-239); Stade (*GVI*, 2 197 ['88]); Cornill (*Einl.* ['91], pp. 236-240); Budde (*New World*, March '94, pp. 56-77); Kautzsch (*HS*, '94; *Lit. of the OT*, 148-151), and Siegfried (*Hoheslied*, '98) have done much to show that the view of Herder had not yet been adequately considered. Among these Budde deserves prominence for being the first to utilise adequately the information respecting Syrian marriage customs given by Consul Wetzstein in 1873.

Before reviewing this theory ourselves, we shall do well to examine the dramatic hypothesis more attentively.

6. Dramatic hypothesis considered. (*a*) The forms which it has taken are numerous and varied; in dividing the poem into acts and scenes critics are by no means unanimous.[2] According to Reuss, this wide divergence is fatal to the hypothesis. It seems fairer to admit that if it could be made out (1) that there is a plot, and (2) that there is any reason to

[1] Of this lamented scholar's later views we have, unfortunately, no record.

[2] The dramatic schemes of Ew. and Del. are given in full by Dr. *Introd.*[6] 438-444. Delitzsch finds only two chief characters, Solomon and the Shulammite. Passages like 2 10-15 and 4 8-15, which seem to speak of a shepherd-lover, really refer, he thinks, to Solomon, who adopts the circle of ideas and images familiar to his rustic love. Against this absurd view, see Oettli, 157. Martineau, on the other hand, eliminates the king altogether. So too Castelli, who describes the poem as an idyll in dialogue, the chief personages of which are the Shulammite and her lover.

expect a drama among a Semitic people, we might excuse this divergence as an unfortunate consequence of the absence of stage directions.

i. First, then, is there any plot? The dramatists (as we may call the defenders of this theory) answer that there is. Stickel even discovers two plots, developed by distinct pairs of lovers—the Shulammite (who is a vine-dresser) and her 'friend' (1 7-8), and a shepherd and shepherdess of Lebanon (besides the royal suitor, Solomon). The two latter are introduced in three scenes, 1 7-8 1 15 4 1-7-5 1. They know nothing about the Shulammite and her 'friend.' The poet has interwoven the two movements to amuse the audience and produce a pleasing contrast between the different fortunes of the two pairs of lovers. All very conceivable! Double musical themes can be treated in fugues—why not also in Hebrew drama, granting that a regular Hebrew drama ever existed, and that Stickel's view of the text is justified? However, all that this critic has shown is that 1 7 *f.* and 1 15 17 are out of connection with the previous verses; and in the case of the latter passage an easy emendation[1] enables us to recognise a continuous speech of the bride in 1 12-21.

Most critics, on the other hand, are content with one plot, and approach more or less closely to the dramatic scheme of Ewald, according to which the heroine is a maiden of Shulem or Shunem in Issachar (see SHUNEM), who has two lovers, the one at a distance, the other (till he finally disappears) near at hand; the one poor but favoured, the other royal but treated with disdain. In chap. 1 4 *f.* we find the maiden, who makes no secret of her country origin, in the 'chambers' of the king among the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (the ladies of the palace); but in 8 5 she suddenly appears, approaching her mountain home on the arm of her betrothed. From the context it is thought to be clear that the suitor whose riches are contemned (8 7, cp 11 *f.*) is King Solomon, to whom the flattering compliments offered to the maiden in previous chapters must be assigned. How, then, came 'the Shulammite' to exchange her free country life for the irksome splendour of the court? It is inferred, from 6 11 *f.*, that she had been surprised by Solomon's courtiers (who had often been employed, no doubt, in similar abductions) on a royal progress in N. Israel. She 'had gone down into the nut-garden to look at the green things of the valley,' when 'suddenly,' she says, 'my desire brought me to the chariots of my noble people' (Ewald). It is some excuse for Solomon that, if Ewald may be followed, 'the Shulammite' had not even been betrothed to the shepherd when she was carried off. (R. Martineau, however, thinks that between the third and the fourth scene—*i.e.*, between the 3 6-11 and 4 7-16—'the Shulammite' and the shepherd lover have been formally betrothed.) Then, how came the girl to be delivered from her royal captor? Renan has offered a very modern solution of the problem; but it is one which has no basis in the text, and may be safely neglected. Most have supposed (cp 8 9 *f.*) that the escape of 'the Shulammite' was due, not to any favourable combination of circumstances, but to the effect produced upon Solomon by her own frank and loyal character; 'all the actors,' says Ewald, 'recognise the restraints of the true religion.' Will this view hold? Is it conceivable that the luxurious Solomon should have been represented by any popular poet as releasing one of the 'maidens innumerable' in his 'chambers'?[2] Is it probable that such a maiden would have had, in the poet's fancy, the liberty implied in the early scenes of the 'drama,' or that she would have met Solomon's advances in that extra-

[1] 1 15 has evidently been interpolated from 4 1, and the opening word of *v.* 16 has been put in to match the first word of *v.* 15. An address of the heroine to her lover is out of place in this context (Bickell).

[2] Stickel quotes an example of such magnanimity from the life of the Caliph Mahdi (Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orient*, 2 127); but can we compare the characters of the two sovereigns?

ordinarily absent manner which Ewald's view of 1 9-26 supposes? Why should the recurring phrase 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp 'daughters of Zion,' 3 11) have such a limited reference as the dramatic theory requires? Then, as to the Shulammite and her abduction. Theory apart, what right have we to assume that the intercourse implied in the poem between the girl and her lover was prior to marriage? To this point we shall have to return. Can we safely infer from the title that Shulem or Shunem was the girl's home? The title occurs in a single passage (6 11 [7 1]); but there is no allusion elsewhere to confirm this supposition. Next, how can Ewald base such a romantic story simply on the very obscure passage, 6 11 *f.*? Lastly, how do we know that the Solomon of history or legend plays any part in the poem? As Castelli, himself one of the dramatisers, has well pointed out, Solomon is mentioned by name only in some simile or figurative contrast.[1] Thus in 1 5 the heroine likens herself for comeliness to the curtains of the pavilions of Solomon (but we should rather read with Brüll, We., and Wi., שִׁלְמָה, the name of a nomad Arabian tribe; see SALMAH, 2). In 3 7-11 Solomon's litter is spoken of jestingly; and so, in 8 11, 'to the costly vineyard of Solomon the heroine prefers her own symbolic one, which does not require the anxious supervision of others.' There is a fourth passage in which, according to an extremely probable correction of the text, Solomon is named,—6 8 *f.*:

'Sixty queens had Solomon, and eight concubines, and maidens innumerable. One is my dove, my spotless one.'

Here again there is a contrast between Solomon's large harem and the speaker's single incomparable bride.

Can we, then, be sure that where the phrase 'the king' occurs alone, it is not a honorific designation of the bridegroom? And this suggests the question, which Castelli, however, does not raise, whether the term 'the Shulammite' is not as purely figurative as 'the king'? Several writers (*e.g.*, Klostermann) have conjectured that the story of Abishag the Shunammite (1 K. 1 3 *f.*) supplied the plot of the supposed drama; but considering the difficulty of making out any plot at all, and the fact that 'the Shulammite' is referred to only in one passage, we may ask whether it is not more probable that the term is applied metaphorically, and is equivalent to 'the fairest of women' (1 8 5 9 6 1)? If we omit 6 11 *f.* as misplaced (doubtless a correct view), and read 6 10 and 13 [7 1] together, we shall see how natural it was for the poet to seek out some striking variation on the rather hackneyed phrase just mentioned. The passage will run thus:

'Who is she that looketh down as the dawn, fair as the moon, clear as the sun? Turn, turn, thou Shulammite, that we may look upon thee.'

It is usual to assume that the spectators, being ignorant of the heroine's name, address her with blunt directness as a girl of Shunem, and that she answers by the modest question, 'What do you see in the simple Shulammite girl?' It is much more natural to suppose that 'the Shulammite' (Shunammite) is a term not less complimentary than 'fair as the moon' in v. 10, and points back to the Abishag of tradition.[2] And should it be asked why Abishag's name is not mentioned, we may venture to express the opinion that when the song was written there was probably in the Hebrew text of 1 K. 1 3 15, 1 Sam. etc., not אבישג, but a very different word (see SHULAMMITE).

There are many other difficulties of interpretation which might be mentioned. For example, how are we to understand the movements of 'the beloved'? Are all the meetings of the lovers, except the final reunion, in reminiscence or in sleeping or waking imagination only? Can we conceive of a drama in which one of the actors seems almost if not quite uninfluenced by the speeches of the other? Not so did the Yahwist and the Elohist and the author of the Prologue of Job manage their dialogues. Less important is the difficulty which arises from the changes of scene, a weakness which need not surprise us in primitive plays. We must be careful, however, not to attach too much importance to European parallels. Renan, for example, goes too far when he refers to the comparatively elaborate pastoral play called *Li Gieus de Robin et Marion*, or *Li Jeus du Bergier et de la Bergiere*, composed in 1 [illegible] by Adam de la Halle for the diversion of the court.[1] It would be more natural, with R. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam), to compare the simple pastoretas of the Troubadours; but even that might be misleading.

ii. We have now to ask, further, Have we a right to expect a Semitic drama, however primitive in form?

7. No Semitic drama. That Semitic nations are not at all devoid of general dramatic capacity may be granted. In Mohammedan countries the *rāwī* ('reciter') still displays all the faculties of an actor, and stirs his hearers to the depths as he tells the story of 'Antar or the tales of the Arabian Nights; and there is an unmistakably strong dramatic element in Arabic works such as the 'Sessions' of Hariri. It cannot have been otherwise with the Israelites. They too must have laughed and wept as they listened to their story-tellers. At all events, the relics of their literature contain genuinely dramatic passages; see, for example, the stories of Jacob and Samson (evidently of traditional origin), of Ruth and Job. Even in the psalms and prophecies we have pieces like Ps. 2 21 7-10 Is. 63 1-6 28 8-11 Mic. 6 6-8, and the colloquies in the Book of Job have at least a distant affinity to the drama of character. Still, there is no evidence that the transition to a drama was ever made by a Semitic people. We have an Assyrian epic, but no Assyrian drama. Least of all can we reasonably expect to find one in the OT. Theatrical performances were not known at Jerusalem before the time of Herod, and to all good Jews such heathenish practices were detestable (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8 1; cp *BJ* i. 21 8). Hence the dramatic theory of the Song is plausible only if the composition of the poem be placed at *Alexandria* (during the Greek period). Why, upon this supposition, did not the dramatist write in Greek, as did Ezekiel, the author of the drama on the Exodus called Ἐξαγωγή? In a word, the difficulties of the dramatic theory are insuperable.

(*b*) The Israelites, however, had a still more characteristic gift—that of lyric poetry.

8. Popular lyric poetry. Singing and dancing formed essential parts of their festivities, as they still do among the Bedouins; and when these festivities were occasioned by some great local or national event, a dramatic element would naturally infuse itself into the popular songs, and this all the more easily because the custom of alternate song, which is in its nature dramatic, was very ancient (cp Ex. 15 21 1 S. 21 11). Ewald thinks that the Song (which is, according to him, a cantata) was originally intended for a festival of the independence of the N. kingdom, and that it was performed in five days, an act in a day. This view suits his theory of the 'plot' of the Song; but it is no longer tenable—we have seen that the references to 'Solomon' are figurative, and that 'the Shulammite' is also a mere eulogistic term.

Why should not we take up again the suggestive idea of Bossuet and Lowth that the Song was intended for use on the seven days of the marriage festival?

1 Ca[illegible]ii, *Della poesia biblica*, 311

2 This view was proposed by Stade in 1887 (*GVI* 1 292), and adopted by Bu. in his excellent essay, *New World*, Mar. 1894, pp. 62-74. Budde desiderates an OT analogy. Perhaps 'Zimri' in 2 K. 9 31 (see RV) is such.

1 *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, par Monmerqué et Michel, 102-135. (Renan's account differs.)

Gen. 29 27 Judg 14 12 Tob. 11 19)? On such occasions there would, of course, be alternate songs by the bridegroom and the bride, and to this Jeremiah refers when, describing the calamities of invasion, he says that God will 'cause to cease from the cities of Judah and from the streets of Jerusalem the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride' (Jer. 7 34 25 10). There is also an illustrative passage in the Mishna (*Taanith*, 4 8, already referred to), and the strangeness of the notice affords the best guarantee of its truth. It was customary at the 'Wood Festival' (ξυλοφόρια) on the 15th of Ab (August) and at the close of the Day of Atonement[1] for the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp Song 1 5, etc.) to go out and dance in the vineyards, and whoever had no wife went thither also. (Was it a relic of 'marriage by capture'? Cp Judg. 21 21.) There was also alternate singing, and the youths were wont to use the words of Song 3 11. See DANCE, § 6.

9. Syrian wedding festivities.

It is from Syria, where so many old customs have survived, that we get the fullest confirmation of Bossuet's idea. Let us turn to Song 3 6-11 (translated by the present writer in *JQR*, July 1890), where the words referred to so strangely in the Mishna occur. Solomon is here introduced riding in his palanquin 'with the crown with which his mother crowned him on his wedding-day,' escorted by sixty warriors 'with the hand on the sword.' What this means we can tell from von Kremer's account of the marriage processions in Moslem villages in the Lebanon.[2] The procession goes from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, and in it there is a band of youths armed with long poles, which they keep striking together, and hold in such a way as to form a kind of roof over them. The poles were probably in olden times lances: the open country was not secure from bandits (Hos. 6 9; cp Ps. 10 8).[3] The 'crown' is, of course, that of the bridegroom (cp Is. 61 10); 'in the war with Vespasian,' says the Mishna (*Sota*, 9 14), 'the crowns of bridegrooms were forbidden.' The Solomon of 3 11, then, is not the Solomon who made himself a state-litter, but a happier though a humbler mortal. It is, in sooth, a pretty jest to liken the bridegroom with his nuptial crown and the sixty 'companions' (Judg. 1 4 11) who roof him over with their poles to the luxurious Solomon in his gorgeous palanquin with his martial bodyguard around him; and the jest has a wholesome moral.

A much fuller account of the customs of the Syrian peasants in the month of weddings (March) is given by Wetzstein.[4] During the seven days after a wedding, high festivity, with scarcely interrupted singing and dancing, prevails. The bridegroom and the bride play the parts of king and queen (hence the week is called the 'king's week'), and receive the homage of their neighbours; the crown, however, is at present in Syria (as in Greece) confined to the bride (contrast Song 3 11). The bridegroom has his train of 'companions' (to borrow the ancient term, Judg. 14 11), and the grander the wedding the more of these there are. The bride too has her friends (cp 'daughters of Jerusalem,' Song 1 5, etc.), the maidens of the place, who take an important part in the reception of the bridegroom (cp Ps. 45 14 Mt. 25 1-13). In the evening of the great day a sword-dance is performed. In the Arabian desert it is the young

[1] The tenth of Tisri must anciently have had a festive character; can it have been a prelude to the joyous Feast of Booths (Schürer)?

[2] *Mittelsyrien und Damascus* ('53), p. 123.

[3] Wetzstein says that the bridegroom's friends are really armed. He thinks that 'by reason of fear in the night' (Song 3 8) may allude to the insecurity of the villages.

[4] Appendix to Delitzsch's *Hohelied* (1875), pp. 167, 170-177; cp Wetzstein in *Zt. für Ethnologie*, 1873, pp. 257-264. Even among the *fellâhîn* of Palestine there seems to be a vestige of the sword-dance. The bride or her camel is conducted to the house of the bridegroom holding a drawn sword, *PEFQ*, April 1894, p. 136.

men of the tribe who thus display their agility (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 115); but in the Syrian wedding festivals the sword-dancer is the bride. When taken in connection with another Syrian custom and with the passage of the Mishna mentioned above, this may be taken as a relic of primitive 'marriage by capture.' The connected custom referred to is this: that when on the morning after the wedding the royal seat has been erected, a crier comes forward and cries that the king, the bridegroom, has made a campaign against a hitherto impregnable fortress, and calls upon him to say whether he has succeeded or not. His friends answers in the affirmative, and upon this the seven days of rejoicing begin.) However this may be, the sword-dance at the Syrian weddings has a significance also. It not only displays the physical gifts and qualities of the bride, but also symbolises her womanly self-respect, which keeps all intruders afar off (cp Song 8 10). The figure of the dancer, her dark waving hair, her serious and dignified bearing, her downcast eyes, her graceful movements, the quick and secure step of her small naked feet, the lightning-like flashing of the blade, the skilful movements of her left hand, in which she holds a handkerchief, and the exact keeping of time, form a scene which contributes not a little to make the 'king's week' the happiest in a Syrian peasant's life. The description throws a bright light on Song 6 11-13 7 1-6 (which forms a connected passage).[1] The opening verse is probably spoken by the chorus of neighbours on the approach of the bride with the sword; it abounds with respectful compliments suitable to the occasion. *b*. 13*a* also belongs to the neighbours, who call to the bride to turn that they may see her better. Then, to draw out their admiration further, the bridegroom asks them why they are gazing so fixedly at this paragon of beauty—this second Shulammite—'at the dance of warlike hosts,' *i.e.* at the war-dance, or sword-dance (כמחלת המחנים; ὡς χοροὶ τῶν παρεμβολῶν; so Budde). It often happens in the Syrian desert, says Wetzstein, that when a woman performs this dance on occasion of a victory of one tribe over another, and some young man shows special admiration of the dancer, he is called upon to fight unarmed, according to certain rules, with the dancer, and may chance to pay for his boldness with his life. To this the question in Song 6 13*b* may allude. Song 7 1-6 (which is in a different metre from 6 10 13) exactly answers to the Syrian *wasf* (*i.e.*, 'laudatory description') sung during the sword-dance by the leader of the chorus. We must not criticise it too severely. The tone is that which popular taste required and (to judge from the *wasf* quoted by Wetzstein) still requires in Syria.

On the day after the wedding, when the 'king' has announced his 'victory' over the 'fortress,' another *wasf* is sung. This time the attractions of the lady are described with less unreserve, in deference to wifely dignity. Such a *wasf* we seem to have in Song 4 1-7. Is the bridegroom, then, exempt from laudation? Not in modern Syria, nor in the Song. True, in Song 3 6-11, sung (it would seem) during the procession from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride, flattery goes no further than to liken the crowned bridegroom to Solomon. The young wife naturally goes further. The *wasf* itself is found in Song 5 10-16. Prefixed to it is a speech of the bride describing a weird dream that she has had, in which she believes so firmly that she begs for the help of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' in restoring her to her beloved. These are the chief songs of this class; but in Song 6 4-7 we have at least a fragment of a laudatory description of the bride, part of which is an ill-connected quotation from 4 1-5. Wetzstein assures us that the *wasf*-passages are the weakest part of the wedding-songs, and accordingly, he adds, the *wasf*-portion of the Song of Songs is much inferior poetically to the rest. Certainly the most striking part

[1] On 6 11*f.*, see above, § 1. Reuss despairs of 6 10-13 without reason.

of the Song of Songs is the passage which contains 7 11-8 7 (excepting the interpolated verses 8 3-5 [1]). It is a song such as might have been sung on the evening of the wedding-day. The opening description is true in idea, though imaginary in its incidents. It is true in idea; for every marriage, according to the poet, should arise from the free affection of one man and one woman. It is imaginary in its details, for the incidents are inconsistent with what was allowable in courtship. For real songs of courtship such as an Israelite might have used, see Ruckert's *Hamâsa*, bk. iv.). The closing eulogy of love as 'strong as death, inflexible as Sheol, whose flashes are flashes of fire, [whose flame is] a flame from heaven' [2] (8 6), is noble.

The poetical form, and therefore also the origin, of the Song of Songs seems to be no longer doubtful.

10 Present writer's relation to Wetzstein.

Fully twenty years ago (1878) the present writer rejected Ewald's interpretation of Song 6 11*f.*, but still thought it possible, by omitting interpolations and transposing certain misplaced passages, to restore something like the original sequence, and to recognise a loose imperfect plot such as quick-witted hearers and spectators might have divined. He saw also that the poem was based on popular songs,[3] and admitted the critical significance of the information furnished by Wetzstein. 'When we consider,' he then wrote, 'that processions and the choral performance of lyric poems were familiar to the Israelites from Samuel downwards, it becomes a highly probable conjecture that this custom of the Syrian peasants was already in vogue in the times of the OT writers. This is confirmed by the remarkable coincidence between the time when the incidents of the Song are supposed to take place (see Song 2 11-13) and the time of the peasants' weddings in Syria (March is the most beautiful time of the Syrian year).' He further noticed two or three of the *waṣf*-passages in the Song, and (after Kohler) the implied reference to the sword-dance in Song 6 10 13 (v. 11*f.* being misplaced). He was far, however, from realising the extent to which the Hebrew songs were analogous to the traditional Syrian, and thought that a part of the Song related to the happy courtship of the rustic lovers; nor did he understand the reference to Solomon or the meaning of 'the Shulammite.' To Budde he owes it that he has adopted a more consistent theory.[4]

11. Result.

The book is an anthology of songs used at marriage festivals in or near Jerusalem, revised and loosely connected by an editor without regard to temporal sequence; in saying which, we do not deny that the kernel of the work may have been brought from some other part of the country, perhaps in the north.

12. Apparent unity.

What of the supposed indications of unity? These are found partly in the phraseology ('Solomon,' 'the king,' 'daughters of Jerusalem,' 'my beloved,' 'my friend,' the seeming refrains in 2 7 3 5 8 4; as well as in 2 17*a* 4 6*a*; and in 2 17*b* 8 14*b*), partly in the poetical colour, partly in the feeling or spirit, and of course in the circumstances. This agreement between the several parts of the poem is not as great as has been supposed. As Bickell observes, 'Generatim omnia verbotenus repetita serius inserta sunt'; in 𝔊 such repetitions are even more plentiful than in MT. The genuine points of phraseological agreement are quite accounted for by the traditional conventions of these love songs. That the feeling, the poetical colour, and the circumstances are the same, harmonises with the assumed origin of the songs. The prominence of the mother (1 6 3 4 8 2 5) is to be explained not (with Ewald, 334) by 'the Shulammite's' supposed loss of her father, but as a vestige of the matriarchate (*Mutterrecht*). With regard to Song 1 4 and Song 8 10, which, taken together, may seem to show that the heroine had been placed in a royal palace but had 'compelled her assailant to leave her in peace' (Robertson Smith's paraphrase of 8 10*b*), we should hold that the 'chambers' of 1 4 are those of the crowned bridegroom, and that the 'peace' of 8 10 belongs to the characteristic figure of the 'fortress' (see above).

13. Date.

Historically, the Song would gain, could it be shown to be pre-exilic. What would not one give for the light liltings of ancient Hebrew maidens, and for a noble popular protest against the doubtful innovations of the unpatriotic Solomon? Robertson Smith in 1876 held that the Song of Songs was just such a protest. 'The conservative revolution of Jeroboam was,' he remarks, 'in great measure the work of the prophets, and must therefore have carried with it the religious and moral convictions of the people. An important element in these convictions, which still claims our fullest sympathy, is powerfully set forth in the Canticles, and the deletion of the book from the Canon . . . would leave us without a most necessary complement to the Judaean view of the conduct of the ten tribes which we get in the historical books.' The reference to the harem life of Solomon, however, is confined to two verses (Song 6 8*f.*); it is rather sportive than polemical, and, attractive as the protest-theory is, it is opposed to a sound exegesis (see above).

14. Not pre-exilic.

For a pre-exilic date there is no solid argument. (*a*) The title, which is not by the author (note אשר is of course not more trustworthy than the headings of the 'Solomonic' psalms. (*b*) The points of contact with Hosea (cp Song 2 1 3 4 11 6 11 with Hos. 14 6-9) and Prov. 1-9 (cp Song 4 11 14*f.* with Prov. 5 3 7 17 5 15-17) prove only that different poets used similar (conventional) images. Moreover, recent criticism tends to show that Hos. 14 2-10 and Prov. 1-9 are post-exilic. (*c*) The phrase במישרים 'uprightness down) straight,' used of wine, in Song 7 9 Prov. 23 31, is indecisive, whether Prov. *l.c.* is early or late. (*d*) The mention of Tirzah beside Jerusalem (Song 6 4) need not point to 'the brief period when that city was the capital of the dynasty of Baasha' (but see TIRZAH), for (if MT is correct) it is the beauty of the site of Tirzah that is referred to—a beauty which could not pass away with a dynasty. Most probably, however, we should emend the text thus, 'Thou art beautiful as the narcissus, comely as the lily of the valleys' [1] (cp 2 1). If so, Tirzah is not mentioned. (*e*) That the references to Solomon prove nothing, we have seen already. It will, therefore, be absurd to base an argument on the comparison of the lady in Song 1 9 with one of Pharaoh's mares. If the bridegroom could be likened to Solomon, the bride could be likened to one of Solomon's finest Egyptian horses, especially if the songs were written while Palestine formed part of the Graeco-Egyptian empire (cp Theocr. *Id.* 15 52*f.*). Whether Solomon really obtained horses from Egypt, is a question which need not be discussed here (see MIZRAIM, § 2*a*).

15. Post-exilic.

For a post-exilic date the main arguments are these: (*a*) The position of the book among the Hagiographa. (*b*) The beauty of Jerusalem is mentioned late (Ps. 48 2 50 2 Lam. 2 15). (*c*) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (*d*) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4 12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

אהלות (also Ps. 45 9, late, where, as here, it is coupled with מר; cp Prov. 7 17, and see ALOES). קנמון (Prov. 7 17 Ex. 30 23, both passages late), כפרים (אש.

[1] These verses are not in the metre of the rest of the passage; the two former come from 2 6*f.* (cp 3 5), while the last has been suggested by 3 6.

[2] Or, 'a most vehement flame.' The final יה may be simply an afformative (Jäger, Jastrow).

[3] See *Founders of OT Crit.* (1803), 350.

[4] Budde's attempt (*New World*, March 1894) to show that some of the less poetical passages are due to the collector and reviser of the songs, who now and then misunderstood the texts, cannot here be considered.

[1] MT is hardly defensible. Fair women would not be compared to cities. Tg. paraphrases 'as the women of Tiran (תירן)' or Tirzah (Neub. *Géogr. du Talm.* 172). Bickell and Budde 'as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem,' as weakening the effect of 'terrible' which follows; but אימה, 'terrible,' is simply a corruption of עמקים (in the phrase שושנת ע', 'lily of the valleys'). On כגדגלות, see ENSIGNS, § 1*b*.

λεγ.), נרד (also 1 12), and, following Grätz, נְרָדִים (for the tautological נְרָדִים), new Heb. for 'roses.'[1]

The fondness of the poet of Canticles for spices led the ancient scribes into some very strange textual errors—viz., (*i*) 4 6, 'to the mountains of myrrh (הַמֹּר) and the hill of frankincense' (הַלְּבוֹנָה), where המר should be הרמון, 'Hermon,' and לבונה should be הלבנון (cp ⊕BHA); very probably, also, the correct reading in *v.* 8 is 'from the hills of the cedars, from the mountains of the cypresses' (מגבעות אריזים מהרי ברושים); (*ii*) 8 14, in the 'mountains of spices' (בשמים), בשמים should certainly be בְּרוֹשִׁים, to which, if We.'s view of הרי בתר, 'mountains of malobathron' (We. *Prol.*[3] 400),[2] was that of the early scribes, we may add 2 17 where we should read הרי ברתים, 'mountains of cypresses' (see BETHER).

Add אֲגֻנָּה = new Heb. אגוזה, 6 11, and perhaps כֹּפֶר = κύπρος, 1 14 4 13 (plur.). Last, not least, we have the Persian loan-word for plantation or park, פַּרְדֵּס, 4 13; elsewhere only Neh. 2 8 Eccl. 2 5, though the exact history of the form is doubtful.

One Greek loan-word[3] has been found in אַפִּרְיוֹן, 'palanquin,' 3 9 φορεῖον (so ⊕; but see LITTER). In the Midrash א is explained by פרוסקא *i.e.*, φόρημα. In *Sota* 4 42 it is said that the use of the bridal litter (אפריון) was forbidden by the Jewish authorities during the Bar-Cochba war. On the gorgeous φορεία of the Syrian ladies under Antiochus Epiphanes, see Polybius (ap. Athen. 5 22). The only doubt can be whether א is not a gloss. Metrical reasons suggest its excision (Bickell).

(*e*) Among the distinctly late words are אִרְיָנִי 3 10 7 6[4] (for Judg. 8 22-27 is not, as it stands, ancient; see Budde); שֵׁשׁ, 5 15 Esth. 1 6; אב (plur.), 6 11 Job 8 12; גֹּרֶן, 4 1 6 5; חֲבַצֶּלֶת, 2 1 Is. 35 1; חִרְזוֹם, 1 10 (חרז, Aram. and new Heb.); כתל, דלין, יְשִׁנָּה, 'to glance,' חֲרַכִּים, 'smoke-holes,' 2 9; מִסָּב, 1 12; יְרִיעָה, 2 14 Ezek. 38 20 (Aram. דרגא) 'a step'; כְּרָר, 2 13 15 7 12 and perhaps Is. 16 8 (for שדמות, see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*; cp Duval, *REJ* 14 277); סְתָו, 'winter,' 2 11; קוֹצִים, 5 2 11; רְסִיסִים, 5 2; שׁוּף (plur.), 3 2 Prov. 7 8 Eccl. 12 5 (cp Gratz, 49); מנף (Piel), 5 3; קפץ (Piel), 'to spring,' 2 8; נטר, 'to keep,' 1 6 8 11 12; סוּגָה, 'enclosed,' 7 3. (*f*) Grammatical forms. Note הֲיָה, 1 15, etc.; ברות, 1 17; אֵיכָה, 'where,' 1 7 (cp אֵיָּה, Dan. 7 28); אֵיכָכָה, 'how'? 5 3, Esth. 8 6. Also ש for אשר, 22 times. שְׁלָמֵי, 1 7, like שְׁלָמֵי, Jon. 1 7, and בְּשֶׁל אֲשֶׁר, Eccl. 8 17, אֲשֶׁר לָהּ, Dan. 1 10. שֶׁל, 1 6 8 12; שֶׁל, 3 7 (exactly the Mishna usage). (*g*) דָּוִיד, 4 4, for דָּוִד, may perhaps point to the post-exilic period (see Bonk, *ZATW* 11 127).

The preceding list of arguments, though not exhaustive, should be sufficient. Linguists, such as Gesenius among Christians and M. Sachs among Jews, long ago recognised the modern character of the Hebrew. The question, however, was a complicated one, and ingenuity did its best to save an early date, and with it (it appeared) the historical value of the Song. It is time for critical students to look at the facts more frankly. We can now show that this anthology of songs is post-exilic, and may conjecture that it is nearly contemporary with that 'song of love' (and of spices), Ps. 45. It is not easy to find a period more suitable to all the data than one of the early and fortunate reigns of the Ptolemies (cp *Founders*, 353). A still later date is suggested by Winckler (*Altor. Forschungen*, 295).

16. Text. Like the other poetical books, the Song of Songs suffers from many, often most unfortunate, corruptions of the text; some dislocations of passages have added to the difficulties of the interpreter. Grätz was the first to recognise the bad state of the text. Among recent scholars Bickell and Budde have done most; Bickell's chief results have been incorporated in Budde's excellent commentary. Perles, in his *Analekten* ('95), has considered about ten passages, and the present writer has endeavoured to correct some of the chief errors (*JQR* and *Exp. Times* for 1898-99 and *Expositor*, Feb. 1899, 145 *ff.*). Among these corrections it may be mentioned that, according to Bickell, 'the Shulammite' in 7 1 is due to corruption; against this view, however, see Budde, who points out that, since the phrase 'the Shulammite' is not tantamount to a declaration that the bride is a Shulammite damsel, and only means 'one who is as fair as Abishag the Shulammite,' it is no gain to the adherents of the dramatic or idyllic theory to have the correctness of הַשּׁוּלַמִּית assured to them. Contrary to Perles (who on this point is an adherent of Grätz), Bickell further thinks that עַמִּי נָדִיב in 6 12 (see AMMINADIB) also is not the true reading. He regards בת עמי נדיב (בת derived from בית in מרכבות which is corrupt) as a doublet of [ר] נדיב [עמי] בת in 7 2, and renders 'my noble kinswoman'; Budde prefers to wait for more light. Perles has pointed the way to a better solution by grouping 6 12 and 7 2 with 7 7. Here, the present writer thinks, we should read אדקה בת שונמית, 'loved one, Shunammite damsel,' and, consequently, he makes the same restoration in 6 12 and 7 2—*i.e.*, בת שונמית. Certainly Bickell is right in refusing to have anything to do with the 'chariots' of which MT and therefore also EV speak in 6 12. The whole story of the Shulammite's having been surprised in the nut-orchard by the king's retinue (cp Driver, *Introd.*, 442, 446) breaks down, when strict criticism is applied to the text. On Cant. 3 6-11, which is disfigured by curious corruptions (one of which is the famous אפריון, RV 'palanquin'), see LITTER.

17. Value. We must now endeavour to estimate the value of the Song. We shall not be ungrateful for the material which it supplies to students of manners and customs and the distribution of plants; but it is much more important that it opens a window into the heart of ordinary Israelites. (*a*) The Song reveals a very pure conception of true love, as springing out of a free inclination of one man and one woman,[1] and rising into a passionate and indestructible union of hearts. If the songs were written (or even if they were only edited, revised, and supplemented) in the early Greek period, what a contrast they offer to much that was current at the luxurious court of the Ptolemies! (*b*) The Song shows also a genuine love of nature. 'The writer inspires us with his own delicate joys. The breath of spring still breathes through his words. Its scents, its fresh moist greenness, the old hopeful spring notes heard in the woods, again are all here.'[2] There is nothing more lovely than the spring of Palestine, and this old poet felt it. Where the images are bizarre, we need not put it down to him. The *wasf*-songs were, and still are, governed by strict convention (cp Wetz. in Del. 174-177). Ovid and Theocritus are not without some of these strange love images.[3] (*c*) 'Race-psychology' also may gather something. Twice the heroine falls into a perplexing confusion between dreamland and reality (Song 3 1-4 5 2-7). This can be paralleled from Arabic love poetry, in which the dream-form of the beloved receives an objective existence, and lovers even give their respective apparitions a rendezvous (see *Hamāsa*, Freytag, 22; Lyall, *Translations*, 12).[4] (*d*) If the poem is post-exilic, it shows us that there were times and seasons (cp Eccl. 3 4) of which legalism could not overshadow the joyousness.

[1] The first mention of roses elsewhere is in Ecclus. (see ROSE). This would allow us to date the song in 300-250 B.C. There were roses in Babylon in Herodotus's time (*Herod.* 1 105).

[2] He was anticipated by Field (*Orig. Hex.* 2 415), who gives the rendering of Sexta as μαλα(βα)θρ(ου). 'Dat et malobathron Syria,' says Pl. (*H.N* 12 1).

[3] Another of the supposed Greek words arises from a corruption of the text. See ARMOURY.

[4] ארגמן in 7 6, however, is corrupt.

[1] It reminds us of the fine love-sentiment of the Arabic *Hamāsa*.

[2] W. G. Forbes, *Sermons* ('85), p. 147.

[3] Cp especially Song 1 9 with Theocr. *Id.* 18 30.

[4] See *Hamāsa*, 612, and cp *Journal Asiatique*, 1838, p. 375, etc.

In this and in other respects our notion of the post-exilic period may perhaps need revision.

Is this, then, the whole worth of the Song for us? Being canonical, must it not have some subtle religious value which has been overlooked?[1]

The answer is (1) that we have no right to assume that R. 'Akiba's well known saying about the Song at the Synod of Jamnia (see CANON, § 53) represents the point of view of those who first admitted this popular and supposed Solomonic work among the Kethubhim; and (2) that the mistake of a Jewish Synod cannot be perpetually endorsed by Christian common-sense and scholarship. We have therefore to revise our conception of the word 'canonical' in its application to the OT writings.

Besides the commentaries of Ew., Hitz., Grätz, Del., Stickel, Oettli (*KHC*, '98), etc., consult WRS, art. 'Canticles,' *EBi*[1], Brüll's review of Kaempf, *Jahrb. f. jüd. wissch. u. Lit.* 1877, p. 138 *ff.*; Bu.'s rev. of Stickel, *TLZ*, 24th March 1878, his art. in *New World*, March 1894, and his fine commentary, 1898; also R. Martineau, *Amer. Journ. of Philology*, 1890, pp. 307-328; Bickell, *Carmina V.T. metrice* ('82); Siegfried, C., *Prod. u. Hohelied* ('98); Riedel, *Die Auslegg. des Hohenliedes in der jüd. Gemeinde u. der christl. Kirche* ('98). T. K. C.

CAP (πέτασος [AV]; according to one view it has been borrowed in Aramaic under the form סטיס Dan. 3 21; but see BREECHES, 2; TURBAN, 2; and cp *Journ. Phil.* 28 129 *f.*), the Greek broad-brimmed (fr. πετάννυμι) felt hat which Jason made the Jewish youth wear (2 Macc. 4 12 RV; AV 'hat'). It was worn (originally) chiefly by shepherds and hunters, was an attribute of Hermes,[2] and so became the badge of the palæstra.

This assumes that the text is genuine (note that ὑποτάσσων in 𝔅A precedes). The Syr. reads ܐܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܦܝܢ: cp 2 S. 12 31 (Pesh.), where MT has מַלְכָּם. Did the translator think of ἐπιτασις? Equally obscure is the origin of the Vg. *in lupanaribus*, though the infamy and vice of the later gymnasia, the fact that the Ἑρμαια were celebrations of a more or less free and unrestrained character, and the allusion to vicious practices in 2 M[illegible] make it *possible* that a genuine tradition has been followed.

CAPER-BERRY (אֶבְיוֹנָה, καππαρις [BNAC]), Eccles. 12 5† RV. That the HYSSOP (*q.v.*) is the caper-plant (*Capparis spinosa*, L.) is a favourite theory. Still more prevalent is the view that the word rendered 'desire' in AV RV[mg.] of Eccles. *l.c.* ('the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail') denotes the berry of the caper-plant.[3] The difficulties of translation are as great in the third of these clauses as in the others (ALMOND, GRASSHOPPER). The Revisers of OT changed 'desire' into 'the caper-berry,' but could not determine on a satisfactory verb; 'fail' therefore remains, with 'Or, burst' in the margin. Thus much at any rate is plain: the noun in this clause must denote some object in the physical world.

The rendering 'the caper-berry' (𝔊, Aq. Vg.)[4] has been adopted by nearly all moderns, among whom G. F. Moore[5] deserves special mention because of the fresh light which he has brought from Mishnic and Talmudic sources. The rendering 'desire' (Abulwalid; Parchon) is a worthless modern guess.

In spite of the agreement of scholars, the clause remains obscure, mainly from the difficulty of interpreting the predicate פֻּפַּר. (1) Plutarch (*Symp.* 6 2) speaks of the caper being used as a relish to induce appetite for food; mediæval Arabic writers mention its effects in stimulating sexual impulse (Wetz. in Del. *KHC* 452);[1] and it was in traditional use (especially the fruit) in the middle ages as a stimulant in senile disorder. It has been sought, accordingly, to explain פֻּפַּר as meaning 'fail of effect' (so RV text), and this will do as a makeshift: when even the caper fails, nothing is left to try. Unfortunately, it is difficult to believe that the Heb. verb can have this meaning; Delitzsch's explanation of it as a case of internal Hiphil ('produces failure' *i.e.*, 'fails') is most unlikely.

(2) Others have thought of the bursting of the ripe berry and the scattering of its seeds as a synonym for death (so RVmg.); but this is quite untenable, (a) because of the fact that the root פרר is nowhere used in a physical sense in Hebrew,[2] (b) because the context requires a phrase descriptive of old age rather than of death, and (c) because of the botanical impossibility of the interpretation, there being no evidence that the fruit of *Capparis spinosa* is dehiscent.

Unless, therefore, we give the Heb. verb the very unusual sense of 'fail' we can only say that probably, as in the other clauses, the metaphor indicates some feature in the old man's appearance or physical state, and Moore's suggestion, to emend פגר into [illegible] derivative of פגר appears a good one.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CAPERNAUM is the transliteration of the Text Rec. καπερναουμ; but ℵBDZ, followed by Tisch. Treg., WH, etc., read καφαρναουμ (so Pesh. and Jos.). The original was, therefore, כפר נחום, village of Nahum. It is not mentioned before the NT, and this, coupled with the fact that כפר prevails in the composition only of comparatively late names, is proof of an origin shortly before the time of Jesus. Whether by Nahum is meant the prophet, we do not know. In Jerome's time it was another Galilean town that was associated with him (GASm. *Trans. Proph.* 279).

1. Name.

Capernaum became the home of Jesus (ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν, Mk. 2 1) and 'his own city' (Mt. 9 1) after his rejection by the townsmen of Nazareth. Here he preached (Mt. 8 5 Mk. 1 21 9 33 36 Jn. 6 etc.); did many wonderful works, healing Peter's mother-in-law and many others (Mk. 1 31 34), a paralytic (Mt. 9 1 Mk. 2 1 Lk. 5 18), a centurion's servant (Mt. 8 5 Lk. 7 1), a man with an unclean spirit (Mk. 1 23 Lk. 4 33), and (by a word from Cana) a nobleman's servant (Jn. 4 46); and called the fishermen Peter and Andrew (Mk. 1 16), and Matthew or Levi, who sat to receive toll (Mt. 9 8 Mk. 2 14 Lk. 5 27). In spite of all this, the body of citizens remained unmoved, and Jesus pronounced woe upon the place (Mt. 11 23 Lk. 10 15 RV). These passages imply that Capernaum was a πόλις, with a Roman garrison, a synagogue (built by the centurion), and a customs-station; and that it lay down in the basin of the lake (Jn. 2 12 Lk. 4 31), and on the lake shore (Mt. 4 13), and (presumably from the customs station) on the great high road from Damascus past the N. end of the lake to the Levant (cp *way of the sea* quoted in Mt. 4 15 *f.* from Is. 9 1 [8 23]). A comparison of Jn. 6 17 with Mt. 14 34 would seem also to imply that it lay on or near the plain of Gennesaret at the NW. corner of the lake.

2. References.

The name has entirely disappeared, and amid the scattered evidence of writers since the NT and the various groups of ruin which strew the lake shore between Gennesaret and the mouth of the Jordan, diversity of tradition and of modern opinion has naturally arisen. Two sites divide the authorities—Khirbet el-Minyeh (several mounds with indistinguishable ruins and an Khān also called Minyeh on the N. corner of Gennesaret); and Tell-Hūm, a heap of black basalt ruins

3. Suggested identifications.

[1] Even Herder fell into this error; see Haym, *Herder*, 2 87.

[2] In middle and low Latin *petasum* becomes the winged shoe of Mercury (Dufresne, ed. Favre).

[3] That this fruit, and not the berry-like bud familiar in modern times, is intended appears clearly from the Talmudic references (see Löw, *Pflanz.* 264), and the exhaustive discussion in Moore's art. referred to below.

[4] Pesh. has a double rendering: (1) the caper, (2) misery—the latter seemingly based on a supposed (but impossible) abstract use of the fem. of אֶבְיוֹן; cp Sym. ἡ ἐπίπονος and Field, *Hex.* 240.

[5] See his article, *JBL* 10 55-64 ('91).

[1] It should, however, be noted that neither Dioscorides (2 204) nor Pliny (13 127 20 165 *ff.*) mentions either of these effects.

[2] So Tragus (*De Stirp. Hist. Comm.* 1552, 368) writes to the effect that, cooked, and taken with oil and vinegar, it is used with benefit in cases of palsy, gout, 'phlegm,' 'spleen,' sciatica, in urinary troubles, and as an emmenagogue.

[3] Even if it were, the Hiphil would not mean 'to burst.'

[illegible] the remains of a white marble edifice and a curious tomb two miles and a half farther west, and two miles and a half from the mouth of the Jordan. Between these two the evidence is not quite conclusive.

For Tell-Hûm there is usually quoted the evidence of Josephus, who says that, having been thrown from his horse in a skirmish with the Roman forces in Jordan, he was carried to a village called Κεφαρωμων (*bib.* 72), and thence to Taricheæ. Even if this reading were correct, Josephus, with injuries so slight as he reports, might as easily have been carried the 5 m. to Gennesaret as the two and a half to Tell-Hûm, especially as his desire seems to have been to get to Taricheæ. It is suspicious, however, that he calls the place a village (κώμη), and Niese fixes the proper reading as κεφαρωκὸν. The only other evidence Josephus gives favours Khân Minyeh. He describes (*BJ* iii. 10 8) the plain of Gennesaret as watered by 'a most copious fountain' called by the people of the country Capharnaum. This Robinson believes to be the 'Ain et-Tîn, close by Khân Minyeh; more probably it was the 'Ain et-Tabîghah, whose waters were conveyed in an aqueduct past the site of Khân Minyeh into the plain. Tell-Hûm, on the other hand, has neither fountain nor spring.

4. Josephus.

The Christian and the Jewish traditions are divided. Jerome places Capernaum 2 R. m. from Chorazin, a datum which, if Chorazin be Kerâzeh, agrees with Tell-Hûm. So do the data of Theodosius (*circa* 530), who, working from Magdala round the N. end of the Lake, places Capernaum 2 R. m. on the other side of Heptapegon, presumably 'Ain et-Tâbighah. Isaac Chilo in 1334 (*Carmoly Itinéraires*, etc., *la Terre Sainte des viii.-xviii. Siècles*, 260) came to Kefar Nachum from Irbid, and found it in ruins with the tomb of Nahum. In 1561 the *Jichus ha-Tsadikim* (*ib.* 385) mentions Tanchum with the tombs of Nahum and Rabbi Tanchum (cp *Jichus ha-Abot id.* 448). Taking Kefar Nachum and Tanchum as identical, some find in 'Tell-Hûm' a corruption of 'Tanchum.' This is the case for Tell-Hûm. It really rests on the evidence of Jerome and Theodosius (for it is not certain either that Kefar Nachum and Tanchum were identical or that 'Tell-Hûm' is derived from 'Tanchum'); and it is opposed to the evidence of Josephus. Yet in recent times it has received a large increase of support (Dr. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 2 139-149; Thomson, *Land and Bk.* ed. 1877, 352-356; Sir C. Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 375-387; Guérin, *Galil.* 1 227 *f.*; Schaff, *ZDPV* 1 24 *ff.*; Furrer, *id.* 263 *ff.*, and in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 3 405; Frei, *ZDPV* 2 115; van Kasteren, *ib.* 11 219 *f.*; Schürer's *Hist.* 471; Fuhl, *Pal.* 224 *f.*).

5. Christian and Jewish traditions.

On the other hand, Arculf's description of Capernaum (670 A.D.), as being on 'a narrow piece of ground between the mountain and the lake,' suits Khân Minyeh, but not Tell-Hûm. Arculf adds that it lay on the shore *non longo circuitu* from the traditional spot on Gennesaret where the loaves were blessed. He did not visit it, but saw from a distance that it had no walls. Willibald's data (722 A.D.) suit any point between Mejdel and Bethsaida, and equally indefinitive are all other references till Isaac Chilo in 1334 states that the town is now in ruins, but was formerly inhabited by Minim—*i.e.*, Jews who had become Christians—all sorcerers (cp Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 221). Many find Minim in Minyeh. In answer to objections to this (Furrer, *ZDPV* 2 58 *ff.*), another derivation has been suggested through the older Arabic spelling *el-munya*, common in Egypt and Spain for 'villa,' 'steading,' 'hamlet,' etc.—Lat. *mansio*, Gr. μονή—from which it is said to be derived (Gildemeister, *ZDPV* 4 194 *ff.*). In any case, a place lay here in the eleventh century called Munyat Hishâm (Kazwîni's *Lexicon*), and in 1430 El-Munja, a village so large that the whole lake was called after it. (Tristram gives the

form 'Minyeh' [illegible] from *Manah*, [illegible]. And [illegible] says that by [illegible] side of Capernaum there was in his time a Khan called [illegible] Minyeh. [illegible] Robinson (*LBR* 448) [illegible] in the plain by [illegible] who [illegible] well [illegible] on the hill by Schumacher (*ZDPV* 13 [illegible]).

On the whole [illegible] the balance of evidence is in favour of 'Khân Minyeh.' So Robinson, Conder, Henderson (*Pal.* 158 *f.*), Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. ed., 2 [illegible] *ff.*), Stanley (*SP* 434), G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog.* 456 *f.*), Ewing (in Hastings, *DB*). The site suits the biblical data, as required by the data of Josephus, and has tradition in its favour from the seventh century onward.

G. A. S.

6. Probably Khân Minyeh.

CAPHARSALAMA (χαφαρσαλαμα [NaV; so Syr.], καφ. [Jos.], φαρς. [N*], χαρφαρσαραμα [A]), the scene of Nicanor's unsuccessful attack upon Judas, 1 Ma. 7 31 (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 4). The name is obviously כפר שלם, which is met with in the Talmud also. Most commentators (Michaelis, Grimm, Keil) seek the site somewhere to the S. of Jerusalem, on the ground that Nicanor's subsequent movements were first to Jerusalem and then farther northwards to Beth-horon. Ewald and Schürer, however, prefer to identify it with the Carva Salim mentioned in a pilgrimage of the year 1005 as near Ramleh and not far from Lydda (Ew. *Hist.* 5 321, Schür. *GJV* 1 169 n.; cp Le Strange, *Pal. under Moslems*, 471 *f.*). In the time of the crusades 'Capharsalim' is again mentioned as a casale of the Knights Hospitallers. Mukaddasi's location of it in the district of Cæsarea on the high road from Ramleh northwards' agrees with the data in 1 Maccabees. In that region we find at the present day a village Selmeh 3 m. E. of Joppa and Khirbet es-Sudmiyeh 6 m. farther N. across the 'Aujeh. Kh. Deir Sellam, 12½ m. W. of Jerusalem and 1 m. S. of the present high road to Joppa, suits the Maccabean, but not the mediæval data. The same remark applies to the other Kh. Deir Sellâm 4 m. N. of Jerusalem. Cp also the important W. Selmân up which runs one of the main roads from the Maritime Plain to Jerusalem.

G. A. S.

CAPHENATHA, RV CHAPHENATHA (χαφεναθα [ANV], [illegible] [Lag.], but [illegible] [Walton]), a locality on the E. of Jerusalem, which Jonathan the Maccabee repaired (ἐπεσκεύασε), 1 Macc. 12 37†. The reading is uncertain, and the etymologising attempts of the older Lightfoot and others (כפנ־יקא, 'unripe dates,' כספתא, from silversmiths or some treasure house) are best avoided. Sepp and Furrer (*ZLZ*, 1896, col. 470) identify the place with the Tyropœon valley (see JERUSALEM), in which case ἐπεσκεύασε (ἐπεσκίασαν [V]) will have to be emended.

CAPHIRA (καφιρας [A]), 1 Esd. 5 19 = Ezra 2 25, CHEPHIRAH.

CAPHTOR (כַּפְתֹּר; Dt. 2 23 Am. 9 7, καππαδοκιας [BAQL], καπα. [F]; Jer. 47 [G 29] 4†, om. BNAQ, α'θ'και καππα. [Q^mg]), also occurring in plural form **Caphtorim** (כַּפְתֹּרִים; καφθορειμ [L], om. B), Gen. 10 14 (χα. [AE]) = 1 Ch. 1 12 (AV **Caphthorim;** χαφορ. [A^vt]); Dt. 2 23† (AV **Caphtorims,** καππαδοκες [BAFL]); the land and properly the people whence came the Philistines. In Gen. 10 14 (see below)[1] and Dt. 2 23 Caphtorim is a synonym for Philistines. Caphtor is now generally identified with Crete, an important island of which the mention is perhaps to be expected; see GEOGRAPHY,

1. Not Crete.

[1] The words, 'whence came the Philistines,' in Gen. 10 14 should follow 'Caphtorim.' Probably they are a misplaced (incorrect) gloss from the margin.

§ 15(7). In Jer. 47 4 it is expressly [illegible] in ים ('island'?), and the Philistines (?) are sometimes called 'Cherethites.' The Zeus Cretagenes in Gaza may also suggest a connection of the Philistines with Crete. These are Dillmann's arguments. But (1) Crete does not appear to be mentioned in the Assyrian or the Egyptian monuments; (2) the sense of ים is not to be limited to 'island' (BDB, 'coast, border, region'), and (3) in Jer. *l.c.* 𝔊[B] gives τοὺς καταλοίπους τῶν νήσων—*i.e.*, the text which it followed was without 'Caphtor'; the 'lands' or 'coast lands' might be the Phœnician colonies (WMM). As for 'Cherethites,' the current explanation, 'Cretans

2. 'Cherethites' not Cretans.

(so too 𝔖, Pesh.), is very uncertain; cp פלתי probably = Pulasati (Purasati), which is the name of one of the tribes of sea-pirates from the coasts of Asia Minor which harassed Egypt under Rameses III. The probability is that כרתי is a slightly modified form of the name of another such tribe. Now, the tribe which is constantly coupled with the Pu-ra-sa-ti in the Egyptian inscriptions is that of the Ta-k-ka-ra or Ta-ka-ra-y. It is reasonable to infer that כרתי is a form of Takaray, which was Hebraised in two ways: (1) by placing the first consonant third instead of first (כרתי, as if = cut off?), and (2) by omitting the first syllable (כרי; but see CARITES). We look to Egyptology, therefore, for light on this problem.

According to Ebers,[1] Caphtor is the Egyptian Kaft-ur, 'Great Kaft.' This scholar held that Kaft was the name current in

3. Caphtor not Phœnicia.

Egypt, first of all for the populous Phœnician colonies in the Delta, and then, more widely, for the Phœnicians of Phœnicia and their colonies. Kaft-ur would therefore mean 'Great Phœnicia' (cp Magna Græcia). This view, however, though not without plausible justification, is no longer tenable, as W. M. Müller has fully shown (*As. u. Eur.* 337 *ff.*).

Keftô is the name of a country which, together with Asi (the Alaŝia of Am. Tab.)—*i.e.*, Cyprus—represents

4. But Cilicia.

the western quarter of the world in the age of Thotmes III. No doubt it is Cilicia that is meant; hence in Lepsius's *Denkmaler*, 63, it is mentioned with Mannus (= Mallus, a region of silver mines) as inhabited by the same people. E. Meyer (who himself, however, still inclines to identify Caphtor with Crete) writes thus[2] of the land of Kaft (*i.e.*, Müller's Keftô):—'The inhabitants of this land, the *Kafti* (formerly wrongly read *Kefa*) carried on a sea trade, and possessed a richly-developed decorative art which is closely related to the Mycenæan. Upon the Egyptian monuments they present throughout, in contrast with the inhabitants of the Phœnician seaports, a wholly non-Semitic type of features, and appear in the inscriptions as a western people outside the pale of the Semitic world. Rightly, therefore, have Pietschmann, Steindorff, and W. M. Müller rejected the equation Kaft = φοινίκη of the bilingual decree of Canopus and sought for Kaft in Asia Minor, perhaps in Cilicia.'

Now, when we consider that the sea-pirates called Purasati and Takaray are stated to have come from the 'islands' (*i.e.*, coast-lands), it is obvious that if Purasati (at any rate) has been rightly identified in Hebrew literature, Caphtor, whence the Pĕlištim (Philistines) came, must be a name for some part of the sea-board of Asia Minor, and we may expect to find its original in the Egyptian inscriptions. That original must surely be Keftô (or Kaft), which appears to have been Hebraised as Caphtor. That Caphtorim should be called a son of Mizraim (Gen. 10 14) is not surprising, for Caphtorim here, as well as in Dt. 2 23, means, not the people of Caphtor (the coasts of Asia Minor) but the Philistines, who, as Müller has shown, were subject to Egypt in Shishak's time and earlier (cp DAVID, § 7). It is indeed doubtful whether either Amos or the Yahwist (J) can be presumed to have known the true meaning of Caphtor, for

[1] *Äg. u. die BB. Mosis*, 130 *ff.* ['68]. So formerly Sayce, (*Crit. Mon.*[1b] 136).

[2] In a special communication for the present work. Cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 347 *ff.*

as early as the fourteenth century the name Keftô had passed out of general use. As a name for Cilicia it was superseded by Hilakku (see CILICIA, § 2). Hence the false tradition, identifying Caphtor with Cappadocia, could easily arise, just as another incorrect tradition identifying the Cherethites with the Cretans (on the other side see CHERETHITES) arose. See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 337, 390, to whom this (probably) right explanation of Caphtor is due. That the final *r* in Caphtor still needs to be accounted for is admitted.

T. K. C.

CAPPADOCIA (καππαδοκία [Tᵉ. WH]) Acts 2 9, 1 Pet. 1 1†. Cappadocia, from a similarity of sound, was wrongly identified by the translators of 𝔊 with CAPHTOR (see readings in previous article). It is allowable, however, to find it in the Gomer (see GEOGRAPHY, § 20, 1) of Gen. 10 2; certainly the region called Gimir by the Assyrians was in or near Cappadocia. A still older name for Cappadocia seems to have been Tabal (see TUBAL); the Tabalæans were scattered abroad on the invasion of their lands by the Gimirrai. The connection of Cappadocia with the early Hittites can only be mentioned here (see HITTITES).

Cappadocia is mentioned twice in the NT: Cappadocian Jews listened to Peter's sermon (Acts 2 9), and his first epistle is addressed to Christian residents in the province (1 Pet. 1 1). Jews must early have found their way into this part of Asia Minor, which is intersected by the commercial highways leading to Amisus on the Euxine and to Ephesus on the Ægean.

Strabo (534) sketches the area included under the name of Cappadocia. In the earliest times it embraced the entire neck of the Anatolian peninsula. Subsequently it was split up into the two independent monarchies of Cappadocia Proper (ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ, ἡ μεγάλη) and Pontus (ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ K.), separated from each other by the broad irregular elevation of the *Tchamli Bel* and *Ak Dagh* (Strabo, 540; Rams. *Hist. Geogr.* 315). In the south the Pylæ Ciliciæ and the ridge of Taurus marked the frontier against Cilicia. Lake Tatta was part of the western boundary. In the SW. Cappadocia merged into the vast level plains of Lycaonia and South Galatia; eastwards it extended to the Euphrates. The frontier varied greatly, however, at different epochs, especially towards the N. and the E. Cappadocia is a cold elevated table-land, intersected by mountains, deficient in timber, but excellent for grain and grazing (Str. 73, 539). Its chief export seems to have been slaves (Hor. *Ep.* i. 6 39: *Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex*); but they were not of much account (Cic. *Post Red.* 6 14). Red ochre (Σινωπικὴ μίλτος: Str. 540) of good quality was exported: the emporium was Ephesus—not Tarsus, as we might have expected. Several monarchs of Cappadocia Proper bore the name Ariarathes (cp 1 Macc. 15 22). Its last king, Archelaus, was deposed by Tiberius, who reduced the country to the form of a province, in 17 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 2 42; Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 4 6).

In Imperial times the Cappadocian roads fall into three groups:—(1) those on the north, and (2) those on the south of the river Halys, in both cases leading eastwards to the fords of the upper Euphrates; (3) transverse roads leading northwards from the Cilician Gates: one of the chief among these last was that which afterwards became the pilgrims' route to the Holy Land (Rams. *op. cit.* 255). The capital, Mazaca (Μαζακα, from Mosoch, the ancestor of the Cappadocians: Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 1, Gen. 10 2), occupied a central position actually upon the Euphrates trade-route, at the northern foot of Mt. Argæus. It was refounded by Claudius, who gave it the name Cæsarea, about 41 A.D. Because of the strength of the new religion in it, Julian expunged it from the list of cities. By his time the whole town had been christianized (πανδημεὶ Χριστιανίζοντες) and its great temples of Zeus Poliuchus and Apollo Patroûs had long been destroyed (Sozom. *H.E.* 5 4: Rams. *op. cit.* 303). This is the more remarkable as southern Cappadocia was the stronghold of the worship of Ma (Enyo), whose priest rivalled the king himself in power (Str. 535). At the time of Strabo's visit the Hieroduli of the temple numbered over six thousand, and

almost all the people of Comana were connected directly or indirectly with the worship. At Venasa there was a similar establishment devoted to the worship of Zeus (Str. 557, Kam., *op. cit.* 294). It is only in later ecclesiastical history that the towns of Cappadocia are celebrated [illegible], Sysna, [illegible], Samosata, [illegible]. For the Christianity of Cappadocia, see Ramsay, *CA. in N. Test.*, p. 443 *ff.*

W. J. W.

CAPTAIN. The lavish use of this old English word in EV is perplexing. We shall mention the words which it represents, suggesting in some cases substitutes. EV is by no means consistent: the words rendered by it are sometimes rendered differently (cp OFFICER, PRINCE, RULER).

1. *Ba'al*, בַּעַל in פְּקֻדִּים 2, properly 'one who was on the watch' [illegible].

2. *Tipsar*, טִפְסָר Jer. 51 27, Nah. 3 17 (RV 'marshal'). See SCRIBE.

3. *Nāgīd*, נָגִיד 1 S. 13 14, prop. the foremost one; hence 'prince' [RV usually] or 'leader' [EV 1 Ch. 12 27 13 1].

4. *Nāsī*, נָשִׂיא Nu. 2 3 etc. (RV 'prince'; better 'chief'—*i.e.*, one who is entrusted with authority). In Ezekiel often for the secular head of the Messianic kingdom. Often too in P (*e.g.*, Nu. 1 16 2 3).

5. *Pāḥāh*, פָּחָה 2 K. 18 24 Is. 36 9. Here and here only the word means 'general'; a glossator (see *SBOT*, Is.) used it in a wrong sense. Elsewhere it means 'governor,' 'satrap,' (see GOVERNOR, 1).

6. *Ʀāṣīn*, קָצִין Jud. 11 6 (a 'decider'—*i.e.*, chieftain, RV 'chief,' except Dan. 11 18).

7. *Rab*, רַב in late Heb. for 11, *e.g.*, 2 K. 25 8, '*captain* of the guard' (AVmg. 'chief marshal').

8. *Rōʾš*, רֹאשׁ 'head,' Nu. 14 4 1 Ch. 11 42 (RV 'chief'); 2 Ch. 18 12 (RV 'head'); cp GOVERNMENT, § 26 n.

9. *Šallīṭ*, שַׁלִּיט Dan. 2 15; syn. with 'captain (רַב see 7) of the guard,' v. 14.

10. *Šālīš*, שָׁלִישׁ 2 K. 9 25; see ARMY, § 4, CHARIOT, § 10.

11. *Śar*, שַׂר in 'captain of the host,' 1 K. 1 25; 'captain of thousands, hundreds,' 1 S. 22 7. Elsewhere 'prince,' even Is. 10 8 and 31 9 (where read 'captains'). See ARMY, § 4, GOVERNMENT, § 21.

12. 13. 14. Three words mistranslated 'captain' are קְרִי, קָרֶה, and אַלּוּף in 2 K. 11 4 19, Ezek. 21 22 (AVmg. and RV 'battering rams') and Jer. 13 21 respectively.

The Greek words are:

15. ἀρχηγός Heb. 2 10 (RV 'author'), prop. 'one who takes the lead'; cp 1 Macc. 10 47 Heb. 12 2.

16. στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ (Lk. 22 4 52 Acts 4 1 etc.), the commander of the temple Levites; see ARMY, § 6.

17. στρατοπεδάρχης Acts 28 16 (RV after ℵ[AB om.]), 'captain of the guard,' a military tribune; cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 19 4.

18. χιλίαρχος Jn. 18 12, chiliarch, see ARMY, § 10.

CAPTIVITY, EXILE. These parallel and practically synonymous expressions (שבי, שביה, שבית, αἰχμαλωτεύειν, -τίζειν, ζωγρεῖν, and גלה, גלות, גלה/, 'to strip, make bare [a country],' μετοικίζειν, etc.) occur together in such phrases as 'the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia' (אתשבי מצרים ואתגלות כוש; Is. 20 4), 'into exile, into captivity shall they go' (בגולה; בשבי ילכו; Ezek. 12 11), 'the children of the captivity which were come out of exile' (הבאים מהשבי בגולה; Ezra 8 35). The captivity and exile incidental to conquest are intended. On what is known as The Captivity or Exile *par excellence*, see ISRAEL, § 32 *ff.*, and cp DISPERSION.

In Is. 51 14 צֹעֶה (EV 'the captive exile') means, literally, nothing more than 'he that is bent down' (see RVmg.), but the text is corrupt (see Che. *SBOT*, 'Isa.,' Addenda). In Is. 22 17 מַטְלֵטְלֵה, 'will carry thee away with a mighty captivity,' in AV, ought to be rendered, as in RV, 'will hurl thee away violently.'

CARABASION (καραβασ[ε]ιων [BA], L om.) in 1 Esd. 9 34 seems to stand for the 'Vaniah and Meremoth' of Ezra 10 36.

CARAVAN אֹרְחָה,[1] which is properly the fem. collective form of אֹרֵחַ, 'a traveller,' Judg. 5 6 RVmg., Job 6 18 *f.* RV; elsewhere (in Gen. 37 25 Is. 21 13), '(traveling) company,' which in Job 6 19 represents תֵּלְיָה. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

CARBUNCLE is given in RVmg. as rendering *nōpheḵ*, נֹפֶךְ (Θ ΑΝΘΡΑΞ), for which EV has 'emerald.' Both renderings are uncertain. See EMERALD.

Whilst under the head of carbunculus Pliny probably includes the ruby, which [illegible], the red corundum, and the spinel, we may with safety assume that neither of these stones can have been in the High Priest's breastplate. For [illegible] there is no proof that the ruby, which is only found in Ceylon and in Burmah, or the spinel, were known to the Hebrews and their neighbours any more than they were to the Greeks till after the time of Theophrastus. *Secondly*, owing to its hardness the ruby has hardly ever been engraved on, and any instances that are known belong to the late Roman period. On the other hand, Theophrastus (*Lith.* 18) describes his carbuncle (ἄνθραξ) as a stone red in colour (ἐρυθρὸν μὲν τῷ χρώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἥλιον τιθέμενον ἄνθρακος καιομένου ποιεῖ χροάνη), a statement that fits well the carbuncle, and tells us that it was engraved for signets (ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰ σφραγίδια γλύφουσιν). The *nōpheḵ* of the breastplate may therefore have been a garnet. See, further, PRECIOUS STONES.

2. On the בָּרֶקֶת of Ex. 28 17 39 10 Ez. 28 13† (EV 'carbuncle') see EMERALD.

3. On the אַבְנֵי אֶקְדָּח of Is. 54 12† (EV 'carbuncle') see CRYSTAL.

W. R.

CARCAS (καρκας; θαραβα [BNL(ᾳ)], θαβαζ [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10).

CARCHEMISH (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ, in Jer. and Is. קַרְכְּמִישׁ; Egyptian *Ka-ri-ka-mai*(?)-*sy*; early Babylonian (*circa* 2200 B.C.) *Karkamis*; Assyrian *Gargamiš*, *Garġarmiš*), a city on the Euphrates (Jer. 46 2; so also Sargon, *Jaḫsad Puratti* [see Wi. *Sargon*, 172]).

The readings of the versions are: Jer. 46 2 χαρμεις [BNA], καρχαμ. [Q]; 2 Ch. 35 20 AV *CHARCHEMISH*, χαρχαμ. [L], BA om.; cp 1 Esd. 1 23(25) AV *CHARCHAMIS* χαρκαμυς [B], καλχαμ. [A], χαρχαμεις [L]; in Is. 10 9 כַּרְכְּמִישׁ is represented by τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος [BNAQ[ᾳ]]; *Charramis*.

The site of Carchemish was fixed by G. Smith, shortly before his death at Aleppo in 1876, as being at Jerabis on the W. bank of the Euphrates. Such, at least, appears to be the most probable form of the name (G. Smith in his latest diary speaks also of a place called Yarabolos). Maundrell gave the name as Jerabolûs (Bohn's ed. 508); Sayce (*Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1888, p. 109, n.) adopts Jerablûs for Carchemish on the authority of Skene, Wilson, and Trowbridge. The form Jerabis is that heard by Sachau (*Reise in Syrien*, 108); and Pococke long ago gave Jerabees as the name of a place distinct from Hierapolis (*Travels in the East*, 2 164). Jerābis (variously spelled) is therefore adopted by Schrader, Delitzsch, G. Hoffmann, and Professor W. Wright of Cambridge; Peters, however (*Nippur*, text, map, and index), adopts Jerabus (*sic*). Jerābis is the plural form of Jirbās given by Yāḳūt.[2] If Jerablûs were correct it would still remain to be shown historically how Hierapolis (of which it is an obvious corruption) came to be applied to the ruins of Carchemish, seven hours away. The Syrian Hierapolis-Mabug (the Turkish Bembi, from Greek Βαμβύκη, cp Ass. *Ba-am-bu-ki*), to which the name Jerablûs certainly does belong, was the seat of the worship of the Atargatis in

[1] Strictly, the rendering rests upon the change of אָרְחוֹת and אֹרְחוֹת ('ways,' cp AV) into אֹרְחָה, which is supported by most moderns.

[1] Cun. Texts from Bab. Tab., etc. in the British Museum, Pt. ii. no. 1, obv. 8; no. 6, obv. 11.

[2] Nöld. and Hoffmann identify with the Greek Europos or Oropos (Syr. form Aghropos). Yāḳūt's words (2 [illegible]) are: 'Dair Kinnisrī is on the E. bank of the Euphrates in the region of el-Jezira and Diyār Muḍar, opposite Jirbās (Jirbās is Syrian). From Dair Kinnisrī to Manbig the distance is four farsaḫs, and from Dair Kinnisrī to Sarūǵ seven farsaḫs.'

goddess ATARGATIS (*q.v.*). G. Smith's words are (see Del. *Par.* 266 *f.*), 'Grand site [;] vast walls and palace-mounds 8000 feet round [,] many sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions [;] site of Karchemesh.' Some of the sculptures and inscriptions are now in the British Museum. The ruins extend half a mile from N. to S. by a quarter of a mile from W. to E. (Pococke, *l.c.*)

2. History. Carchemish was the northern capital of the Hittite empire, the Assyrian mât Hatti, clearly a great trade centre, and seems to have been a fortress-city commanding the principal ford of the Euphrates on the trade route from the Mesopotamian plains into Syria. As the mounds lie between Bereçik and the junction of the Sajur with the Euphrates, it is certain that a strong force at Carchemish could block the route of an Egyptian army into Assyria. About 1000 B.C. the army of Thotmes III. had to meet the people of Ka-ri-ka-mu(?)-ša (WMM, *Asien*, 263); and the Egyptian captain Amenemhêb took some of the inhabitants prisoners. Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1100 B.C.) says that he defeated and plundered people belonging to the city of Carchemish, and when the rest fled and crossed the Euphrates he sent his troops across on floats of inflated skins and burnt six cities at the foot of Mount Bišri (*KB* 1 32, *l.* 49 *ff.*). It is clear that his victory did not give command of the ford and that he did not take the city itself. Ašur-nâsir-pal (*circa* 880 B.C.) received from Sangara, king of (mât Hatti) the Hittites, in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, tribute, the magnitude and variety of which attest the wealth and prosperity of the land (*KB* 1 106, *l.* 65 *ff.*). Shalmaneser II. about 858 B.C. defeated an alliance of Sangara with his neighbours and received an enormous tribute from him (*KB* 1 162, *l.* 27 *ff.*). On the bronze gates of Balawât a picture of the fortress is twice given in relief. Sargon II. in 717 B.C. actually captured the city, took its king Pisiris prisoner, deported its people, and settled Assyrians in it (*KB* 2 38, *ll.* 10, 22; Wi. *Sarg.*, passim). From this time it was the capital of a regular province of Assyria, and had its own *šaknu* or governor, who took his place among the Eponyms (602 B.C.). A strong proof of its commercial importance is afforded by the fact that by far the most common unit of monetary value in Assyria down to the last was the *maneh* of Carchemish. On the battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C., see EGYPT, § 68; ISRAEL, § 40.

See further HITTITES, and cp Maspero, *De Carchemis oppidi situ*, etc., *Struggle of Nations*, 144 *f.*; Schr. *KGF* (78), p. 221 *ff.*; G. Hoffmann, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* (D. M. G.), vii. no. 3, p. 161; Del. *Par.* 265-268; Wright, *PSBA*, 1880-81, pp. 58 *f.*; Menant, *Kar-Kimis, sa position*, etc., 1891.

C. H. W. J.

CAREAH (ΚΑΡΗΘ [BA]) 2 K. 25 23 AV, RV KAREAH.

CARIA (ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ [NV], Τ, -ΙΔΑ [A]), the southern part of the Roman province of Asia, mentioned as one of the countries to which a Roman note in favour of the Jews was sent in 139 B.C. (1 Macc. 15 21); see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9. At that date Caria was autonomous. Previously the greater portion had been assigned to Rhodes (in 189 B.C.), but after the war with Perseus (168 B.C., cp 1 Macc. 8 5 Pol. 30 5) it was declared free. After 129 B.C. Caria was part of the province of Asia (Cic. *Pro. Flac.* 65). Jews were settled in many Carian towns—Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Myndus, Miletus—and in the islands off the coast—Cos, Rhodes, etc.

W. J. W.

CARITES (הַכָּרִי), used thrice in RV of the royal body-guard, 2 K. 11 4 19 (AV CAPTAINS; ΤΟΝ ΧΟΡΡ[Ε]Ι [BAL], ΧΟΡΕΙ [V *v.* 19], and 2 S. 20 23 mg. (so Kt., Kr. הַכְּרִתִי, EV CHERETHITES [*q.v.*]. ΧΕΛΕΘΘΕΙ [B], ΧΕΡΕ [A], ΤΟΥ ΠΛΙΝΘΙΟΥ [L, see BENAIAH]). Perhaps the Carians, the famous mercenary folk (cp, *e.g.*, Herod. 2 152), are meant (see Dr. *ad loc.*, CARIA, above, and cp CHERETHITES). Even so, we must not infer a real acquaintance with the western part of Asia Minor. The name may have meant little more than foreigners. (For another view see CAPHTOR, § 2.)

F. B.

CARMANIANS, RV **Carmonians** (*Carmonii* [ed. Bensly], *-mini* [A*], *-ne* [A**]), for which some MSS read Armenii, on the principle of substituting the unknown for the known, a people, mentioned in the 'vision horrible' (4 Esd. 15 30), who were to go forth 'as the wild boars of the wood' and 'waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians with their teeth' (so RV); see SWINE. They are probably the inhabitants of Kerman, a province on the N. shore of the Persian gulf, lying to the W. of Gedrosia. Kerman is now the name of a province in the SE. of Persia.

In language and customs they were akin to the Persians. They were not unknown to ancient classical authors (e.g., Nearchus, Arrian *Ind.* 38; Strabo, 15 2 7, the latter of whom gives a very gruesome account of some of their cruelties).

The events hinted at in the vision probably refer to the conquests of the Sassanides, more especially of Shâpûr or Sapor I. (242-273 A.D.), and to their expeditions against Valerian (258 A.D.) and other generals. We may thus see in the wasting of a 'portion of the land of the Assyrians' (*v.* 30) Sapor's expedition towards the NW. where he overran Syria and destroyed Antioch. The dragons of Arabia (*v.* 29; cp the 'fiery flying serpents' of Is. 30 6) would then be the Arabian forces of Odenathus and Zenobia, who drove him back beyond the Euphrates; and the retaliation described in *v.* 33 would refer to the repulse of the Palmyrene troops, their dislodgment from the banks of the Orontes, and the fall of Zenobia at the hands of Aurelian (272 A.D.).

See ESDRAS, FOURTH BOOK OF, § 5 (*b*). [For the history of this period cp WRS, 'Palmyra,' and No. 'Persia,' *EBi*.]

CARME (ΧΑΡΜΗ [BA]) 1 Esd. 5 25, AV = Ezra 2 32 HARIM, 1.

CARMEL (כַּרְמֶל or הַכַּרְמֶל—*i.e.*, 'the garden-land'; ΚΑΡΜΗΛΟΣ [BAL]). 1. (Sometimes also הַר הַכַּרְמֶל, ΟΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΜΗΛΙΟΝ.) **1. Name and position.** The name Carmel, which is properly a common noun meaning a plantation of choice trees (cp Span. *carmen*), is employed both with and (Josh. 19 26 Jer. 46 18 Nah. 1 4) without the article as the proper name of a mountain. The reference is to the richly wooded character which Mt. Carmel had anciently and possesses still in a large degree (cp 'The Black Forest').

It is convenient to distinguish three separate applications of the name: (1) as denoting the range of hills extending for some 12 or 13 miles from the sea coast in the NW. to the W. el-Milh in the SE.; (2) as including also the farther prolongation (called el-Ruhah) of this range for other 12 or 13 miles in a south-easterly direction, as far as to the neighbourhood of Jenîn; (3) as designating the promontory or headland in which the range ends at its northern extremity, leaving only a narrow passage between the mountain and the sea. The range and the promontory combine to form a striking feature in the configuration of Palestine. The symmetrical arrangement by which the country as a whole falls into longitudinal sections, running north and south, distinguished as the littoral zone, the hill country, and the zone of the Ghôr (see PALESTINE, § 6 *f.*), is broken by Carmel alone, intruding into the Mediterranean plain, and interrupting the continuity of the mountain zone so as to form the plain of Jezreel. Topographically it is thus important; and, though Carmel is not often expressly named, the presence of this natural barrier and the adjoining plain had a considerable influence on the course of immigrations or invasions from the time of the Philistines and Pharaoh Necho down to that of Bonaparte.

The eastern slope of Carmel falls sharply towards the plain of Esdraelon; but westward its decline

towards the Mediterranean is gentle. On this side its configuration presents a series of divergent buttresses separated by valleys and opening up like a fan towards the coast. This western region, properly, belongs to the *massif* of Carmel, and Conder says, quite rightly, 'Carmel is best described as a triangular block of mountains.' From the summit of the main range and, indeed, from almost every point along the ridge extensive views to south and north are obtained, and Carmel in turn is visible and conspicuous from a great variety of distant points. The range reaches a maximum elevation of 1810 feet a little to the south of the village of 'Esfiyeh.

2. Nature.

Geologically it is cretaceous and nummulitic limestone, containing fossil echinoderms and 'geodes' *i.e.*, silicious concretions known as *septarium* or vulgarly as cats' heads, called by the ancient pilgrims *lapides judaici* or Elijah's melons (Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, 172). There are many caves, and some volcanic rocks. The fauna includes the roebuck, the leopard, and the wild cat. The flora, which is luxuriant, is wholly wild. The most common trees are the pine, oak, lentisk, carob, olive; traces of modern agriculture are to be found only in the neighbourhood of the villages and of the sea-coast. It was otherwise in ancient times, as is shown by the very name (above, § 1). At various points in the range ancient wine and oil presses have been discovered, and traces of Roman roads have been pointed out to the present writer by Dr. Schumacher.

There is every ground for believing that formerly Carmel was covered much more luxuriantly than it is now. Hence the comparison in Cant. 7 5[6] ('thine head is like Carmel'), and the allusion to the 'splendour of Carmel' in Is. 35 2. Its prominence is referred to in Jer. 46 18, where it is said that the king of Babylon will come 'like Tabor among the mountains and like Carmel by the sea.' In conjunction with Sharon, Lebanon, and Bashan, Carmel serves as a type for a land that has been singularly blessed by God (Jer. 50 19 Mic. 7 14). The devastation of Carmel implies the severest chastisement for Israel (Is. 33 9 Jer. 4 26 Am. 1 2 Nah. 1 4). Its thick woods offered shelter to the fugitive, as Amos (9 3) indicates in an allusion that admits of explanation without supposing that the mountain was held to give protection against Yahwè (for the idea cp Ps. 139 7-12). The passages which assign to Elisha an abode on Carmel do not necessarily mean that he was compelled to seek an asylum there (2 K. 2 25 4 25). In the time of Strabo Carmel was still a place of refuge for the persecuted (16 759).

3. OT refs.

We cannot say with certainty to which tribe Carmel belonged.

The one reference in this connection (Josh. 19 26) in the delimitation of Asher is somewhat enigmatical (see ASHER, § 3), and in any case can relate only to the extreme headland. The tribes of Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun must all have touched on Carmel. Doubtless the tribal limits varied from age to age, and there must have been periods of Phœnician ascendancy.

In later times Carmel belonged now to Samaria, now to Galilee, sometimes even to the province of Tyre.

In Ahab's time it certainly formed part of the dominions of that monarch, and it became the scene of the memorable contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal.

Tradition places the scene, and the altar of Yahwè which Elijah repaired, at a point called El-Mohraḳa ('place of burning'), where there is a Roman Catholic sanctuary 1700 feet above the sea-level, two hours south from 'Esfiyeh. Beneath this spot, at the base of the mountain, near the Kishon, there is a hillock, the so-called Tell-el-Kassîs ('hill of the priest,' not 'of the priests'), which is pointed to—but, of course, with no historical certainty—as the place where the prophets of Baal were put to death.

There are no data for fixing the scene of 1 K. 18 in one locality more than another, and 17 41-46 leave us as much in the dark as the rest of the narrative. Some interpreters take the 'mountain' in 2 K. 19-15 to be Carmel; but it is natural to look for it somewhere on the road between Samaria and Ekron. It has also been supposed to be intended in Dt. 33 19 ('Issachar and Zebulun . . . shall call the peoples unto the mountain'); but 'what mountain is meant is quite indeterminate. There may have been more than one mountain sanctuary in Zebulun and Issachar; and the reference may be to these generally' (Dr. *ad loc.*).

Carmel had a widespread reputation for sanctity. Thotmes III. has been quoted as a witness. Maspero, in fact, thinks that he can recognise the 'holy headland' (ראש קדש) of Carmel in the name Ru-šą-ḳds, no. 48 in the Palestinian place-list of Thotmes III. (*KP*[2] 547); but this is uncertain.[1]

4. Other refs.

Jamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 315) asserts that Pythagoras sojourned on Carmel. Tacitus (*Hist.* 2 78) speaks of it as a place consecrated by the presence of an oracle, beside an altar that was unadorned by any image of the deity. Suetonius (*Vesp.* 5) relates that Vespasian sacrificed at this spot, and heard from the priests the prophecy of his greatness. Among Mahommedans the memory of Elijah is indissolubly associated with Carmel, which the Arabs to this day call Jebel Mâr Elyâs, Mount St Elias, where they have set up welys and mosques in his honour.

5. Later times.

Still greater has its importance been in the Christian world. Many anchorites established themselves there from the earliest times. In 1156 St. Berthold of Calabria founded the order of Carmelites and built their first monastery at the north-western extremity of the range near 'Elijah's grotto.'

In 1252 the monastery was visited by St. Louis (Louis IX.) of France, who is sometimes, but wrongly, represented as its founder. Dedicated to 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel,' it has had a very chequered history. The Carmelites were often persecuted; and their house was destroyed or turned into a mosque. In 1799 it was used as a hospital for the sick and wounded of Napoleon's army. In 1821 it was destroyed by 'Abdallah-pasha; but a Carmelite friar, Giovanni Battista di Frascati, successfully undertook to collect funds for its restoration. The present building, 560 feet above the sea-level, is due to his efforts; by its side stands a lighthouse. 'Elijah's grotto' forms the crypt of the church; another grotto near, which formerly belonged to the Christians but has now been taken by the Moslems, is represented as having harboured a school of the prophets in Elijah's time, and as having given shelter to the Holy Family on their return from Egypt.

A little way above the monastery, on the crest of the hill, a large sanatorium (*Luftkurhaus*) has been built by the German colony in Haifa.

These colonists pursue agriculture on the slopes of Mount Carmel, and, by their success in vine-culture especially, have demonstrated the possibility of bringing back to the scene of their labours some portion of its ancient prosperity.

6. Literature.

Besides papers in *PEFQ*, see especially v. Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, 3 202-220; Guérin, *Palestine: Samarie*, 2 240-270, 260-273; Furrer, *Wanderungen durch das heil. Land*[2], 317-320; Conder, *Tent-Work*, 88-95; GASm. *HG* 337-340; L. Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*[2], 227-248. LEY. G.

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 55) (χερμελ [BAL]), the scene of incidents in the life of Saul (1 S. 15 12) and David (1 S. 25 2 *ff.*).[2] The gentilic הַכַּרְמְלִי, **Carmelite** (καρμηλειτου [A], etc.) and to HEZRO (1 Ch. 11 37). The town is mentioned (Χερμαλα, *Carmela*) by Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 110 31 272 76 *f.*) as situated 10 m. from Hebron, and as having a Roman garrison. It is the modern *Karmal*, 2887 ft. above the sea-level, about 8 R.m. SE. from Hebron (according to Robinson, who thinks Eusebius and Jerome have exaggerated the distance; see also Palestine Survey map, sheet xxiv.). Robinson speaks of the ruins as 'extensive'; the principal ruin is that of the castle, which he assigns to Herod or the Romans, but Conder to 12th century A.D. The site is upon the edge of the wilderness of Judæa; but to the west the land is broad and fertile, not unlike scenes of upland agriculture in Scotland. The name Carmel is therefore suitable. There are many remains of vineyard terraces, and a reservoir.

G. A. S.

CARMI (כַּרְמִי, § 70; χαρμ[ε]ι [BAFL]), apparently shortened from Beth-hac-cerem[3] or Beth-haccarmi (see TABOR, IN MONTE), and note in Josh. 15 59 the name Carem (καρεμ [BAL]).

[1] More precisely, Maspero places the *town* of Rosh Kodshu on the slope of the promontory (*Struggle of the Nations*, 13; *Z.*, 1879, p. 55). W. M. Müller (*Asien u. Eur.* 165), however, points out that the grouping of the names proves that Ru-šą-ḳdš cannot have been far from Carmel.

[2] Carmel ought also to be read for Rachal in 1 S. 30 29; so ⊕[L]. See RACHAL.

[3] In that case it cannot be compared with the Nab. n. pr. כרמו.

1. Father of ACHAN (*q.v.*); Josh. 7 1 18 [B om.] 1 Ch. 2 7†. In 1 Ch. 4 1 Carmi, elsewhere called son of Zabdi (or 1 Ch. 2 6 of Zimri), is made son of Judah; but we should rather read CHELUBAI (cp 29) with We.

2. b. Reuben, supposed ancestor of the **Carmites** (הכרמי), Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 6 1 Ch. 5 3†.

CARMONIANS (*Carmonii* [ed. Bensly]), 4 Esd. 15 30, AV CARMANIANS.

CARNAIM (ΚΑΡΝΑΙΝ [AⁿV]), 1 Macc. 5 43 *f.*; and **Carnion** (ΚΑΡΝΙΟΝ [AV]), 2 Macc. 12 21. See ASHTAROTH.

CAROB TREE (ΤΟ ΚΕΡΑΤΙΟΝ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 15 16 RV^mg See HUSKS.

CARPENTER (חָרָשׁ עֵץ, 2 Sam. 5 11; ΤΕΚΤΩΝ, Mt. 13 55). See HANDICRAFTS, § 2.

CARPUS (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ [Ti. WH]) appears to have been Paul's host at Troas; it was with him that the apostle left the cloak and books mentioned in 2 Tim. 4 13. He is named in the lists of 'the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (see DISCIPLE, § 3) as bishop of Berœa in Thrace.

CARRIAGE. This English word, which has elsewhere in EV, with various special applications as indicated by the context, the obsolete sense of 'something carried,' is found in the sense of 'vehicle' in Lev. 15 9, RV^mg. (see SADDLE), and perhaps in 1 S. 17 20 25 7, AV^mg. (see CAMP, § 1, WAR).

CARSHENA (כַּרְשְׁנָא) in Esth. 1 14 MT, one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus. 𝔊's equivalent seems to be *αρκεσαιος* [BⁿᶜᵃALβ], *-σαοι* [אᵃ], whence Marq. (*Fund.* 67) would restore ורכשנא; cp O. Pers. *warkačīnā*, 'wolfish.' See ADMATHA.

CART (עֲגָלָה) 1 S. 6 7. See CHARIOT, § 2.

CARVING, CARVED WORK. See HANDICRAFTS.

CASEMENT (אֶשְׁנָב), Prov. 7 6, RV LATTICE (§ 2 (2)).

CASIPHIA (כַּסְפְּיָא). An unknown place, near AHAVA and Babylon, whence Ezra obtained IDDO (i.), the chief man there, and his brethren[1] the Nethinim, Ezra 8 17 (*Μασφεν τοῦ τόπου* [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 45 [47] (see below).

The other renderings are based on the connection of כספיא with כֶּסֶף 'silver, money,' Ezra 8 17 (*ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου* [BA]) = 1 Esd. 8 45 [47]. EV 'the place of the treasury' (*τῷ τόπῳ* [*τοῦ*] *γαζοφυλάκιου* [BA], *τ. τ. τῶν -κίων* [L], . . . *τοῖς ἐν τ. τ. γαζοφυλακίοις* [BAL]). It is perhaps possible that this place was no town, but merely a college, or a locality where Levites were educated (cp Be.-Ry. *Ezr.* ad loc.).

CASLEU (ΧΑϹΕΛΕΥ [Aⁿᶜᵃ]) 1 Macc. 1 54 AV. See CHISLEU.

CASLUHIM (כַּסְלֻחִים, Gen. 10 14 1 Ch. 1 12†). See GEOGRAPHY, § 15 (3).

CASPHOR, in 1 Macc. 5 36 AV **Casphon** (ΧΑϹΦΩΝ [Aⁿ]; ΚΑ. [V]; ΧΑϹΦΩΘ [A], but in *v.* 26 ΚΑϹΦΩΡ [Aⁿᶜᵃ], ΚΑΙ ϹΚΑΦΩ [V], ΚΑϹΦΩ [Aᵃ]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 3, ΧΑϹΦΟΜΑΚΗ, etc., where ΜΑΚΗ = the name Maked), a town of Gilead (see under BOSOR), taken by Judas the Maccabee in his campaign beyond Jordan (1 Macc. 5 36). It is doubtless the same as the **Caspis**, RV **Caspin** (see GEPHYRUN), of 2 Macc. 12 13 (ΚΑϹΠ[Ε]ΙΝ [VA], *Κάσπα* [Syr.]), a fortress described as strong and fenced about with walls and near a lake 2 stadia broad. These data suit the present el-Muzeirib, the great station on the Hajj road, which is not identified with any other OT name (but see ASHTAROTH, § 2), and in antiquity must have been a place of importance: its ancient name has not been recovered.

The identification of Casphon with Khisfin (see Furrer, in Richm's *HWB* 1 8 34 *f.*) is philologically improbable, and has no special recommendation. With Khisfin cp Talm. Hasfiya. On Muzeirib see Schumacher, *across Jordan*, 157 *ff.* There is another large lake, *el Khab*, 16 m. N. of Muzeirib. G. A. S.

[1] For אָחִיו '(to) his brother,' we must read וְאַחֶיו, 'and (to) his brethren,' with Vg. and ℙ 1 Esd. 𝔊BAL.

CASSIA represents two Hebrew words. 1. קִדָּה (Ex. 30 24 Ezek. 27 19†) appears, along with myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and olive oil, as an ingredient of the holy anointing oil. It is mentioned, along with bright iron and calamus, among the wares brought into the Tyrian market. The origin of the word is unknown, nor is it found in any of the cognate languages: some have thought that it reappears in the *κιττώ* spoken of by Dioscorides (1 12) as one species of cassia.

𝔊BAFL renders Ἶρις in Ex. 30 24, where *κασσία*, *ξυλαλόη*, and *κόστος* are mentioned in other MSS as alternative renderings; in Ezek. 27 19, where 𝔊BAQ omits, Aq. has *σπαρτίον*, Sym. *στακτή*, and Theod. *καιδδα*. Pesh. and Targ. identify it with the קְצִיעוֹת or 'cassia' of Ps. 45 8 [9] (see below).

Scholars are agreed that probably what is intended is some kind of cassia.

Celsius (2 186) notices the mention in Mish. *Kil.* i. § 8 of קִדָּה לבנה, 'white cassia,' as cultivated in Palestine; but this, according to Löw (349), must have been quite a different plant.

2. קְצִיעוֹת Ps. 45 8 [9], the word which passed into Greek as *κασία*[1] and thence into other languages, is almost certainly a derivative of the root קצע (= Ar. *ḳaḍa'a*), to 'scrape'—properly 'to reduce to fine dust' (WRS in *J. Phil.* 16 71 *f.*). A 'powdered fragrant bark' is thus indicated. The word is too general to allow of certain identification with any particular species; but probably what is intended is something akin to the modern 'cassia bark' (*i.e.*, the bark of other kinds of *Cinnamomum* than that which yields the true cinnamon). The use of the Heb. *plural* to denote a substance of this kind is natural.[2] The word in the singular is found as a female name; see KEZIAH.

Fl. and Hanb., *Pharm.*(2) 519, say: 'That cinnamon and cassia were extremely analogous is proved by the remark of Galen, that the finest cassia differs so little from the lowest quality of cinnamon that the first may be used for the second, provided a double weight of it be used.'

A very probable source of cassia is *Cinnamomum iners*, Bl. The *Pharmacopœia indica* says: 'May be used as a substitute for Cinnamon, to which it can hardly be reckoned inferior.' *C. iners* occurs in S. India and throughout the Malayan region. It yielded the 'cassia bark' once so largely exported from N. Canara. See CINNAMON. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CASTANETS (מְכִנָּנִים), 2 S. 6 5† RV. See MUSIC, § 3 (3).

CASTLE. Two buildings are distinguished in AV by this title: (1) the 'city [rather, citadel] of David' in 1 Ch. 11 5 (מְצוּדַת) 7 (מָצָד), where RV harmonizes with 2 S. 5 7 by rending 'strong hold,' and (2) the barracks (lit. camp) attached to the fort Antonia (Acts 21 34 37; *παρεμβολή*). See JERUSALEM, TEMPLE.

3. RV also gives the title to the *birāh*[3] (בִּירָה) of Susa (AV 'palace'). See PALACE, SHUSHAN; also FORTRESS, TOWER.

4. The word is also used in AV, quite wrongly, for טִירָה, *ṭīrāh*, which is rather a nomad 'encampment' (so RV), Gen. 25 16 etc. (distinguished from חצרים, 'villages'). See CAMP, § 1, CAITIFF, § 1 n.

CASTOR AND POLLUX. RV **The Twin Brothers** (ΔΙΟϹΚΟΥΡΟΙ [Ti. WH]; so RV^mg. 'Dioscuri'), the sign (*παρασήμον*) of the Alexandrian ship in which Paul sailed from Melita to Puteoli (Acts 28 11). Castor and Pollux, the sons of Zeus and Leda and brothers of Helen, appear in heaven as the constellation Gemini.[4] See STARS, § 3 *f.* They were the tutelary deities of sailors, and (it may be interesting to note) were held in especial veneration in the district of Cyrene, near Alexandria (*Schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* 5 6). Catullus (4 27)

[1] The spelling with one *s* is correct in Greek and Latin (Lag *Mitthell.* 2 357).

[2] For קציעות Herz and Che. (*Ps.*(2)) would read מוצק, 'poured.'

[3] A longer form is *birāniyyāh* (only in plur.), 2 Ch. 17 12 27 4 (coupled with *migdālīm*, 'towers').

[4] On their mythological forms see more fully *EB*(9) *s.v.*, and Roscher *s.v.* 'Dioskuren.'

speaks of a boat dedicated to the same deities, and for other examples of names of ships see Smith's *Class. Dict.*, *s.v.* 'Insigne.' It is probable that images of Castor and Pollux were fixed at the bow of Paul's ship, since it was customary for a ship to carry at the bow a representation of the sign which furnished the name (the *insigne*), and at the stern a representation of the tutelary deity (the *tutela*). Herod. (3 37) makes reference to the *Pataikoi* (origin doubtful), figures of hideous muscular dwarfs which the Phœnicians stuck up on the bows of their galleys (cp PHŒNICIA, and see Perr. Chip. *Phœn.* 2 17 *f.*, and note the illustration of such a galley, *ib.* 19).

CAT. Cats (EV) or rather WILD CATS (αἴλουροι)—for the context requires us to take αἴλ. in this sense—are mentioned in the 'Epistle of Jeremy' (Bar. 6 22) with bats, swallows, and birds, which alight upon the bodies and heads of idols. Wild cats (אִחִים) are recognised by the Tg. of Is. 13 22 (for תַּנִּים, see JACKAL) 34 14 (for אִיִּים, see JACKAL [4]), but not of Hos. 9 6 (where אח is a faulty reading for חֲרָלִין, 'thistles'). We must not infer from the lateness of these words that it was only at a late date tha. the Israelites became acquainted with wild cats. They no doubt knew the *felis maniculata* (the original of our own domestic cat), which to-day is very common on the E. of Jordan (though it is scarce on the W. side), and is found, indeed, throughout Africa, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine (Tristram).

We need not wonder that no reference is made in the OT to the domestic cat. The Egyptians themselves had probably tamed the wild cat only to a certain extent; it accompanies the fowler on his expeditions (see woodcuts in Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 236 *f.*). The stories of Herodotus (2 66) are absurd. Bastit, the goddess of Bubastus, was 'a cat *or a tigress*' (Maspero).

The rendering 'wild cats' in Tg. of Is. (see above) is not adopted by modern translators. All that we can be sure of is that the writers of the descriptions referred to had in view some definite wild animals. Wolves, hyenas, jackals, and wild cats (including 'martens') were in their minds; but it is not easy to distribute them among the various Hebrew terms. Many commentators, after Bochart (*Hieroz.* 862), give 'wild cat' for Heb. אִיִּים (Is. 13 21 34 14 Jer. 50 39 Ps. 74 14 [text doubted]). Certainly EV's 'wild beasts of the desert' (as if from אִיָּה) is inappropriate; the etymology assumed also is very doubtful. The ancient versions are inconsistent, and the Heb. writers would not have condemned them. See JACKAL, WOLF.

T. K. C.

CATECHISE (חנך) Prov. 22 6 AV[mg.]; EV 'train up,' with which cp Lk. 1 4 mg., 'the things which thou wast taught (κατηχήθης) by word of mouth'; Acts 18 25 mg. 'taught by word of mouth (κατηχημένος) in the way of the Lord.' That oral instruction is meant by κατηχεῖν is undeniable; cp Jos. *Vit.* 65, 'when thou meetest me,' καὶ αὐτός σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω, 'I will inform thee of many things.'

The Revisers of the OT seem to have thought that such a peculiar word as חנך may have had a technical meaning such as κατηχεῖν at length acquired. In MH a derivative of חנך (חִנּוּך) means the 'gradual introduction of children into religious practice': *e.g.*, 'Wherein consists the child's training (חִנּוּכוֹ), *Yoma* 2 *a*, with reference to the fasting on the Day of Atonement. Certainly the word חנך elsewhere always has a technical meaning. It seems to mean religious initiation or dedication, whether of a person (so perhaps חנך Gen. 14 14) or of a building (see DEDICATE; cp חֲנֻכָּה, Enoch). The first part of Prov. *l.c.* is very obscure, and probably corrupt (see Che. *Exp. T.* Sept. 12 [1900]). Oral instruction there doubtless was in the post-exilic period to which Proverbs seems to belong (see EDUCATION, § 1); but חנך is not one of the technical words of the wise men for communicating instruction.

CATERPILLER (יֶלֶק), Ps. 105 34, etc. AV, RV CANKERWORM, see LOCUST, § 2 (6), and (חָסִיל) 1 K. 8 37 etc. EV, see LOCUST, § 2 (9).

CATHUA (κουα [B], καθουα [A], ρεδδηλ? [L]), a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) 1 Esd. 5 30, unmentioned in Ezra 2 47 Neh. 7 49, unless the name may be identified with GAHAR (כתו for גחר?), or perhaps with GIDDEL [*q.v.*].

CATTLE.[1] The nomad origin of the Semites is plain from the fact that numerous words relating to the life and associations of nomads (*e.g.*, ox, sheep, etc.) are common to all the dialects. In the case of the b'ne Israel, not only idioms and figures of speech, but also old traditional names and even direct statements, confirm the view, which is in itself highly probable. Note, for example, the name RACHEL, 'the ewe' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 311), and the description of Abram as a 'nomad Aramæan' (אֲרַמִּי אֹבֵד Dt. 26 5). A still earlier ancestor, JABAL (the name is again significant), is called the 'father'—*i.e.*, founder—of nomadic life (Gen. 4 20; cp CAINITES, § 11).

1. Nomadic life.

It is important at the outset to bear in mind the difference between nomads ('tent-dwellers,' Gen. *l.c.*) and those who have settled down as agriculturists. Of the constantly recurring struggle between these two classes a vivid picture is presented in the narrative of Zeeb and Zalmunna (Judg. 8), chiefs of the Midianites, a people which, as depicted in the OT, may serve as a good illustration of the nomad class. The difference between the two classes may not be complete; for traces of nomadic origin will continue to be visible, even after the shepherd's tower, or the cattle kraal, with its nucleus of tents,[2] has developed by successive stages into the fortified city (עִיר מִבְצָר; see 2 K. 17 9 18 8 and cp Benz. *HA* 125 *f.*). It is equally important to remember that the state of civilisation of a settled people is not readily assimilated by those on a lower grade. The importance of this in its bearing on the early history of Israel can hardly be exaggerated[3]: with the b'ne Israel the transition from the nomadic to the settled state was a long process. The compilers and expanders of the patriarchal legends shrink from representing their heroes as pure nomads: they feel that, if so represented, these heroes would be grossly inadequate types of their far-off descendants. We have, however, evidence that the later Israelites had, in the more northern parts of their own land, representatives of the old nomadic life in all its simplicity (see RECHABITES).

The words commonly employed in Hebrew to denote cattle in general are:

2. Names for cattle.

1. מִקְנֶה, *miḳneh* (cp קִנְיָן, 'property'), EV usually 'cattle' (so אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה, 'nomads,' Gen. 46 32), a term denoting 'possession,' comprising, therefore, the things which are the usual and almost peculiar property of nomads. It is used, accordingly, in a much wider sense than צֹאן (EV 'flock'; but AV 'cattle,' Gen. 30 40 etc.), which denotes the small cattle, sheep, and goats, or sheep alone (cp 1 S. 25 2). *Miḳneh* does not include, however, servants; nor, as a rule, horses or asses (but see Ex. 9 3 Job 1 3).

2. בְּהֵמָה, *bĕhēmah*, κτῆνος, includes all the larger domestic animals: in Neh. 2 12 14 it means a saddle-animal. It is usually contrasted with man, wild beasts (חַיָּה, κτήνος), birds, and crawling things (cp Ps. 148 10). The word is not, however, free from vagueness, for it may be applied to wild animals, and even (in plur. form) to an imaginary animal (see BEHEMOTH, §§ 1, 3).

3. בָּעִיר, *bĕʿīr*, κτῆνος ('cattle' Nu. 20 4 Ps. 78 48), 'beast,' used

[1] In the present article will be found what requires to be said about large cattle. Small cattle also are included in treating of pasturing, tending, breeding, etc.; but their species and Hebrew names will be considered under SHEEP and GOAT.

[2] מִבְצָר, properly the circular encampment of nomadic tribes: cp Gen. 25 16 Ezek. 25 4.

[3] Hommel (*AHT* 208) remarks on the resistance to Babylonian civilisation displayed by the nomad Aramæan tribes mentioned in the Ass. inscriptions of the eighth and the seventh centuries. Strong historical evidence would have to be shown to justify the conclusion that the Israelite nomads were essentially different from these.

of beasts of burden (Gen. 45 17 cp 44 3 13) and of cattle generally. The Ar. *ba'īrun* is used of both the camel and the ass.

4. מִקְנָה, *mĕlĕ'khah* 'property' (cp Ex. 22 7 [6], 10 [9]), used of cattle in Gen. 83 14 and, as including them, in 1 S. 15 9.

5. מְרִיא, *mĕrī'* 'fat cattle,' 1 K. 1 9 (RV fatling, cp μόσχος σιτευτός); generally used with שׁוֹר or בָּקָר.

6. שֶׂה, *seh*, rendered 'small cattle' or 'cattle' in Is. 43 23 Ezek. 34 17, is the *nom. unitatis* to צֹאן, see SHEEP.

7. אַלָּפִים, *ălāphīm* (pl.), 'oxen'; cp Prov. 14 4 Is. 30 24, etc.

To denote the animals of the bovine kind the Hebrews used:

(*a*) בָּקָר, *bāqār*, a generic word, which frequently occurs in parallelism with צֹאן. It is often used individually (cp בֶּן־בָּקָר, a single ox or calf; see Gen. 18 7), and frequently employed to define a word more closely—*e.g.*, with עֵגֶל Lev. 9 2, פַּר Ex. 29 1. Its usual *nom. unit.* is שׁוֹר, *šōr*, used without reference to age or to gender, to denote an ox or cow. It is used of a young calf in Ex. 22 30 [29], Lev. 22 23, and is once collective, Gen. 32 5 [6]. (*b*) פַּר, *par*, fem. פָּרָה, *pārāh*, bull, cow, defined by בֶּן בָּקָר Ex. 29 1 and used of a seven-year-old, Judg. 6 25. (*c*) עֵגֶל, *'ēgel*, fem. עֶגְלָה, *'eglāh*, a calf, used of a three-year-old (Gen. 15 9 cp Is. 15 5), and also of a young cow that already gives milk (Is. 7 21); see HEIFER. (*d*) אַבִּיר, *'abbīr* 'mighty,' used poetically of oxen (Is. 34 7), but also of horses (Jer. 8 16, etc.).

3. Breeding.

With regard to the practices of ancient nomadic pastoral peoples we are but ill-informed. It is probable that formerly (as now in Arabia) the same clan would not breed more than one kind of domestic animal. There is still a broad distinction between the camel-breeding tribes of the upland plains and the shepherd tribes of the mountains (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 311). The steppes of Palestine have always been more suitable for sheep and goats, and the northern mountains for oxen. E. of the Jordan, however, cattle were turned loose,[1] and, becoming wild, acquired a name for their ferocity and from their habit of gathering in circles round any object that attracted their attention (Ps. 22 12 [13] *f.*). At the present day shepherds frequent the cool mountain-heights in the summer, and find late in the autumn an abundant supply of green leaves and twigs for their sheep and goats in the cedars round Lebanon and Baalbek.

4. Species.

The parts of Palestine which were most suitable for the pasturing of herds—the parts which deserve the name of אֶרֶץ מִקְנֶה (Nu. 32 1 4)—were those situated to the E. of Jordan (the modern region of Belḳā) and in the S. plains of Judah. The enormous tribute paid annually by Meša, 'the shepherd' (נקד), attests the richness of the country (cp Nu. *l.c.*). Places specially mentioned in connection with herds and flocks are Carmel (1 S. 25 2), Shechem (Gen. 37 12), Dothan (Gen. 37 17), Sharon (1 Ch. 27 29 Is. 65 10), Tekoa (Am. 1 1), Gedor (1 Ch. 4 39), Bethlehem (1 S. 16 11), Midian (Nu. 31 32 cp *vv.* 8 *f.*), Edom (Is. 34 6), and Kedar (Ezek. 27 21).

In prehistoric times there were several kinds of oxen, all wild: a European bison, *Bison bonasus*, Linn., still preserved in the forests of SE. Europe; the Urus, *Bos primigenius*, and *Bos longifrons*, now extinct, probably belonging to the same race as our *Bos taurus* or domesticated oxen. Our modern cattle are derived from the last-named. In Palestine at the present day horned cattle are found only where fresh pastures are easily accessible. In the wilderness S. of Judah horned cattle of a rather undersized kind may be seen in great numbers. Farther to the N. there is a larger and better bred race, used for tilling. These, as a rule, belong to the same species as our cattle, the *Bos taurus*. N. of Esdraelon there is a light-coloured and stalwart variety usually known as the Armenian. In the valley of the Jordan, especially towards the N., there is a species of Indian buffalo, *Bos bubalis* (Ar. *ǵāmus*), a clumsy animal with remarkably long horns (generally flattened and angulated). From its size and general appearance the species has been confounded with the ancient *rē'ēm* (see UNICORN); but it belongs to comparatively recent times. It has been introduced into several of the Mediterranean countries—*e.g.*, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Italy. E. of the Jordan horned cattle are rare (Tristram, *Moab*, 251), although the best country for them is said to be there (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 60).

[1] Each tribe has its own *wasm* (see WRS *Kin.* 212 *ff.*) or special mark (cp perhaps אוֹת, Gen. 4 15 Nu. 2 2, and see CAIN, § 6; CUTTINGS, § 6). With this it was customary to brand the cattle. See, for specimens of such cattle marks, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 125, and cp Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, 1 341 *f.*

Cattle-breeding holds a large place upon the Egyptian monuments; their evidence goes to show that the so-called Zebu was most common, and that several species of it were bred. The long-horned kind generally had their horns bent like a lyre or, less commonly, in the shape of a crescent. Short-horns appear rarely in the Old Empire, but are more frequent in later times. Another kind was hornless, it is never represented as ploughing and threshing, and hence may have been regarded as belonging to a 'fancy' class.

A new kind appears in the New Empire. It has horns somewhat wide apart, and bears a big hump.

5. Cattle-rearing.

We have no means of ascertaining any of the ancient methods of breeding (a certain kind of which is prohibited by the law in Lev. 19 19) or of rendering horned cattle tractable. They were the earliest of domesticated animals. They were preceded by a long time the domestication of the sheep. The bones of one species, the *Bos primigenius* or Urus, have been found in the remains of the neolithic Swiss lake-dwellings.

The pastures were probably free to all comers, since in primitive times there was hardly any property in land. A pasture is useless without a watering-place (cp Judg. 1 15, where the importance of the possession of water is clearly shown; see Moore, *ad loc.*), and property in water is doubtless older and of more importance (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 104 *f.*). The right to a pasture was obtained by digging a well; and, among the Hebrews as among the Arabians, the wayfarer was always allowed to water his beasts so long as he did not hinder the owners of the water.[1] See SPRINGS. The district upon which cattle pastured is called מִרְעֶה, lit. 'place for feeding.' Cp רְעִי 1 K. 4 23 [ᵛ. 3]); כָּר נִרְחָב 'a broad pasture' (Is. 30 23) is doubtful (*SBOT*). מִדְבָּר (EV 'desert,' 'wilderness') denotes properly a pasturing ground where herds are driven, from דבר 'to drive (herds)'; cp BDB *Lex. s.v.* דבר.[2]

Other words to denote the pasturing ground are נָוֶה, נָוֶה the pastoral abode (gen. rendered 'pasture,' or 'sheep-cote,' once 'stable,' Ezek. 25 5 EV). Similarly רֵבֶץ couching-place, Jer. 50 6 (נוּח Prov. 24 15 of an abode of men). To denote more narrowly confined areas, we find גְּדֵרוֹת צֹאן[3] sheep-folds (1 S. 24 3 Zeph. 2 6, etc.), מָצוֹר an enclosure (Mi. 2 12), סֻכּוֹת (Gen. 33 17) 'booths,' temporary night-shelters (see below).

When required to be specially fattened, cattle were withdrawn from the open pastures and kept in a stable מַרְבֵּק. See Am. 6 4 1 S. 28 24 Jer. 46 21 Mal. 4 2 (3 20); 'stall,' lit. a place for tying up; cp also רֶפֶת (Hab. 3 17) and מִכְרָה (Hab. 3 17 Ps. 50 9 78 70) 'fold.'

The *pens*[4] are called שְׁפָתַיִם (Ps. 68 13 [14] RV 'sheepfolds,' AV 'pots'), or מִשְׁפְּתַיִם (Judg. 5 16 Gen. 49 14), properly perhaps 'double-pens.' Moore (on Judg. *l.c.*) and Che. (on Ps. *l.c.*) prefer the sense 'dung-heaps.'

The manger or crib is אֵבוּס (Is. 1 3 cp Lk. 2 7 13 15 φάτνη), whence the denominative אָבוּס 'fattened,'

[1] A stricter law is alluded to in Dt. 2 6 28.

[2] Similarly, כְּנָרֶשׁ, the common-lands of a city (especially a Levitical one), in Nu. 35 2 'suburbs' [EV], is perhaps originally 'place of driving' (BDB); cp RVmg. 'pasture-lands.' Che. doubts the sense of 'driving' and proposes a fresh explanation, making the word practically syn. with שָׂדֶה 'field.' Hence the applied sense 'reserved land'—*i.e.*, belonging to the community or to the sanctuary. See *JQR*, July 1898, p. 566.

[3] גְּדֵרָה wall, like the Ar. *ǵadīratun*, denotes the fold. Here may be added חָצֵר, which may originally have meant a 'cattle-yard': cp BDB, *s.v.*

[4] אֻרְוָה (cp BDB, *s.v.*) 'stall' is used generally for horses, but also for other animals; cp 2 Ch. 32 28.

applied to oxen (Prov. 15 17; and also birds 1 K. 4 23 [5 3]). To eat the 'stalled ox' (which was looked upon as a luxury; cp Prov. 15 17) is termed a reproach by Amos (Am. 6 4)—himself once a herdsman

Apart from the ordinary herbage (עֵשֶׂב, Nu. 22 4 עֵשֶׂב), cattle had special food (כַּסְפִּיא), which was either chopped straw (תֶּבֶן) or 'mixed fodder' (בְּלִיל;[1] cp Job 6 5) made more palatable by the addition of salt, or a salt herb (בְּלִיל חָמִיץ, Is. 30 24).

6. Shepherds, etc. From the references in the OT we are able to gain a fairly clear idea as to the duties and customs of those who had charge over cattle.

The usual word to denote such an occupation is רֹעֶה (or רֹעֵה מִקְנֶה or צֹאן; less frequently נֹצֵר שָׁמַר, and נֹקֵד (for the last see SHEEP). By far the greater number of references deal, as we should naturally expect, with the tending of sheep and goats, and the specific word for a 'cattle-man' (בָּקָר) occurs only once (Amos 7 14).

The shepherd, clad in a simple garment (Jer. 43 12) like the mod. Ar. *burnus*, goes forth at the head of his flock (עֵדֶר; cp Jn. 10 4), all of which know his voice and respond to the name he gives them (*ib. v.* 3). He takes with him his shepherd's bag (כְּלֵי רֹעִים, 1 S. 17 40) or wallet (יַלְקוּט, *ib.*, EV SCRIP), staff (מַקֵּל, see esp. Gen. 32 10 [11]; and cp מִשְׁעֶנֶת שֵׁבֶט, Ps. 23 4), and, as a means of defence, a sling (קֶלַע, 1 S. 17 40). He 'gently leads' his flocks (יָנֵהל, Is. 40 11 Ps. 23 2) to the best pastures, where he makes them lie down by streams (Ps. 23 2);[2] though it must be admitted that the reading in Ps. 23 *ab* is uncertain (see Che. *Ps.*[2]). The dangers from wild beasts[3] (*e.g.*, Lions, Is. 31 4 1 S. 17 34) and nomadic marauders (Job 1 14 17) were very real. No doubt there was the solace of the pastoral reed[4] (see Judg. 5 16, and cp Job 21 12 1 S. 16 18), and later writers speak of the sheep-dog (Job 30 1 Is. 56 10 *f.*, see DOG, § 1), well known to the Assyrians. By night the shepherd had to keep watch in the open air (Lk. 2 8, cp Nah. 3 18); but sometimes a temporary shelter was made (Ass. *tarbaṣu* = רֶבֶץ and *maṣallû* are so explained), whence 'shepherd's tent' (אֹהֶל רֹעִי, Is. 38 12; cp מִשְׁכְּנוֹת הָרֹעִים, Cant. 1 8) becomes the type of an uncertain dwelling-place.[5] In other cases towers were built for the shepherds (cp Gen. 35 21, and see 2 Ch. 26 10); traces of them are to be found at the present day. The 'duars' in the Sinaitic peninsula consist of stone towers put together without mortar, and bear a striking resemblance to the 'Talayōt' of the Balearic Isles, and to the beehive-shaped houses of Scotland. They are enclosed by low walls of massive rough stones, and are occupied by cattle (cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 352 *f.*; see also Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 13). The sheepfolds also, as their name implies, were surrounded by walls (cp Jn. 10 1).

When the shepherd returned to his master the sheep were carefully counted by being made to pass under the staff (cp Lev. 27 32 Jer. 33 13 Ezek. 20 37)—a representation of the shepherd 'telling his tale' is not infrequent on Egyptian monuments. As for wages, it may be doubted whether the practice described in Gen. 30 28 *ff.* was usual: possibly the usual reward was the milk of the flocks (see 1 Cor. 9 7—cp, on the other hand, Zech. 11 13, which speaks of a money payment).

[1] From בלל 'to pour out'; or, 'to pour over' (so Ass. *balālu*); hence 'to mix.' Cp Lat. *farrago*, and see ANOINTING, § 1. The denominative occurs in Judg. 19 21.

[2] Frd. Del. makes ינהלני = ירבצני, *na'ālu* (= נהל) in Ass. being a syn. of *rabāṣu* 'to lie down.' But see Franz Del.'s note.

[3] Similarly in Assyria: cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 767 *f.*

[4] Cp the illustration from Assyria, Maspero, *l.c.* The shepherd seated plays upon a reed to the delight of his dog.

[5] At the present day a sheep-pen is made of boughs. It is called *hazīra* (see HAZOR), and the trail of boughs in the sandy desert is always a sign of the nomad *manzil* (encampment); cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 220 *f.*

7. Status. The status of the shepherd varies according to the society in which he lives. Among primitive pastoral peoples the sheikh himself, or even his daughters, tend the flocks (cp Gen. 29 9 Ex. 2 16 - *Il.* 6 420), as is the case at the present day in various parts of the Sinaitic peninsula (see Kn.-Di. *Ex.*, *ad loc.*). The early kings of Israel owned large flocks, and the post of chief shepherd (cp שַׂר מִקְנֶה, Gen. 47 6, also 1 Ch. 27 29 1 Pet. 5 4, ἀρχιποίμην, and *magister virgii pecoris*, Liv. 1 4) was important and full of dignity. Hence the designation 'shepherd' (רֹעֶה) was a noble one and was used of the kings of Israel (Jer. 23 4, cp רעה 'to rule' 2 S. 5 2) as well as of those of Assyria, and becomes the origin of the beautiful NT phrase 'the good shepherd.' Perhaps it is inevitable that the adoption of a more settled mode of life should be unfavourable to the repute of the shepherd. To the Egyptians, for more than one reason, shepherds were an 'abomination' (Gen. 46 34: cp ABOMINATION, 4); 'Asiatic' (*i.e.*, barbarian) and 'shepherd' were to them synonymous terms (see EGYPT, § 31). Similarly in Palestine, as the Jews advanced in prosperity, the prestige of the shepherd's calling diminished. In Rabbinical times a shepherd was precluded from bearing witness, because one who must have fed his flocks upon the pastures of others would naturally be dishonest (cp *Sanh.* 25 2, Jos., *Ant.* xvii. 10 7).

Besides the use to which cattle were put in ploughing and threshing (see AGRICULTURE, § 8), they were also

8. Use of cattle. used as draught animals (cp 1 S. 6 7 *ff.*). Their MILK (*q.v.*) formed one of the main articles of diet, and their skins were used for clothing (see LEATHER, WOOL). Pastoral life probably meant usually a diet of milk and game; and the use of cattle for food was somewhat restricted (see *Rel. Sem.*[2] 296 *f.*). The young animal was, however, preferred and considered a special dainty. At the present day, it is said, the sheep is eaten only at festivals, and goat-flesh is not used as food save by the very poor. In sacrifices cattle were frequently used, and huge hecatombs are mentioned in connection with the temple services[1] (cp 1 K. 8 63 2 Ch. 5 6 7 5 29 33 etc.).

Cattle, being almost the only property of nomads, become, among primitive people, a medium of exchange. When the first coins were made in Greece, this was commemorated by stamping the head of an ox upon the ingot. Cattle and wealth are, therefore, almost synonymous terms.

Cp סְגֻלָּה 'possession and Ass. *sugullatu* 'herd'; מִקְנָה 'cattle,' and מִקְנֶה; נְכָסִים and Syr. ܢܟܣܐ; ܡܪܟܒܬܐ orig. an animal for riding (Nestle, *ZDMG* 33, 707 [79]; *pecus* and *pecunia*; κτῆνος and κτῆμα).

9. Treatment of cattle. The earliest legislation (Ex. 20-23) was intended for a people who, having advanced beyond the pastoral stage, were occupied chiefly in agriculture. The prominence given to the ox, the sheep, and the ass is as noticeable as the absence of all reference to the horse and the camel. Remarkable also is the humanity which characterises these regulations. Cattle are not to be muzzled (חָסַם, cp עִקֵּם) while threshing (Dt. 25 4)—a law which holds good to the present day (cp Dr. *ad loc.*), and was in vogue in Egypt, where one sees representations of an ox and an ass threshing unmuzzled (cp Erm. *Eg.* 432, and see AGRICULTURE, § 8). According to another enactment, oxen were not to work upon the sabbath (Ex. 23 12). Notwithstanding the strictness of the sabbath, it was customary to water the cattle on that day (Lk. 13 15). Other laws respecting cattle-stealing and damages caused by oxen are given in Ex. 21 28 *ff.*; cp *ib.* 22 10 [9] *ff.* The law dealing with the case in which a beast entrusted to one's care has been maimed or torn (Ex. 22 10 [9] *ff.*) provides that the pro-

[1] טֶבַח, properly 'slaughterer (of cattle),' is applied to a cook and, strangely, to a member of the royal body-guard. See EXECUTIONER, and cp *OTJC*[2] 262, n. 1.

duction of the maimed part is to suffice as a guarantee of good faith and that no restitution is to be required (see DEPOSIT). It was, therefore, to the advantage of the shepherd to be able to produce a leg or a piece of an ear as a proof (cp Am. 3 12). Jacob, however, declares to Laban that instead of producing 'that which was torn of beasts' (טְרֵפָה) he has made good the loss himself (Gen. 31 10).

10. Reverence for cattle.

The early Semites, like other pastoral peoples, paid great reverence to cattle, their kinship with whom they long continued to recognise. This gives additional point to Nathan's parable: the ewe lamb was, to a poor man who nourished it, more nearly a daughter[1] than it could be in later times. No doubt the special veneration for cattle was connected with the idea that man owes his food in large measure to them (cp WRS *l.c.*).

A full treatment of this subject would lead us too far. Nor can we consider here the Israelitish form of the legend of the 'Golden Age' (cp Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109 *ff.*), and the contrast between J's description of the peace between man and the lower animals (cp Is. 11 6 *f.*) and P's representations of man as their lord and master. The worship of the domestic animals is another subject which invites attention. The most ancient evidence for it is supplied by the Babylonian zodiacal mythology.[2] In Egypt, too, the worship of sacred animals takes us back to an incalculable antiquity. Witness, for example, the bull-worship of Memphis and other cities (see EGYPT, § 14), which has been connected with Israelitish idolatry. Notice, too, the worship of the cow Ha'thor, the 'lady of heaven,' which reminds us of the cow-headed Ashtoreth of Sidon. See further CALF, GOLDEN; ASHTORETH; AZAZEL; CLEAN, § 17.[3]

A. E. S. —> A. C.

CAUDA (καυδα [Ti. WH]). Acts 27 16. See CLAUDA.

CAUL (properly a close-fitting cap or net-work), as applied to an article of dress, occurs as the EV rendering of שְׁבִיסִים Is. 3 18 (mg. 'networks,' as though = שְׁבָיִן; 𝔊 ἐπιπλοκιά). To complete the parallelism of the verse, we should read, with Schroeder and others, שְׁמִיסִים, 'little suns'; see NECKLACE, n.

In its anatomical sense, 'caul' in Hos. 13 8 ([יֹתֶרֶת] סְגוֹר לְבָבָם; συγκλεισμὸς καρδίας) apparently refers to the pericardium. It is used similarly in Ex. 29 13 Lev. 3 4 10 15 etc. to render יוֹתֶרֶת (lit. 'excess'; 𝔊 λοβός), an uncertain expression which has occasioned difficulty from the earliest times. It denotes probably 'the fatty mass at the opening of the liver which reaches to the kidneys, and becomes visible upon the removal of the "lesser omentum," or membrane extending from the fissures of the liver to the curve of the stomach' (Dr. *Lev. SBOT*, ET). On the Vss., and various interpretations, cp Di.-Rys. on Lev. 3 3;[4] and, on the probable reason of the choice of this particular part of the body for offerings, see LIVER.

CAVES (מְעָרָה, *mĕ'ārāh*; σπήλαιον; *spelunca*). The limestone strata of Syria and Palestine readily lend themselves to the formation of caves and ravines. The springs issuing from limestone rock generally contain carbonate of lime, and most of them yield a large quantity of free carbonic acid upon exposure to the air. To the erosive effect of water charged with this acid, combined with the mechanical action of the sand and stones carried along by the currents, the formation of caves and ravines in such rocks is chiefly to be ascribed.

[1] Cp the Egyptian paintings which represent men talking to cattle, and decking them with fringes.

[2] On the 'Bull' of the Zodiac, which is the Bab. Gud-an-na (equivalent to our Taurus, or else to Aldebaran), s.e Jensen, *Kosmol.* 62 *ff.*

[3] J. U. Dürst's *Die Rinder v. Bab. Iss. u. Äg.* (Berlin, '00) a contribution to the history of domestic cattle—appeared after the present article was in type.

[4] The old view that *yōtheret* was the greater lobe of the lung has nothing in its favour.

What are now ravines have in many cases originally been subterranean watercourses, which have been unroofed by the degradation of the rock. Some of the Syrian caverns are of great size; Strabo, for example (756), speaks of the σπήλαια βαθύστομα of Ituræa, and mentions one capable of holding 4000 men. Books of travel, from William of Tyre and Quaresmius onwards, abound with references to such caves and the local traditions respecting them (Tavernier, Maundrell, Shaw, Robinson). Those of Palestine are frequently mentioned in the Bible as places of refuge and shelter for the terror-stricken (Is. 2 19 Rev. 6 15 cp Zech. 14 5), the outlawed (David), the oppressed and the persecuted (Judg. 6 2 1 S. 13 6 1 K. 18 4 13 19 9 13 Ezek. 33 27 2 Macc. 6 11 Heb. 11 38), and the criminal (Jer. 7 11 Mk. 11 17 and ||) and as places of sepulture (Gen. 23 11 Jn. 11 38). Whether the word Horite[1] means 'cave-dwellers' has been questioned; yet that in many parts of Palestine the earlier inhabitants continued to use caves not only as storehouses but also as dwelling-places cannot be doubted. Of their connection with worship in pre-Christian times there is little or no direct evidence. Still, it appears safe to hold 'that the oldest Phœnician temples were natural or artificial grottoes, and that the sacred as well as the profane monuments of Phœnicia, with their marked preference for monolithic forms, point to the rock-hewn cavern as the original type that dominated the architecture of the region' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 107), and it is probable that the Greek μέγαρον was borrowed from the Phœnician מְעָרָה (*ib.* 200). The association of so many of the Christian sacred sites in Palestine (*e.g.*, Birth of Mary, Annunciation, Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, Birth of the Baptist, Transfiguration and Agony of Christ, Repentance of Peter) with grottoes is the arbitrary invention of legend-mongers. See, further, MAARATH, MEARAH, HEBRON (Machpelah), MAKKEDAH, ETAM, ELEUTHEROPOLIS; also ADULLAM (where it is shown that 'cave' ought to be read 'hold'), and (on the grotto of the Nativity) BETHLEHEM, § 4.

CEDAR (אֶרֶז; κέδρος [BAL]), *Cedrus Libani* Loud., bears in Heb. a name which is found also in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and is probably derived from a root signifying 'to be firm' or 'well-rooted,' to which another derivative might be the אֲרָזִים[2] of Ezek. 27 24. It appears that Aram. *'arzā* and Ar. *'arz*, Gr. κέδρος,[3] may denote not only the cedar, but also the juniper (*Juniperus Oxycedrus*), and, possibly, pines of various sorts.[4] It may be, then, that אֶרֶז is not to be strictly confined to *Cedrus Libani*;[5] but it is highly probable that this tree, which has been associated with Lebanon from early times, is the one *usually* intended,[6] and in such a passage as Is. 41 19 the cedar is expressly distinguished from other conifers. OT writers employ the cedar as a type of beauty (Nu. 24 6), majesty (2 K. 14 9), strength (Ps. 29 5), and loftiness (2 K. 19 23). The wood, which was much more precious than that of common trees like the sycamore (1 K. 10 27), was largely used in the construction of great buildings like the temple (see also ALTAR, § 8) and Solomon's palace; cedar

[1] Cp חור in Job 30 6 1 S. 14 11. See HORITE.

[2] Best translated 'durable'; certainly not (as EV) 'made of cedar-wood.' [But the text is in disorder.]

[3] On this see the Index to Schneider's *Theophrastus*, s.v. κέδρος.

[4] So in modern times we are told of el-'Arz—'in the mouth of uneducated Syrians it designates one of the pines, *P. halepensis*, which grows in great numbers on the mountains' (*Journ. Linn. Soc.* 15 247).

[5] Löw (57) says, 'אֶרֶז seems to have denoted both the cedar and the *Juniperus Oxycedrus*, L.' According to the same authority, Aram. *arzā* denotes first *Pinus cedrus*, then all conifers.

[6] Hooker, however, regards it as 'an open question whether the *C. Libani* is one of those which supplied most of the timber employed in building Solomon's temple' (*Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1862, p. 14), and there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the wood used for purification (Lev. 14 Num. 19) was the juniper.

beams were most highly esteemed for covering interiors (Cant. 1 17 Jer. 22 14). The use made of this wood in the ceremony of cleansing the leper (Lev 14 4 *f*) or the person rendered unclean by contact with a dead body (Nu. 19 6), seems to be due to the esteem in which it was held for durability and incorruptibility (see Di. on Lev. 14, Nowack, *HA* 2 289). See CLEAN, § 16 *f*.

Of the existing cedars of Lebanon the first accurate account was that given by Sir J. D. Hooker in *Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1862, pp. 11-18. The group which he visited was that in the Kadisha valley, N. of Beirût, near the summit of Lebanon (Dahr el Kodib). He found there about 400 trees disposed in nine groups — the trees varying from about 18 inches to upwards of 50 feet in girth.

Another interesting account is that of Dr. Leo Anderlind, who visited them in 1884.[1] He speaks of three groups - one at Baruk, a second 4 m. ESE. of Bsherre, and the third 18[1] m. N. of that place It is the second of these, the same that Hooker visited, which he particularly describes. The greatest height of any of the trees, he says, is about 82 ft.; but the majority are between 46 and 72 ft. The oldest of them were the strongest trees he had ever seen.

According to Tristram (*VHB* 344), 'at least nine distinct localities are now ascertained.'

[According to Dr. Post (Hastings' *DB* 2 364), it is uncertain what tree is meant by *'ēreʿēm* in Nu. 24 6. He remarks that 'the cedar of Lebanon does not grow in moist places,' but 'seeks the dry sloping mountain side, where nothing but the moisture in the clefts of the rocks nourishes it.' He concludes, therefore, that 'unless we suppose that the location of the *'ēreʿēm* is poetic licence, we must suppose some water-loving tree to be intended in this passage.' It was well to bring forward this difficulty, which is overlooked by Di. The remedy lies close at hand. Usage requires that the 'cedars' should be described as the trees which Yahwe planted. We have to read in *a* כארזים 'like cedars' and in *b* probably כערבים 'like poplars' (Che. *Exp. T.* 10 401 *b* [June '99]).]

N. M. — W. T. T.-D.

CEDRON (κεδρων [ANV]), 1 Macc. 15 39 41 AV. See GEDERAH, 1.

CEDRON (του κεδρου [Ti.], των κεδρων [WH] Jn. 18 1, RV KIDRON.

CEILAN, RV KILAN (κ[ε]ιλαν [BA, om. L]). The sons of Ceilan and Azetas are a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*) 1 Esd. 5 15, not mentioned in ‖ Ezra (2 16) or Neh. (7 21).

CEILING, in modern house-architecture, means the covering of a room which hides the joists of the floor above, or the rafters of the roof. Down to the seventeenth century, however, the word was applied also to the inner lining of the walls of a room, and in modern shipbuilding it still denotes the inside planking of a ship's bottom (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). The Hebrew words (see below) rendered 'ceil,' 'ceiling,' in EV are to be taken in this more extended sense. See further, CHAMBER, HOUSE, TEMPLE.

1. סִפּוּן, *sippūn*, 1 K. 6 15 (δοκός); cp סְפִינָה, *sĕphīnāh*, Jon. 1 5 (the 'sides' or 'innermost parts' of the ship). The verb is used in 1 K. 6 9 7 3 Jer. 22 14 Hag 1 4.

2. In 2 Ch. 3 5 תקה עצי ברושים means 'he covered' (or panelled) [the greater house] 'with fir.'

3. שְׂרִיג, *śārīgh*, Ezek. 41 16†, a word otherwise unknown. C. proposes to emend שריח עין to תפוי עין; see 2 Ch. 3 5 as above, and cp the אצפי of Nu. 17 3 *f*. [16 38 *f*]; a 'covering' of the altar].

CELLS (חֲנִיּוֹת), Jer. 37 16 AVmg. RV, AV 'cabins.'[2] a questionable rendering of a Hebrew word which is probably corrupt. The words 'and into the cells' are quite unnecessary after 'into the dungeon house' (אל־בית הבור), and may be a gloss. See PRISON.

AVmg. RV (cp συγκλεισμός [Qmg.]) is a guess. In late Heb., Syr., etc. (א)חניתא denotes 'shop' (cp ἐργαστήρια [Aq.], *ergastēriam*) or 'tavern.' Moreover the form is difficult (Bevan, *Dan.* 30, n. 1). Θ's χερεθ (BAQ, χα. [א], *al.* χη.) points to the

[1] Published in the *Allgem. Forst- u. Jagd-Zeitung*, at the end of 1885, and also in the *ZDPV* 10 69 *ff*.

[2] 'Cabins' in the sense of 'cell' is now quite obsolete.

reading חלי. Cheyne suggests reading תחתיות 'the lowest part (of the pit)': cp Ps. 88 7 Lam. 3 55.

CELOSYRIA (κοιλη συρια [BAL]). 1 Esd. 2 17, RV CŒLESYRIA.

CENCHREA, or rather RV, CENCHREÆ (κεγχρεαι [Ti. WH]). A town and harbour on the Saronic gulf, now marked by the village of *Kichries*. It served as the eastern port of Corinth, which lay about seven miles (Str. 380, says 70 stadia) to the west, just as Lechæum was the port for the Peiræan trade. Strabo calls Cenchreæ a village (κώμη), which indicates its subordination to Corinth; it was, in fact, merely a landing-place for goods and passengers.

About 4 m. to the north, at Schoinos (modern *Kalamaki*), was the δίολκος or tramway upon which vessels of small tonnage made the passage from the one station to the other (τὸ στεῖωμα τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ: Str. 378; cp Thuc. 8 7; Pol. 4 19; Dio Cass. 51 5). The project of constructing a ship canal cut through the Isthmus was very ancient. The scheme was entertained in turn by Periander, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Julius Cæsar, Caligula, Nero, and Herodes Atticus. Nero actually began the work in 67 A.D., about the time of Paul's final visit to Corinth. Vespasian sent him six thousand Jewish prisoners from Galilee (Jos. *BJ* iii. 10 10). Traces of this cutting were to be seen on the line which has been adopted by the modern engineers who have brought this χρόνου μεγα ἀγώνισμα to completion (1881-1893).

Half a mile to the SW. of the Saronic entrance to the canal are the remains of the Isthmian sanctuaries and Stadium which furnished Paul with the imagery of 1 Cor. 9 24-27.

The pines from which were cut the victors' garlands are mentioned by Strabo (380) and Pausanias (ii. 1 7). The road to Corinth led through groves of pine and cypress and was bordered with tombs - among them that of the Cynic Diogenes and the courtezan Lais (Paus. ii. 2 4). Coins of Antoninus Pius give a representation of the harbour of Cenchreæ flanked on either side by a temple, and containing a standing bronze colossus of Poseidon (Paus. ii. 2 3) and three ships. Coins of Hadrian show the two harbours, Lechæum and Cenchreæ, as nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a mudar, inscribed LECH., CENCH.

It was from Cenchreæ that Paul sailed at the close of his first visit to Achaia (Acts 18 18 cp 20 3). The voyage between Greece and Asia took a fortnight in Cicero's case (*Ep. ad Att.* 5 13 6 9); but he sailed slowly (cp Thuc. 3 3). Phœbe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchreæ, 'carried under the folds of her robe the whole future of Christian theology' (Renan, *Saint Paul*, 210), for to her, on the eve of her departure to Italy on her private affairs, Paul entrusted his letter to the church at Rome (Rom. 16 1 2).[1] See Frazer, *Pausanias*, 3 7 *f*. Good map of the Isthmus in Baedeker's *Greece*, ET, 229.

W. J. W.

CENDEBEUS, RV **Cendebæus** (κενδεβαιος [ANV]; but κενδεβεος [A once], δεβαιος [NV once], and δαιβεος [N once]), the general left by Antiochus VII. in command of the sea-coast, who 'provoked the people of Jamnia,' and also fortified Kidron for the purpose of invading Judæa. He and his army were put to flight, near Modin, by Judas and John, the two sons of Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 15 38-16 10). According to Zockler, he is the *Cendâ* of the Arabian legends, a N. Ar. prince hostile to the Jews (cp Blau, *ZDMG* 25 577). Schürer (*GVI* 1, § 7, n. 31), however, derives Cendebeus (as also κανδιβαῖος) from the Lycian town κάνδυβα.

CENSER, the utensil used for offering INCENSE.

In EV it represents 1. מַקְטֶרֶת the vessel for offering קְטֹרֶת 'incense' with; Ezek. 8 11, 2 Ch. 26 19 (Θ θυμιατήριον, which is found once in NT—Heb. 9 4 [RVmg. 'altar of incense']). From the same root is derived מִקְטָרוֹת, 2 Ch. 30 14, 'altars [RVmg. vessels] for incense.' Cp INCENSE, § 1.

2. מַחְתָּה (√ snatch up; πυρ[ε]κον) Lev. 10 1 16 12 Nu. 16 6 *ff*. 17 2 *ff*. EV, but AV alone in Nu. 4 14 (πυρειον) 1 K. 7 50 (AV 'ash pan'; θυίσκη) 2 Ch. 4 22 (θυισκη and πυρεῖον). In these passages RV gives 'firepans,' and both AV and RV in Ex. 27 3

[1] [Unless it be held that Rom. 16 1-20 is a letter of introduction given to Phœbe by Paul for the Church at Ephesus. So Jülicher, *Einl. in das NT*, 73 (cp COLOSSIANS, § 4); McGiffert, *Chr. in Ap. Age*, 275. Cp, however, ROMANS, §§ 1, 10.]

38 3, 2 K. 25 15 and Jer. 52 19 (where AVmg. 'censers'). The rendering 'snuffdishes' occurs in Ex. 25 38 37 23, Nu. 4 9 (see CANDLESTICK, § 2). ⊕ generally πυρείον which recurs in Ecclus. 50 9 (EV 'censer'). See INCENSE, § 4.

3. Λιβανωτός (Rev. 8 3 5) etymologically 'frankincense' : cp הלבונה in 1 Ch. 9 29 (⊕ Λιβανωτός : here only, but once in A and cp 3 Macc. 5 2).

CENTURION (ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗϹ [Ti.] -ΟϹ [WH]), Mt. 8 5. See ARMY, § 10.

CEPHAS (ΚΗΦΑϹ [Ti. WH], Aram. כֵּיפָא 'a rock,' cp Ass. *Kâpu*, and Heb. כֵּפִים, Jer. 4 29 Job 30 6 ; see Lag. *Übers.* 58). See PETER.

CERAS (ΚΗΡΑϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 29. See KEROS.

CETAB, RV KETAB (ΚΗΤΑΒ [BA ; om. L]). The b'ne Cetab are a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) 1 Esd. 5 30, not mentioned in Ezra (2 46) or Neh. (7 48).

CHABRIS (ΧΑΒΡΕΙϹ [BℵA] ; in Judith 8 10 χαβρειν [Bℵ], χαβρειμ [A] ; in 10 6 χαβρειν [BℵA]), son of Gothoniel, and one of the rulers of Bethulia. (Judith 6 15 8 10 10 6.)

CHADIASAI (AV they of **Chadias**) and AMMIDIOI (AV AMMIDOI), two clans in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 c). 1 Esd. 5 29† ΧΑΔΙΑϹΑΙ [B], ΧΑΔ-ΑϹΑΙ [Avid] ; ΑΜΜΙΔΙΟΙ [B], -ΔΙΟΙ [A] [L om.]), where they occur after the Men of Beeroth (1 Esd. 5 19 = Ezra 5 25 = Neh. 7 29). The names may be identified (though not with confidence) with KEDESH [1] (Josh. 15 23), or perhaps Hadashah (*ib. v.* 37) and HUMTAH (*ib. v.* 54).

CHÆREAS (ΧΑΙΡΕΑϹ [A]), 2 Macc. 10 32 37, AV CHEREAS.

CHAFF (מֹץ etc.). See AGRICULTURE, §§ 9, 15.

CHAINS is the word used in EV in translating Hebrew terms which signify (1) ornaments and insignia, and (2) means of confinement and punishment. Though chains were no doubt well known to the early Semites, it is chiefly the latter variety that we find depicted upon the monuments ; actual remains, moreover, have been found in excavating (Place, *Ninive*, iii. pl. 70). Chains for confinement consisted of rings around each foot joined together by a single link ; the arms were similarly treated (see Botta, *Monuments de Ninive*, i. pl. 82).

1. Chains were worn as article of adornment upon the foot (אֲצָדָה, see ANKLETS, BRACELET, 5) arm (שֶׁרֶה, see BRACELET, 4), and neck (חֲרוּזִים, עָנָק, see NECKLACE). For chains such as were worn by Joseph and Daniel, as expressive of rank (רְבִיד, and Bibl.-Aram. הַמְנִיכָא), see NECKLACE. To denote some kind of architectural ornamentation we find רְהוֹקוֹת, 1 K. 6 21 (Kr. 'רְתֻקוֹת ; Ezek. 7 23, doubtful), and שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת, 1 K. 7 17 2 Ch. 3 16 (cp 2 Ch. 3 5), see PILLAR, TEMPLE. Of these Heb. words the former is used in Is. 40 19 (רְתֻקוֹת, text doubtful) of the chains fastening an idol, the latter denotes the chain worn upon the high-priest's ephod (שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת, Ex. 28 22, שַׁרְשֹׁת, 39 15 ; κρόσσος [BAF], κρωσσ. [L] ; also Ex. 28 14 κροσ[σ]ωτός [BAFL]) ; see BREASTPLATE, ii., EPHOD, OUCHES. For chain-armour see BREASTPLATE, i.

2. As a means of confinement, ropes or cords were perhaps more commonly employed. For chains the general term is אֲזִקִּים Nah. 3 10, etc., or, with closer reference to the material, כְּבָלִי בַרְזֶל, 'fetters of iron' (Ps. 149 8)—both, in parallelism, in Ps. 105 18. Other terms are צִנּוֹר (COLLAR, 3) and נְחֹשֶׁת, 'brass' (Lam. 3 7) The use of the latter in the dual (נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם, Judg. 16 21 2 S. 3 34, etc.) does not necessarily imply the binding of both hands and feet by these bronze fetters. The Greek words are δεσμός (Jude 6), σειρά (2 Pet. 2 4), πέδη and ἅλυσις (in parallelism, Mk. 5 4 Lk. 8 29) ; the last-mentioned term is used in Acts 12 6, where the Roman custom of chaining a prisoner to two warders is exemplified. See PRISON.

CHALCEDONY. What the ancients understood by the word is uncertain. 1. It is met with only once in the Bible (Rev. 21 19 : ΧΑΛΚΕΔΩΝ [Ti.], ΧΑΛΚΗΔΩΝ [WH] ; others, ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ ; *calchonius*). In modern mineralogy chalcedony is a variety of amorphous quartz 'semi-transparent or translucent ; white, gray, blue green, yellow, or brown ; stalactitic, reniform, botryoidal, and in pseudomorphs or petrifactions' (*Ency. Brit.*[9] 16 389). The word chalcedony is usually applied to the white or gray variety, the brown chalcedony being known as the sard (SARDIUS), the red as the carnelian (see SARDIUS). The chalcedony also occurs in stratified forms ; when white layers alternate with black it is called onyx (see ONYX). When the white alternate with others of red or brown colour it is called sardonyx (see SARDONYX). Pliny, who lived not far from the time when the Apocalypse took shape, does not speak of the chalcedony as a distinct stone, but only of 'Calchedonii [or 'carched.'] smaragdi' as an inferior kind of emerald, mentioning that the mountain in Chalcedon where these stones were gathered was in his day known by the name of 'Smaragdites'[1] (*H.N.* 37 72-73). Symmachus, on the other hand (*circa* 200 A.D.), gives καρχηδόνιον for פְּנִינִים in Is. 54 12 (AV 'agates,' RV 'rubies'). This rendering suggests an original כרכד (cp the reading χορχορ [BQ], κορχορος [A]) for כַּדְכֹד in Ezek. 27 16 (AV 'agate,' mg. 'chrysoprase,' RV 'rubies'). See PRECIOUS STONES, RUBIES.

2. Chalcedony (*karkedmâ*) is the usual Pesh. rendering of שֹׁהַם, *šôhâm* (ἀχάτης, *achates*, 'agate' of Ex. 28 19 39 12). Notwithstanding the reference in Ezek. 27 22 to the precious stones imported from Sheba[2] we can hardly connect the stone שֹׁהַם with the country called Sheba. As Fried. Del. points out (*Heb. Lang.* 36) it is the Assyr. *šubu*—i.e., the shining or precious stone (*abnu nâqu* or *akru*), κατ' ἐξοχήν. This stone occurs among others in a list of stones enchased in gold for the royal breastplate. On Delitzsch's suggested identification with the diamond (*Prol.* 84 ff.)[3] or the topaz (*Heb. Lang.* 36) cp what is said under PRECIOUS STONES, DIAMOND, TOPAZ. Tradition is in favour of the rendering 'agate.'

Agate, so named, according to Theophrastus, from the river Achates, in Sicily, is one of the numerous modifications of form under which silica presents itself, almost in a state of purity, forming 98 per cent of the entire mineral. The silicious particles are not so arranged as to produce the transparency of rock crystal, but a semi-pellucid, sometimes almost opaque substance, with a resinous or waxy fracture ; and the various shades of colour arise from minute quantities of iron. The same stone sometimes contains parts of different degrees of translucency, and of various shades of colour ; and the endless combinations of these produces the beautiful and singular internal forms, from which, together with the high polish they are capable of receiving, agates acquire their value as precious stones. Agates are usually found in detached rounded nodules in that variety of trap rock called amygdaloid or mandelstein, and occasionally in other rocks. The varieties of the agate are numerous, and are now, as in the time of Pliny, arranged according to the colour of their ground.

3. It is not apparent why RVmg. should suggest 'chalcedony' for תַּרְשִׁישׁ in Ex. 28 20 (EV 'beryl'). See TARSHISH, STONE OF.

W. R.

CHALCOL (ΧΑΛΧΑΛ [A], ΧΑΛΚΑΛ [L]), 1 K. 4 31 [5 11], RV CALCOL.

CHALDEA, CHALDÆAN, CHALDEAN (כַּשְׂדִּים, ΧΑΛΔΑΙΟΙ [BℵAFQL], Ass. *Kaldu*), is used in Gen. 11 28

1. The Kaldu. Jer. 24 5 25 12 50 10 51 24, and often as an equivalent for Babylonia. The land of the Kaldū proper lay SE. of Babylonia proper, on the sea coast as it then was. Its true capital was Bit

[1] Cp λιθὸς σμαραγδίτης of Esth. 16 ⊕ and see MARBLE.

[2] Theophrastus (*Lap.* 34) tells us that the best precious stones came from Psepho (ἐκ τῆς ψεφω καλουμένης χώρας). This is probably the same as the Psebo of Strabo (822) a lake and island S. of Meroe (mod. Tsana or Tana) near the head of the Blue Nile (see Reclus, *Géogr. Univ.* 10 258 262).

[3] The difficulty of believing that the Israelites knew and perhaps even engraved the diamond is only [illegible]nised by Del., not removed (see ADAMANT, DIAMOND), though it is not so serious in the case of *Šôhâm* (mentioned only in P) as in that of *Yahlôm* (Exod. and in P).

Yakin; its usual name in the Assyrian inscriptions was mât Tamtim, the Sea-land. If Delitzsch (*Par.* 128, etc.) be correct in his derivation of the name from the Kassite people, the wider application to Babylonia may have been a legacy from the Kassite dynasty there. On the other hand, the Kassites (Del. calls them *Ḳâssaer*) had a language quite distinct from that of the Kaldû, who spoke Semitic. The Kaldû are carefully distinguished by Sennacherib both from the Arabs and from the Aramæans. Merodach-baladan, the usurper in Babylon during Sargon's reign, and the inveterate foe of Assyria till Sennacherib hunted him from Babylon to Bit-Yakin and thence to exile, was a Kaldû. There is no reason to think he had any right in Babylon; on the other hand, nothing shows him to have been more foreign than were the Assyrians. In fact, the Chaldeans not only furnished an early dynasty of Babylon, but also were incessantly pressing into Babylonia; and, despite their repeated defeats by Assyria, they gradually gained the upper hand there. The founder of the New-Babylonian kingdom, Nabopolassar (*circa* 626 B.C.), was a Chaldean, and from that time Chaldea meant Babylonia.

2. 'Chaldee,' etc. The use of the term Chaldee, introduced by Jerome to distinguish the language of certain chapters in Daniel and Ezra (לשׁן כשׂדים; Dan. 1 4), is incorrect. The only correct expression is Aramaic (see CHALDEA, § 2; DANIEL, § 12; ARAM, § 2; ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 1 *ff.*). Another peculiar usage must be mentioned. We find 'Chaldeans' used in Dan. as a name for a caste of wise men. As Chaldean meant Babylonian in the wider sense of a member of the dominant race in the times of the New Babylonian Empire, so after the Persian conquest it seems to have connoted the Babylonian literati and become a synonym of soothsayer or astrologer (see DANIEL, § 11). In this sense it passed into classical writers. Whether any association of sound with *kalû*, the specific name for magician in Assyrian, helped the change of meaning is difficult to decide. The modern so-called Chaldees have no racial claim to the name, and it is very questionable whether the traces of alleged Chaldean culture discovered at Telloh are correctly assigned to this people.

See Delattre, *Les Chaldéens*, Wi. *Untersu. Altor. Gesch.*, 47 *ff.*, and the Histories of Assyria and Babylonia; also *Beitr. zur Assyr.* 3 113.

C. H. W. J.

CHALPHI (χαλφει [VA]), 1 Macc. 11 70 RV, AV CALPHI.

CHAMBER. Of the structure of the chamber of the ancient Hebrew house we know but little; it would naturally depend upon the style of the rest of the building. In modern Syria, floor, wall, and ceiling are commonly made of beaten clay (cp טיח Ezek. 13 12), which is often coloured with ochre. Wood, nevertheless, is not rare. The CEILING, if of wood and flat, is of curious and complicated joinery; or, if vaulted, is wrought into many coves and enriched with fretwork in stucco; the walls (קיר) are adorned with arabesques, mosaics, and the like, which, set off by the whiteness of the stucco, present a brilliant effect. Enamelled inscriptions, specimens of the most intricate Arabic caligraphy, originally intended to keep off harmful *jinns*, surround the walls. On the number and arrangement of chambers, see HOUSE, 1.

Of the various Heb. words for 'chamber' חֶדֶר and עֲלִיָּה (cp ὑπερῷον) are used of rooms in private houses; see BED, § 1. חֻפָּה is used particularly of the nuptial chamber; see TENT, § 4. Other terms are used especially of rooms in a temple or palace. לִשְׁכָּה (1 Ch. 9 26 Jer. 35 2 4, etc.) or נִשְׁכָּה (Neh. 3 30 12 44 13 7), a room in the temple occupied by priests and temple-servants, also a room in the royal palace, Jer. 36 12 20; and (on.e) or a meal-chamber[1] in a *Bamah* (1 S. 9 22 AV 'parlour'); see HIGH-

[1] Or, 'feasting hall.' For another probable instance see 2 K. 10 22 emended text (see VESTRY). WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 254 n. suggests that λέσχη, club-room, is derived from לשׁ; but see Lewy, *Die semit. Fremdw. im Griech.*, 94.

PLACE, § 3. צֵלָע (1 K. 6 5 7; Ezek. 41 5 *ff.*) and מָקָן (1 K. 14 28 2 Ch. 12 11 Ezek. 40 7 *ff.*) are similarly used of temple chambers. In the case of two words the suggested rendering 'chamber' is certainly incorrect; יָצִיעַ (1 K. 6 5 AV) means properly a 'story,' as in RV (see TEMPLE), and בֵּית (Ezek. 16 24 31 39 RVmg. 'vaulted-chamber'), in parallelism with בָּמָה, refers evidently to some mound for illicit worship (RV better 'eminent place').

CHAMBERLAIN. In Esth. 1 10 12 etc., EV uses 'chamberlain' (for סָרִיס), perhaps as a more English-sounding title than EUNUCH (*q.v.*). On Jer. 51 59 (AVmg. 'chamberlain') see SERAIAH [4].

Blastus, in Acts 12 20, is a court officer in charge of the king's bedchamber (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως); but in Rom. 16 23 οἰκονόμος (AV 'chamberlain') is used in a wide sense (RV 'treasurer'); cp Lat. *arcarius*, and a gloss of Philox., ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης. The same title occurs in inscriptions (cp *Maron. Chron.* 88, ed. 1724, Νείλῳ οἰκονόμῳ Ἀσίας; see W. A. Wright in Smith's *DB*(2) s.v.).

CHAMBERS OF THE SOUTH (חַדְרֵי תֵימָן), Job 9 9, and probably 37 9 (emended text). See STARS, § 3 *e*, EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF, § 2 (1*a*).

CHAMELEON. 1. RV LAND-CROCODILE (כֵּח, etym. uncertain), one of the reptiles mentioned as unclean in Lev. 11 30. 𝔊 (χαμαιλεων [FL], χαμη. [BA]) and Vg. (*chamaeleon*) have the same rendering as AV; the Arabic version has *ḥardûn*, which means probably a species of land-crocodile. Bochart (*Hieroz.* 4 3) argues from the Hebrew name, which is the same as the word for 'strength,' that what is meant is the Arabic *waral*, the largest and most powerful sort of lizard. The Talmudic references, on the other hand, seem to point to a smaller animal; but they are too general to convey any definite information (Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 223 *f.*).

N. M.

2. AV MOLE (חֲנֹטֶבֶת) in the same verse. See LIZARD, 6.

CHAMOIS (זֶמֶר), derivation uncertain, cp *Levy*.; καμηλοπαρδαλις [BAFL], Dt. 14 5 †), a 'clean' animal, mentioned along with the fallow-deer (אַיָּל), the roebuck (צְבִי and יַחְמוּר), the wild goat (אַקּו), the addax (דִּישֹׁן), and the antelope (תֹּאו); see CLEAN, § 8. Many ancient interpreters (𝔊, Vg., Arab., Abulw., Kimḥi, etc.) thought that what was meant was the giraffe; but the home of the giraffe lies far away from Palestine. A more probable rendering is the רצא or 'wild goat' of the Targums, which suits the context better. The chamois (*Rupicapra tragus*) extends from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus, but is not known to have ever inhabited Palestine, whereas of mountain sheep and goats there have been found three kinds. Tristram and Post think that *zemer* may be the wild sheep (*Ovis tragelaphus*); but, though that sheep lives in Northern Africa, and an allied or identical species occurs in Arabia, it is doubtful whether it has lived in Palestine. See GOAT.

N. M.

CHAMPION. For 1 S. 17 4 23 EV (אִישׁ הַבֵּנַיִם) see GOLIATH, § 2. For 1 S. 17 51 EV (גִּבּוֹר) see WAR and cp GIANT, 3.

CHANAAN (χανααν) Acts 7 11 13 19 Judith 5 3 etc. AV, RV CANAAN; and **Chanaanite** (χαναναιος) Judith 5 16 AV, RV CANAANITE.

CHANCELLOR (בְּעֵל טְעַם), Ezra 4 8 *ff.* See REHUM, 5.

CHANNUNEUS, RV **Chanuneus** (χανουναιος [BA^{a1}]), 1 Esd. 8 48 = Ezra 8 19, MERARI, 3.

CHAPEL (מִקְדָּשׁ), Am. 7 13 AV, RV SANCTUARY (*q.v.*). Cp BETHEL, § 3, *n.* For 1 Macc. 1 47 2 Macc. 10 2 11 3 AV see SANCTUARY.

CHAPHENATHA (χαφεναθα [ℵAV]), 1 Macc. 21 37 RV, AV CAPHENATHA.

CHAPITER (*i.e.*, capitellum, 'capital': so Amer. RV).

(1) רֹאשׁ, *rōʾš*, of the heads of the pillars in P's account of the tabernacle (Ex. 36 38 38 17 19, ⊕ΒΑΡΛ κεφαλίς). See TABERNACLE.

(2) כֹּתֶרֶת, *kōthéreth* (√כָּתַר 'to surround,' whence כֶּתֶר 'crown') is used (*a*) of the crowning portion of Solomon's pillars JACHIN and BOAZ (1 K. 7 16-20, ἐπίθεμα [BAL]; 2 K. 25 17, χωθαρ [BA], ἐπίθεμα [L]; 2 Ch. 4 12 f., -ρωθ [BA], ρωθ [L]. Jer. 52 22, γείσος [BNAQ], λαλίδες [Q^mg]); see PILLAR: and (*b*) in the description of Solomon's 'bases' for the lavers (1 K. 7 31); but see LAVER.

(3) שֶׂפֶת, *śēpheth* (√שָׂפַת 'to overlay'), also of the crowning portion of Solomon's pillar (2 Ch. 3 15, ⊕BAL doubtful). See PILLAR.

(4) קַפְתֹּר, *kaphtōr* (deriv. uncertain) occurs with the same meaning, if we are to follow RV and AV^mg. (Amos 9 1, τὸ ἱλαστήριον [BQ^mg], θυσιαστήριον [AQ^t]; כּוֹבַח; Zeph. 2 14; τὰ φατνώματα [BNAQ^t]). But *kaphtōr* elsewhere has a different sense (see CANDLESTICK, § 2). Read perhaps מִזְרָקֶת (Che.)

CHAPLET, RV for לִוְיָה Prov. 1 9 4 9† (AV 'ornament'; ⊕ στεφανος). Wisdom is a chaplet, or wreath, or garland of grace, upon a man's brow. Chaplets or garlands of flowers were common in the second century B.C., at banquets (Wisd. Sol. 2 8 cp 3 Macc. 4 8): see MEALS, § 11. For the chaplets of bridegrooms, see CROWN. Of similar import are the στέμματα of Acts 14 13 (EV 'garlands'), the usual headgear of sacrificers to Zeus.

Some critics hold that there is a hendiadys in the passage and that the meaning is ταύρους ἐστεμμένους (garlanded oxen). Ornaments resembling crowns were placed on royal animals by the Assyrians (cp also Esth. 6 8 and see CROWN), and on victims for the altar. 'The very doors, the very victims and altars, the very servants and priests, are crowned' (Tertul. *De Cor.* x.).

CHARAATHALAR (χαρααθαλαρ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 36 = Ezra 2 59 = Neh. 7 61. See CHERUB (ii.).

CHARACA, RV CHARAX (ΤΟΝ ΧΑΡΑΚΑ [V.A], a town in Gilead, with a Jewish colony (2 Macc. 12 17, see TOB), described as 750 stadia from CASPHON (*q.v.*). The distance must be exaggerated. About 120 stadia NE. from Muzeirib appear el Hurāk and el Hureiyik.

G. A. S.

CHARASHIM, THE VALLEY OF, (*a*) 1 Ch. 4 14 (RV GE-HARASHIM), called in (*b*) Neh. 11 35 'the valley of craftsmen' (RV^mg. GE-HAHARASHIM). In (*a*) MT has גֵּיא חֲרָשִׁים; in (*b*) גֵּי הָרָשִׁים.[1] The fundamental rendering of ⊕ is γῆ αρασειμ, which assumes various distorted forms.[2] In 1 Ch. *l.c.* this valley is described as occupied by craftsmen (workers in wood, stone, or metal; cp EV^mg.), who traced their origin to Kenaz. The 'father' or founder of the family was Joab b. Seraiah. According to Kittel's analysis, however, the words 'father of the valley of craftsmen, for they were craftsmen,' are a later addition to an old record (Chron. in *SBOT*). If so, it becomes easier to admit that the name גיא חרשים must be corrupt. The statement of the Talmud (Jer., *Meg.* 1 1) that Lod and Ono were situated in the Geharashim is surely impossible. The 'plain of Ono' (Neh. 6 2) is the natural phrase. Most probably גי (*gē*) is a corrupt fragment of בני (*b'nē*), and the name originally meant, not 'valley of craftsmen,' but 'sons of sorcerers,'[3] *i.e.*, members of a guild of sorcerers. It was a spot connected by ancient tradition with Philistine sorcery (cp Is. 16 Mic. 7 13). Conder's identification, therefore (*PEFQ*, '78, p. 18) falls to the ground.

T. K. C.

CHARCHAMIS, 1 Esd. 1 25 AV and **CHARCHEMISH**, 2 Ch. 35 20 AV. See CARCHEMISH.

CHARCOAL (ανθρακια [Ti. WH]), Jn. 18 18 21 9 RV^mg. See COAL, § 3.

CHARCUS (βαρουϲ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 32 AV = Ezra 2 53, BARKOS.

[1] The pointing is exceptional; the 'effect of analogy' (König, i. 109)? Differently Olsh. 348. Rather corruption of the text.
[2] In 1 Ch. 4 14 αγεαδδαειρ [B], γῆς ρασειμ [A], φαρας [L]; in Neh. 11 35 γῆ αρασ[ε]ιμ [c.a mg. inf. L], om. BN^aA.
[3] In Is. 3 3 חרשים = 'charmers'; cp RV^mg.

CHAREA (χαρεα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 30 = Ezra 2 52, HARSHA.

CHARGER, a somewhat archaic expression denoting a 'platter' (which, indeed, takes its place in the Amer. Vs. of OT), is employed by the EV to render:—

(1) קְעָרָה, *ḳeʿārāh* (1 Ch. 7 13 19 and throughout the chapter [P]; ⊕ τραπέζιον as in Mt. 26 23 Mk. 14 20), the tabernacle offering given by the heads of the tribes, elsewhere rendered 'dish.' See MEALS, § 9.

(2) אַגְרְטָל, *ʾagartāl*; 'chargers of gold . . of silver,' enumerated among the temple vessels restored by Cyrus (Ezra 1 9, om B, ψυκτῆρες,—*i.e.*, wine-coolers [AL], *phiale* [Vg.]; ⊕ 1 Esd. 2 13, στοιβ[ε]ια [BAL]). *Ʒgartāl* (which is found with slight variations in Aram., MH, and Arab.) is taken to be a loan-word from the Hellen. Gr. καρταλ[λ]ος 'basket'; cp BASKET.[2]

(3) מִזְרָק (Mt. 14 8 11 Mk. 6 25 28), the dish upon which was brought the head of John the Baptist; Lk. 11 39, EV 'platter,' along with 'cup.' See MEALS, § 9. In Mt. 23 25 παροψίς.

CHARIOT (רֶכֶב, מַרְכָּבָה, מֶרְכָּבָה). Of the three Heb. words denoting 'chariot' *merkābāh* is post-exilic.

1. Names. (1 K. 5 6 [4 26]). It is employed in Lev. 15 9 and Cant. 3 10 for the seat of the chariot or palanquin (⊕ ἐπίσαγμα [another transl. has κάθισμα], ἐπιβάσις [Vg. Rashi]). In nearly every case *rekheb* is used collectively for a body of chariots. The instances where it is employed to denote a single chariot (like *merkābāh*) are comparatively few (Judg. 5 28 2 K. 9 21 24). Occasionally it designates the chariot-horses and riders (2 S. 10 18), or the horses only (2 S. 8 4; cp Is. 21 7 9). On the other hand, *merkābāh* expresses the individual chariot, Ass. *narkabtu*, Ar. *markabatun*, Syr. *markabhtha*—all alike derived from the common Semitic root (*rakhabh*), to mount or ride, and corresponding in meaning to Latin *currus* and Greek ἅρμα. The word in Heb. is frequently employed, not in a purely military sense, but to denote a state carriage or travelling conveyance. Examples of this use may be found in Gen. 41 43 46 29 Lev. 15 9 1 K. 12 18 and Is.

2. Waggons. 2 7 (?). This word must be kept quite distinct from another term, *ʿagalah* עֲגָלָה, '*cart*' or '*waggon*,' employed in the conveyance of agricultural produce (Am. 2 13).[3] The cart was employed in very early times by the Israelites (1 S. 6 7 2 S. 6 3) before chariots were introduced among them. Its form probably approximated to that of the accompanying figure (fig. 1), taken from one of the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III. Each cart holds three occupants and is drawn by two oxen; the wheels have eight spokes. A still more primitive kind of cart, employed by the Asiatic nations, possessed wheels which consisted simply of circular discs, whilst the earliest and most primitive form of all consisted in a mere framework with 'a board or seat, placed between two axles to which it was strapped, on which the person sat as

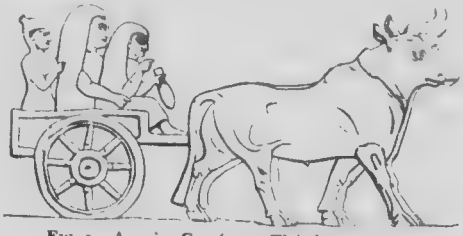

FIG. 1.—Assyrian Cart (temp. Tiglath-pileser III.). Brit. Mus. Nimrūd Gallery, no. 84.

[1] The first word in ⊕ χρυσοι κ.τ.λ. [B, om. AL], has perhaps come in by mistake for κθ' representing the ἐννεὰ καὶ εἴκοσι at the end of the verse; so H. A. Redpath (in a private communication).
[2] But καρ' itself is possibly 1 Pers. or Sem. loan-word (*BDB*, *s.v.*; cp Frä. *Aram. Fremdw.* 77 *f.*).
[3] The poetical use of this word (in the pl.) for war-chariots in Ps. 46 9 [10] is isolated; indeed, the text is in a mutilated state (see WEAPONS). On Am. 2 13 see also AGRICULTURE, § 8.

on an open litter' (Dr. Samuel Birch). The appended illustration (fig. 2), taken from a monument belonging to the fourth Egyptian dynasty, clearly exhibits this earlier mode of conveyance.

FIG. 2.—Ancient Egyptian conveyance (4th dyn.) After Wilkinson.

It should be remembered that in the East camels, asses, and mules are more convenient and general as a means of transport, both for burdens and for human beings, than are wheeled vehicles; and this was specially true of ancient times.

The subject of the present article, however, is mainly the *War-chariot*. The striking fact that the ancient Hebrews for centuries refused to employ so valuable a military aid as the chariot, in their encounters with the Canaanites was due to several co-operating causes.

3. War-chariots: introduced late.

First among these was the nomadic origin and character of early Israel. The Canaanites, like the Egyptians, may have borrowed the form of their chariots from their northern neighbours, the Syrians or Hittites. This, however, is by no means certain, for among the Amarna Tablets, we have a despatch to the Egyptian monarch from one of his vassals in Canaan, in which the latter, in anticipation of an invasion by the Hittites, requests the aid of chariots and troops from the king of Egypt.[1] Not improbably, therefore, Egypt may have been the proximate source whence Canaanite civilisation borrowed the chariot. From Josh. 17 16 Judg. 4 3, however, we learn that the Canaanite war-chariot was plated or studded externally with iron, a feature which seems to be more probably Hittite than Egyptian.[2] A *second* reason why Israel remained destitute of this important adjunct is to be found in the physical configuration of Canaan.

4. Hill country unsuitable.

During the earlier period of the Hebrew occupation, the district seized by the sons of Jacob was the central or mountainous region, where chariots and cavalry could not easily operate. Interesting illustrations of this difficulty in employing chariots may be derived from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1100 B.C.). In Prism Inscr. col. ii. 70-74 we read: 'mighty mountains and difficult country I passed through—so far as it could be traversed, in my chariot; and that which could not be traversed, on foot. By the mountain Aruma, unsuited for the advance of my chariots, I left my chariots behind . . . ' (Winckler in *KB* 1; cp also col. iii. 47-49). How difficult the Canaanites found it to make effective use of them against the Israelites, may be inferred from the later experience of the Syrians, who attributed their constant defeats to the fact that the deities of the Hebrews were potent in the mountainous country (1 K. 20 23) whilst their own operations, which were largely carried on with cavalry and chariots (cp *v.* 21 and Shalmaneser II.'s Obelisk Inscr. 65, Monolith Inscr. col. ii. 90), would be successful only in the plains. It can readily be understood, therefore, how the Hebrew race, by clinging to the central mountainous region and not venturing too far into the Shephēlah or low country, as well as by dint of sheer bravery and the skilful use of bow, sling, and spear, were able, down to the time of David, to defy successfully the armies of Canaan and Syria. A *third* reason was that religion—in its tendency, ever conservative of a nation's past—sanctioned the ancient custom of warfare, and regarded horses and chariots

5. Religious conservatism.

[1] Cited by Zimmern in *ZDPV* 18 134 *ff*.

[2] See the representation of a chariot of the Rutennu, figured in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 230, in which the four-spoked wheel, as well as the body of the chariot, is evidently plated with metal; and cp IRON, § 2.

as a foreign innovation corrupting Israel's allegiance to Yahwè. This view, constantly reflected in prophecy (Hos. 1 7 14 [1] Mic. 5 9 [10] Zech. 9 10), became embodied in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt. 17 16), and expressed in song (Ps. 20 7). When, however, under David Israel became an aggressive state and entered into conflict with Syrian and Hittite cavalry and chariots, on the plains, the stress must have been severely felt by the Hebrews, and it is not surprising that chariots and horsemen were gradually introduced into Israel's military service. This is clear from 2 S. 8 4, where, following **G**, we should restore לו ('for himself'; omitted in MT from religious scruples); the passage means that David reserved 100 chariots and horsemen for his own use. His successor, Solomon, is said to have provided Israel with 1400 war chariots, which were quartered in special cities (1 K. 9 19 10 26; see BETH-MARCABOTH). In his reign the purchase of horses and chariots became an organised trade; they were imported (though Winckler denies this; see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*a*]) from Egypt, at the cost of 600 shekels, or about £80 for each chariot (1 K. 28 *f*.). From this time onwards we constantly read of chariots and horsemen both in the northern and in the southern kingdom (1 K. 16 9 22 34 2 K. 8 21 13 7 Is. 2 7 Mic. 5 9 [Heb.]). In col. ii. 91 of Shalmaneser II.'s great monolith inscription we are startled to find that Ahab's contingent of chariots, 2000 in number, largely exceeded that of any other state in the confederacy that encountered the Assyrian army at Karkar in 854 B.C. (cp AHAB, § 7). From Is. 30 16 31 1 36 9 we may infer (with Kamphausen) that the supply of chariots and horses from Egypt was one of the grounds of alliance between that power and Judah.

Since Egypt was the land from which the Hebrews obtained their supply of this arm, we turn to its monuments for illustrative material; and this we obtain in abundance from the eighteenth dynasty onwards (vol. vi. in Lepsius' *Denkmaler*). Before the eighteenth dynasty (1500 B.C.) chariots and horses were unknown in Egypt, and there is good evidence to show that they were borrowed from the North Palestinian race called Rutennu.[2] The Egyptian chariot usually contained two persons. Nowack (*HA* 1 367), however, is wrong in his assertion that this was invariably the case. In Lepsius' *Denkmaler* (Abth. iii. Bl. 157 *f*.) we have numerous illustrations of chariots with *three* figures. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, however, this was not common, except in triumphal processions, 'when two of the princes or noble youths accompanied the king in their chariot, bearing the royal sceptre, or the flabella, and required a third person to manage the reins.' On the other hand Hittite chariots frequently contained three occupants (see below, § 9). Lepsius (*Denkmaler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 160) exhibits figures of Egyptian chariots in which the right-hand warrior bears the bow while the left carries the shield. Here, as in many other cases, we find the reins tied round the body of one of the combatants while he is engaged in action. On another page (Bl. 165) we have a chariot with the solitary royal

6. Egyptian chariots.

[1] In 1 K. 10 28 (2 Ch. 1 16) the text is very uncertain in the latter part of the verse. In MT of 1 K. 10 28 we read ומקוה סחרי המלך יקחו מקוה בכסף. It seems simplest with Kamph. (in Kau. *HS*) to cancel the first מקוה and to render the whole verse 'And the export of the horses of Solomon was from Egypt; and the royal merchants used to fetch a troop for payment.' This is certainly preferable to the other suggestion, to which Kt. in his note on 2 Ch. 1 16 (*SBOT*) refers—viz., to make a transposition and read . . . ומסחרי המלך מקוא מקוא 'the king's traders getting every time a troop . . .' This use of the distributive construction is very forced. Kt. himself finds a reference in מקוה to Kue *i.e.*, E. Cilicia. See the note referred to and cp MIZRAIM, § 2 (*a*).

[2] Sayce (*Races of the OT* 123 *f*. 134) has shown that this Egyptian name included the Hittites. It is significant that the Palestinian peoples chiefly associated chariots with the Hittites and the Egyptians; 2 K. 7 6 (on which, however, see AHAB, § 6).

occupant, Rameses II., drawing the bow, while the reins of his two horses are tied around his middle. Indeed, one of the most striking features in these vivid scenes of combat, is the multiplicity of functions discharged by the chariot rider. The accompanying figure (fig. 3) exhibits an archer in the act of drawing his bow with the right hand. A whip consisting of a stick handle with leather thong attached, is suspended from his wrist, while round his waist are fastened the horses' reins.

FIG. 3.—Egyptian Archer (Thebes). After Wilkinson.

It is obvious from the representations which portray the manufacture of different portions of the Egyptian chariot, that it was almost entirely constructed of wood. It was light and open from behind, so that it could be easily mounted, and consisted of 'a wooden framework, sometimes strengthened and ornamented with metal and leather binding. The flat bottom was formed of a kind of network, consisting of interlaced thongs or rope, which gave it elasticity and mitigated the jolting' (Wilkinson).

The occupants of a chariot nearly always stood. In rare instances the car was provided with a seat in which the royal personage sat. The furniture consisted of a bow-case, which was placed in a slanting position pointing forwards, and was often ornamented with the figure of a lion. There were also receptacles for arrows and spears, which, as a general rule, slanted backwards (see fig. 4).

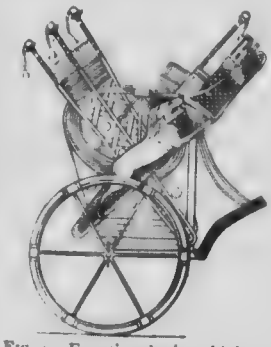

FIG. 4.—Egyptian chariot with bow- and arrow-cases (Thebes). After Wilkinson.

The diameter of the wheel was a little over three feet. The felloe was in six pieces [illegible] tire was fastened to it by bands of hide passing through long narrow holes. 'They [illegible] resting upon a small [illegible] saddle, was [illegible] into a groove of met[illegible] and the saddle, placed upon the horse's withers, and furnished with girths and a breastband, was surmounted by an ornamental knob; and in front of it a small hook secured the bearing rein. The other reins passed through a thong or ring at the side of the saddle, and thence over the projecting extremity of the yoke, and the same thong secured the girths.' Further details may be found in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's exhaustive work, from which the above description has been borrowed.

The chariots of the *Assyrians* were of stouter and more solid construction than those of the Egyptians, since the former were intended to sustain the wear and tear of rough and rugged paths in distant campaigns. Thus we often find that the tires and felloes of the wheels amounted together to as much as eight or ten inches in thickness. In the early part of the ninth century B.C. we find chariots of this description employed by Ašur-nāṣir-pal. Upon the obelisk of this monarch we find the archer standing on the right hand and the driver on the left, and these are their respective positions in nearly all the examples depicted on the Assyrian monuments. We observe, moreover, in all the portrayals belonging to the ninth century and the early part of the eighth, that the two receptacles for arrows are placed on the right side, and are disposed crosswise over one another,

7. Assyrian chariots: in 9th cent.

and in a slanting position as in the Egyptian examples. We notice, in one case depicted in Ašur-nāṣir-pal's obelisk, an attendant on foot bearing a shield, and holding the reins. This meets us again on one of the monuments of Tiglath-pileser III.

Vivid representations of the chariots of this period may be found in the reliefs of the Nimrud gallery in the British Museum. One excellent example, reproduced in the accompanying figure (fig. 5), is borrowed from a

FIG. 5.—Hunting-chariot of Ašur-nāṣir-pal. Brit. Mus. Nimrūd Gallery.

hunting-scene in which the monarch Ašur-nāṣir-pal is engaged. Note that we have here, as in many other instances of this period, three horses—a contrast with Egyptian usage, in which the number never exceeded two. The pole of the chariot is fixed to the base of the 'body,' to the upper part of which is fastened, on the left, a large heavy shaft[1] attached to rings upon the shoulder-pieces of the central as well as the outer horse on the left side. The rein on the right-hand steed passes through a ring on his shoulder, and is attached to the bit. The use of bits with ancient Egyptian, as well as Assyrian, war-horses can admit of no doubt. As in other examples, the two receptacles for arrows cross each other slantwise on the right side of the chariot for that was obviously the side on which the archer most conveniently stood, thus preserving his right hand and side unencumbered by his companion in the use of the bow. A battle-axe stands among the arrows in one receptacle, whilst an extra bow is inserted among those in the other. We notice in this example, as in all others portrayed on the monuments of this period, that the axle of the wheel, as in the Egyptian chariot, is placed under the hindermost extremity of the body of the vehicle, in order to ensure more steadiness; consequently part of the weight of the chariot and its occupants rested on the horses. In another specimen on the reliefs of this period we again observe three steeds harnessed to the chariot, while in this case the driver holds a whip. Near the front of the chariot, between the two occupants, rises a pole surmounted by a symbolic device, from which hang ornamented tassels. In other examples a spear may be seen in the receptacle that slopes backwards. Often the horses are richly ornamented with crests, sometimes with a necklace[2] or collar. Leather straps pass beneath and in front of the animal. We find tassels hanging down apparently from a metal boss on its side. Otherwise the animal is unprotected.

Among the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III. we observe a state-chariot with two horses and three occupants. There is no archer. The king stands on the right and the driver on the left. The driver has three reins in each

[1] Weiss (in *Kostümkunde* under the head of Assyrian chariots) describes this as merely 'a broad strip of cloth or leather,' confesses that it is obscure as to its nature or purpose. The present writer's personal inspection of numerous examples in the Nimrud gallery leads him to regard it as much more [illegible] in structure, and as probably intended to yoke the third steed to the other two horses. When a third horse ceased to be used to the chariot, at the close of the eighth cent., this large and heavy shaft no longer encumbered the Assyrian chariot.

[2] Not improbably this contained amulets or charms, like the crescents on the camels' necks in Judg. 8 21. See Whitehouse, *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, 50 *f.* and footnote.

hand, a whip in his right. In front stands an attendant holding the reins. The monarch is shaded by an umbrella. We notice two new points.

8. In 8th cent.

The receptacle for arrows stands *upright*. Also the wheels are now much enlarged, being about 4½ feet in diameter, with tire and felloes of

FIG. 6.—State-chariot of Sennacherib. Brit. Mus. Nimrûd Gallery.

considerable thickness. Mr. T. G. Pinches is disposed to think that the inner rim of the wheel was of metal, and appearances would seem to justify this conclusion. It is possible, however, that we have here plating, not solid metal.

The state chariot of Sennacherib, which we here reproduce (fig. 6), exhibits wheels at least 4½ feet in diameter, with eight spokes. We notice the thickness of the tire and felloes, and the metal studs or nails on the outer circumference. A large umbrella is fixed in the chariot. Here the driver is on the right hand, the king on the left. We also observe no receptacle for arrows, bow, or battle-axe; from the close of the eighth century onwards the archers become dissociated from the chariots; in the time of Aśur-bāni-pal they usually constitute a separate corps.[1]

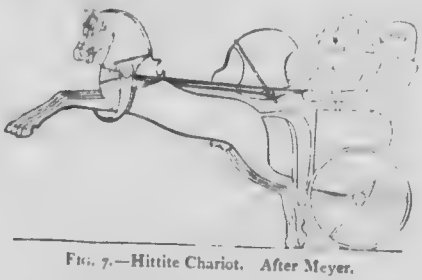

FIG. 7.—Hittite Chariot. After Meyer.

Of the *Hittite* chariot we obtain the clearest conception from Egyptian portrayals, and a special interest

9. Hittite chariots.

belongs to it because it is probably to be regarded as the prototype from which the Egyptian was derived, and the Israelite vehicle was ultimately, if not proximately, borrowed.

[1] In one case, however (45), we have a single-horse chariot carrying 2 two archers with quivers on their backs. Moreover, the large upper shaft to which reference has been made disappears altogether from the time of Sennacherib onwards. Not more than two horses are harnessed to the chariot. Also it becomes simpler in form, while the wheels become larger. In the representation of Aśur-bāni-pal's war against Elam (Nimrud gallery 48, 49) we observe that the wheels have as many as twelve spokes. In some cases there is only a single occupant. In others there are several occupants, and an umbrella is fixed in the chariot when it conveys a royal personage or some nobleman of distinction.

In one respect it differed from the Egyptian [illegible] carrying three, not, as [illegible] is important, as it seems to throw [illegible] Hebrew usage, to which we shall presently refer. The ordinary weapons of the chariot [illegible] and arrows. In the [illegible] figure [illegible] it will be observed that the two-horsed chariot has among its three occupants a shield-bearer, who apparently occupies the central position. The driver on the left holds only a single rein in each hand, though he is driving two steeds, which are held together by a strong collar and undergirths. Simplicity and strength combined with lightness are the chief characteristics of the Hittite chariot.

Among the ancient Hebrews, as among the Assyrians, Egyptians, Hittites, and Greeks, the horses were always

10. Israelitish chariots: 'Shalish.'

arrayed side by side, never one behind another. Moreover, with the Assyrians and the Egyptians, [illegible] the chariot usually held two persons. This was the case perhaps occasionally in Israel, but [illegible] seems to lead to the inference that the chariot usually held three, as among the Hittites, the occupants being the driver, the bowman, and the shield-bearer (in the case of Jehu, he himself handles the bow, 2 K. 9 24). It is therefore as something peculiar and exceptional that we find Jehu receiving to Bidkar that they were riding [illegible] behind Ahab, as he lay wounded, when the latter was confronted by Elijah near Naboth's vineyard (1 K. 21 19). The Hebrew-Hittite usage may explain the word שָׁלִישׁ (see ARMY, § 4), which, in its origin, signified one of the three occupants of the royal chariots that accompanied the king to battle. The word is used during the regal period in the sense of a distinguished attendant of the king who accompanied him in his chariot. This is evident from 2 K. 9 25 where Bidkar holds this position in relation to Jehu. It is significant that in 1 K. 9 22 the *shalishim* (שלשים) are placed in close connection with captains of chariots (שָׂרֵי הָרֶכֶב), and formed [illegible] guard commanded by a special officer, 'chief of the [illegible] (רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁלִשִׁים) 1 Ch. 11 11 [2 S 23 8]. Compare [illegible] of *shālīsh* in 1 S. 14 7 15 4. That the *shālīsh* held a [illegible] position is clearly shown in 2 K. 7 2 17, where he is described as one 'on whose hand the king leans.' (Probably the term is used here as equivalent to רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁלִשִׁים.)

In addition to the *shālīsh* the king was frequently accompanied by 'runners' (רָצִים), who were prepared to render assistance when the king dismounted from the chariot, or to hold the reins (as in the reliefs of the Assyrian kings to which we have already referred), or to discharge any other duty in the king's service, 2 S. 15 1 1 K. 1 5 2 K. 10 25 11 4 (see ARMY, § 4). In the time of David there was a special body of fifty men detailed for this special function.

We know that the Persian kings took with them on their expeditions ἁρμαμαξαι—four-wheeled carriages

11. Persian chariots.

covered with curtains, specially employed for the conveyance of women and children, as may be inferred from Herod. 7 41 Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vi. 4 11. Probably these closely resembled, or were identical with, the ὀχήματα ἐνθρόνια ἐνείναια adapted for sitting or lying down. According to 2 Ch. 35 23 *f.* Josiah, when mortally wounded, was removed from his war-chariot into a reserve chariot (רֶכֶב מִשְׁנֶה) which was probably regarded by the Chronicler as partaking of this character.

In later times chariots were provided with scythes (ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα, Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 7 10 Diod. Sic. 17 53). This device does not meet us among the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians;[2] but we know that [illegible]-bearing chariots were employed by the Persians and

[1] So רֹכְבִים צְעָדִים should be interpreted (Thenius and other.). Gesenius makes צְעָדִים the object of the participle.

[2] Against the view that scythes are referred to in Nah. 2 3 [4] see Hitzig, § 2.

later still by the Syrians (2 Macc. 13 2). It was probably the Persians who introduced this formidable addition to the war-chariot. (Cp Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vi. 1 30.)

12. Parts of chariot. The different portions of the chariot receive special names in the Heb. of the OT. 'Wheels,' אֹפַנִּים, are mentioned in Nah. 3 2 (cp Is. 28 27 Prov. 20 26). Another name, more descriptive, was 'rollers,' גַּלְגַּלִּים (Is. 5 28 Ezek. 10 2 6 23 24 26 10). The 'spokes' of the wheel were called חִשֻּׁקִּים, while the 'felloes' had the name גַּבִּים or גַּבּוֹת. The wheel revolves by a nave (חִשֻּׁקִּים), round an axle (יָד). See WHEEL. All these terms are to be found in the *locus classicus*, 1 K. 7 32 *f.*

The pole of the chariot, עֹל, was (according to Mish. *Kelim* 14 4 24 2) fastened below the middle of the axle, passed under the base of the 'body' of the chariot, and then, curving upwards, ascended to the neck of the horses. To this, draught-animals were fastened by means of the yoke, assisted by cords or wide leather straps. Beyond these broad features it is doubtful how far we are justified in following the details contained in a treatise of the Mishna composed centuries after the latest OT literature.

13. Religious conceptions. That the chariot, which was so closely associated with the public functions of Oriental monarchs, both in war and in peace, entered into the religious conceptions as an indispensable portion of the paraphernalia of divine monarchy, cannot awaken surprise. The chariot, therefore, has its place in ancient Semitic religion. Just as the Hellenic religious imagination endowed *Helios* with horses and chariot (as the Homeric Hymn clearly testifies), so Canaanite religion endowed the Sun-god *Šémeš* with the same royal accessories (cp HORSE, § 4). This feature in the cultus of the Sun the Hebrews blended with the worship of Yahwè in the precincts of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, in the days that preceded the Reformation of Josiah (2 K. 23 11). The combination of Yahwe, the God of Israel's armies and of the sky, with the Sun was not unnatural to the Hebrew mind, as their literature testifies both early and late. Cp 1 K. 8 12 *f.* (an old fragment of the Book of Jashar restored by We. from 𝔊ᴬ in 1 K. 8 53); Ps. 19 1-7 84 11 [12].[1] Yahwè, as Lord of hosts, has chariots among his retinue. These were the 'chariots and horses of deliverance' whereon Yahwè rode forth to conquer and terrify Israel's foes in the days of the Exodus (Hab. 3 8 *f.*). With this graphic touch in the Prayer of Habakkuk we may compare the fiery chariots of 2 K. 2 11 6 17 13 14[2] as well as a phrase occurring in the magnificent triumphal ode, Ps. 68 18. O. C. W.

CHARITY, FEASTS OF (αἱ αγαπαι [Ti. WH]), Jude 12 AV. See EUCHARIST.

CHARME (χαρμη [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 25 RV = Ezra 2 39 = Neh. 7 42, HARIM, 1.

CHARMER (חֹבֵר חָבֶר, Deut. 18 11, etc.; חֹבְרֵי חֲבָרִים, Is. 3 3 RV[mg.]). See MAGIC, § 3.

CHARMIS, one of the three rulers of Bethulia: Judith 6 15 8 10 10 6 (χαρμεις [BN], χαλμ. [A]; in 8 10 10 6 χαρμ[ε]ιν [BNA]).

CHARRAN (χαρραν [Ti. WH]), Acts 7 2 4, RV HARAN, i.

CHASEBA (χασεβα [BA], om. L), an unknown family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii., § 9), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5 31, between the Nekoda and Gazzam of ‖ Ezra 2 48 Neh. 7 50 *f.*

CHAVAH (חַוָּה), Gen. 3 20 AV[mg.], EV EVE. See ADAM AND EVE, § 3.

CHEBAR (כְּבָר, χοβαρ [BAQ]), the name of a Babylonian stream, near which Ezekiel had prophetic visions

[1] But cp BATTLEMENT.

[2] The Rakubel, 'chariot of El' (line 22), of the Zenjirli Panammu inscription furnishes an interesting parallel. It is possible, however, that Rakub (cp the Ar. *rakūbun*, 'a camel for riding') may mean the divine steed (cp the Heb. Kĕrûb, Ps. 18 11; but see CHERUB, § 1, begin.). It is mentioned frequently along with the deities Hadad, El, Shemesh, and Reshef. See D. H. Müller's art. in *Contemp. Rev.*, April 1894.

(Ez. 1 1 [adnot. Q[mg.] βαργσμοϲ] 3 23 10 15 20 22 43 3 on 3 15, which is a gloss, see TEL-ABIB). In spite of the apparent resemblance of the names (but note the different initial letters), the Chebar cannot be the same as the HABOR (חבור)—Babylonia never included the region watered by this river—but must be one of the Babylonian canals (Bab. *nâratì*; cp נהרות בבל, Ps. 137 1). This was first pointed out by Noldeke (Schenkel, *BL.*, 1 508 ['69]). The final proof has been given by Hilprecht, who has found mention twice of the (*nâru*) *kabaru*, a large navigable canal a little to the E. of Nippur 'in the land of the Chaldeans.'[1]

CHEDOR-LAOMER (כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר, so eastern reading, but כֶּדֶר־לָעֹמֶר western reading [Ginsb. *Intr. to Mass. crit. ed.* 203 *f.*; conversely Strack, *Kohut Semitic Studies*, 566]; χοδολλογομορ [AEL]-δλλ. [*D*], -λαρ. [D]), according to Gen. 14 1 was a king of Elam, whose dominion extended as far as the SE. of Canaan, where five kings, of whom those of Sodom and Gomorrah were the chief, served him twelve years. In the thirteenth year, however, they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year they were defeated by the Elamite and his allies. In the sequel of the story (*vv.* 12-24) we are told how Abram with his own servants and some allies pursued the victorious army and rescued not only the captured kings but also his nephew Lot (see ABRAHAM, § 2). The question whether this narrative is trustworthy, and whether the Chedor-laomer of the story and his allies are historical personages, is ruled by the other, as to the date of the chapter containing it.

2. Its date. That the chapter is quite an isolated piece, and formed no part of the writings from which the Hexateuch was composed, may be considered as certain. Some scholars, however, (*e.g.*, Kittel) assign it to the eighth century B.C., and are of opinion that the author had an older writing before him; according to others, it is not older than the fourth century B.C.[2] The former hold that the antiquity and the authenticity of the story are attested by the following facts:—(1) that at least the name of the chief king is purely Elamitic; (2) that the Rephâim, the Zamzummin (= Zuzim), and the Emim really occupied in ancient times what afterwards became the dwelling places of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, whilst the Horites (Gen. 36 20), according to Dt. 2 10 *ff.* and 20 *ff.*, were the oldest inhabitants of Seir; (3) that AMORITES (*q.v.*), the name of the people established, according to *vv.* 7, in Hazazon-tamar (= Engedi, 2 Ch. 20 2), is the ancient name of the people of Canaan (Gen. 15 16 48 22 Am. 2 9), and that several names (En-mishpat, Hobah, Shaveh), words, and expressions not occurring anywhere else, as well as the exact description of the campaign (*vv.* 5-7), bear the impress of antiquity and trustworthiness.

The arguments of those who ascribe the narrative to a post-exilic Jew, whose aim was to encourage his contemporaries by the description of Abram's victory over the great powers of the East, his unselfishness, piety, and proud magnanimity towards heathen men, mostly take their starting-point in the second part of the chapter.

It is pointed out that the names of Abram's allies, Mamre and Eshcol, occur elsewhere (Gen. 13 18 23 17 19 2 [illegible] Nu. 13 2 f) as place names; that Melchizedek (Malki-zedek) Abram are represented as monotheists; and that the patriarch pays tithes to the priest-king, a duty not prescribed at all [illegible] (see 14 [illegible] 28 11 *f.*), but characteristic of the post-exilic sacerdotal law (Nu. 18 21-28).

The criticism extends also, however, to the first part

[1] A tablet published by Dr. Clay in vol. ix. of Hilprecht's *Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (p. No. 54, l. 9). It should be added that *Ch(a)bar* = great, so that *nâru Kab(a)ru* = Grand Canal.

[2] See, *e.g.*, E. Meyer, *G.A.* 1 [illegible] *f.* (84); Kue. *Hex.* 3 24 ('8[illegible]); St. *ZAW* 6 323 ('86); We. *CH* 110 *f.* ('80); Che. *OPs.* 42, [illegible] 270 ('91), cp *Founders*, 237 *f.*; Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hex.* 425 ('93).

with which we are here chiefly concerned. It is remarked that there is no evidence of the historicity of the campaign in question, which is, in fact, as closely as possible connected with a view of Abraham which we know to have been post-exilic (cp ELIEZER, 1) Moreover, it is difficult to resist the impression that the names of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah—viz., Bera' and Birsha' (compounds conveying the idea of 'evil,' 'badness')—and the name given in the narrative to the town of Zoar—viz., Bela' = 'perdition' (see BELA)—perhaps also that of the king of Zebo'im, which the Samaritan text gives as Shem-ebed = 'slave-name'—are, some of them at least, purely symbolical and therefore fictitious. (See, however, in each case, the special article.)

3. Name Chedor-laomer.

What is certain is this: Chedor-laomer, = Kudur-lagamar, is a purely Elamitic name, which is not, indeed, found as a royal name on the monuments, but is of the same type as Kudur-nanḫundi (Kutir-nahhunte in Old Susian), the name of a king who in the beginning of the twenty-third century B.C. conquered the whole; and Kudur-mabuk, the name of another king, who, probably later, was master of a part of Babylonia. Lagamar(u) (Lakamar) occurs as the name of an Elamitic deity, not only in 5 R (p. vi., coll. 6, 33), but also in the Inscriptions of Anzan-šušinak,[1] and seems to be the same as Lagamal, the queen of the town of Kišurre (2 R pl. lx. 15*a* = 14*b*). Hence the name cannot be the invention of a Hebrew writer. It can hardly be doubted, either, that Arioch, king of Ellasar, is really no other than Eri-aku (*i.e.*, servant of the Moon-god), the well-known king of Larsa, son of Kudur-mabuk.[2]

These discoveries have opened a wide field for ingenious combinations. It has been observed that Kudur-mabuk is called in one of the inscriptions of his son by the name Adda-martu, 'Father of the West.' Now, the word Martu being commonly used, at least in later times, to designate Western Asia, especially Canaan (*mat Aharri*, or perhaps better *mat Amurri*, the land of the Amorites), Adda = Father has been interpreted to mean conqueror, and this has been taken as evidence that, in a very remote period, Canaan fell under Elamite dominion. It is a pity that we must call attention to a weak point in this theorising. Kudur-mabuk is not the same as Kudur-lagamar, and *Adda-martu* seems to be only a synonym of *Adda-yamutlaḫ*, a title which the same king, as ruler of a western province of Elam, bears in other inscriptions (see Tiele, *B.Ur* 123 *f.*).

The attempts to make out the two other Eastern kings to be historical personages must be considered failures.

4. Amraphel Tidal.

According to Jos. Halevy, Amraphel is the famous Babylonian king Hammu-rābi himself, whose name is explained in Semitic as *Kimta-rapaštu Ṭâm ḫamû-raphel* = *rapaltu* = *rapaštu*); whilst, according to Hommel (*GBA* 364 *ff.*), he is Hammu-rābi's father Sin-muballit, because Sin is sometimes named Amar and *muballit* may conceivably have been condensed into *pal* (*phel*). (See also AMRAPHEL.) With more confidence Shin'ar is stated to be a Hebraised form of Šumer (see Schr. *KAT*). Unfortunately, this is by no means certain. Though Hammurābi was king of Babylon, and therefore of Akkad, he was not king of Šumer so long as Eri-aku was king of Larsa. Not till he had put an end to the Elamite dominion in Babylonia could he be called king of Šumer, and then neither Eri-aku nor an Elamite king could join with him in the conquest of Canaan. As to Tid'al, king of Goyim, we may read his name Tharg'al, following ⊕; we may identify the Goyim with the people of Gutium; we may even go so far as prudence permits in theorising on the latest discoveries: but all this does not make TIDAL (*q.v.*) historical. All that we can say is that the writer of

5. Conclusion.

Gen. 14 no more invented the names of Amraphel and Tid'al (or Tharg'al) than those of Chedor-laomer and Arioch; the former are very possibly corruptions of the names of historical personages whom we are as yet unable to identify. Nor do we assert that the whole story is the product of the inventive faculty of the author. That in very remote times, Babylonian kings extended their sway as far as the Mediterranean, is not only told in ancient traditions (*e.g.*, of Sargon I.), but has also been proved by the Amarna tablets. From these we learn that as late as the fifteenth century B.C., when the kings of Babylon and Assyria had no authority beyond their own borders and Egypt gave the law to Western Asia, Babylonian was the official and diplomatic language of the Western Asiatic nations. Hence it is not impossible, it is even probable, that a similar suzerainty was exercised over these nations by the Elamites, who were more than once masters of Babylonia. Our author, whether he wrote in the eighth century B.C., or, which is more probable, in the fourth, may have found this fact in some ancient record, and utilised it both for the glorification of the Father of the Faithful and for encouraging his contemporaries.

So much appears to be all that can be safely stated in the present state of research. Scheil, however, is of

6. Further theories.

opinion ('96) that the Ku-dur-la-a'g-gamar (?) whom he finds in a cuneiform epistle was the Elamite king of Larsa who was conquered by Hammu-rabi and Sin-idinnam, and therefore, cannot have been any other than the son of Kudur-mabuk, who, as king of Larsa (Ur), had adopted the name of Rim-sin (Eri-aku?). Pinches has discovered a cuneiform tablet in the Brit. Mus. collection which has naturally excited great hopes among conservative critics. It is sadly mutilated; but it is at least clear that names which may be the prototypes of Arioch, Tid'al, and possibly Chedorlaomer, were known in Babylonia when the tablet was inscribed. The tablet dates, probably, from the time of the Arsacidæ; but it is tempting to assume that the inscription was copied from one which was made in the primitive Babylonian period. It should be noticed, however, that the form of the first name is not Eri-aku but Eri-(DP.[illegible]) aku, and that the third name is not read with full certainty, the second part being *-mal*, which is only conjecturally made into *laḫ-mal*. There is also a second tablet on which two of the names are mentioned again. Pinches reads the one Eri-ē-ku (possibly Eri-e ku-a), and the other Ku-dur-laḫ(?)-gu-mal. In a third inscription the name Ku-dur-laḫ(?)-gu-[mal] appears. The second of the three names is mentioned only in the first tablet as Tu-ud-ḫul-a, where, since the Babylonian ת answers to the Hebrew ע in תרעל, Pinches and Schrader agree in recognising the Tid'al of Gen. 14. But not by a single word do these inscriptions confirm the historicity of the invasion 'in the days of Amraphel.'

[The doubts here expressed are fully justified by L. W. King's more recent investigations. Both Scheil's and Pinches' readings of the respective inscriptions are incorrect, and 'though Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal (Kudur-KU-KU-mal) is styled (in Pinches' inscriptions) a king of Elam, there is no reason to suppose that he was a contemporary of Hammu-rabi. He might have occupied the throne at any period before the fourth century B.C.']

To the references already given may be added: G. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, [illegible], where older works are cited; Lehmann, *Babylonien und Elam*, [illegible]; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, [illegible]; Schr. *KAT*, [illegible]; Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, [illegible]; Pinches, *Proceedings of the Seventh Congress of Orientalists*, also his popular lecture, the Victoria Institute, [illegible]; Schr. 'Uebersicht über die Babylonische Geschichte,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, [illegible]; L. W. Scheil, in *Recueil de Travaux* (Maspero), [illegible]; [illegible] Hammurabi, roi de Babylone, [illegible]; Smith, [illegible] de Larsa, [illegible]; cp Hommel, *OLZ*, [illegible]; L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. i., [illegible]. C. F. E. W. H. K.

CHEESE (חֲרִיצֵי הַחָלָב, 1 S. 17 18; גְּבִינָה, 2 S. 17 29; גְּבִינָה Job 10 10). See MILK.

[1] F. H. Weissbach, 'Anzanische Inschriften,' in *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Classe der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* xiii., Leips., 1891, p. 125 (9 of separate copy).

[2] This, rather than Rim-sin, has been proved by Schr. to be the correct reading of the name (*Sitz.-ber. k. Preuss. Ak. Phil.-hist. Classe*, 24 Oct. 1895, xli.).

CHELAL (כֶּלָל), one of the b'ne Pahath-moab in the list of persons with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 30 (𝔊 has joined Chelal with the preceding name Adna (עַדְנָה) and reads Αιδαινε Χαηλ [B; with Εδαινε B[a,b]. Εδενεχ' ΗΛ [𝔅]. Εδνε και Χαληλ [A]. Αιανασηιε Χαλμαναι [L]). The ‖ 1 Esd. 9 31 has quite different names—'and of the sons of Addi; Naathus, and Moossias, Laccunus,' etc. (𝔊[b], however, reads Εδνα και Σιδια και Χαλαμαναι). See LACUNUS.

CHELCIAS, RV HELKIAS, *i.e.*, HILKIAH, *q.v.* (χελκ[ε]ιας [BAQ cod. 87 Theod.]).

1. The father of Susanna (Hist. of Sus., vv. 2, 29, and [om. cod. 87] 63).
2. An ancestor of Baruch (Bar. 1 1).
3. A priest (Bar. 1 7)

CHELLIANS (χαλδαιων [B], χελεων [𝔅A], Syr. ܟܠܝܐ). In Judith 2 23 mention is made of 'the children of Ishmael, which were over against the wilderness to the S. of the land of the Chellians.' The comparatively easier reading Chaldeans, which is attested by 𝔊[B], Syr. and Vet. Lat., is no doubt rightly considered by Grimm to be a deliberate rectification of the text. See CHELLUS.

CHELLUH, RV CHELUHI, mg. CHELUHU (כְּלוּהִי, Kt.; כְּלוּהוּ, Kre; χελιασουβ [L; probably through the influence of ελιας, v. 36]), mentioned in the list of persons with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 35 (χελκεια [B𝔅], χελια [A]) = 1 Esd. 9 34. EV ENASIBUS (ενασ[ε]ιβος [BA]).

CHELLUS (χελουσ [BA]; χεσλ. [𝔅], ܟܠܘ [Syr.]), one of the places to which Nebuchadrezzar sent his summons, according to Judith 1 9. The Halhul of Josh. 15 58 may be meant; but the reading χεσλους suggests rather CHESULLOTH or CHISLOTH-TABOR, which is given by Jerome and Eusebius as *Chasalus* or χασελους (*OS*[(2)], 91 4, etc., 302 64). See CHELLIANS. Another identification should be mentioned. Chellus is perhaps the same as the place which in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1 4 is called αλουσα, by Jerome and Eusebius *allus*, αλλουδ (*OS*[(2)], 85 6 211 89), viz. חלוצה (Targ. Jer. Gen. 16 14; cp Gen. 20 1 in Ar., and see BERED), or Elusa. Cp We. *Heid.*[(2)] 48, n. 1; WRS, *Kin.* 293 *f.*

CHELOD (χελεουλ [B], χεελαιουδα [𝔅*], χελαιουδ [𝔅[c.a]], χελεουδ [A]). 'Very many nations of the sons of Chelod' (Judith 1 6) assembled themselves to battle in the plain of Arioch in the days of Nebuchadrezzar and Arphaxad (!). What we ought to understand by Chelod is quite uncertain.

Vet. Lat. has *Chelleuth*, and Syr. has 'against the Chaldæans.' One very improbable conjecture is that χαλων (CALNEH) is intended; another, hardly less unlikely, is that the word is the Hebrew חֵלֶד ('weasel'), and that by the opprobrious designation of 'children of the weasel' are meant the Syrians (Ew. *GVI* 3 543).

CHELUB (כָּלוּב, § 67, probably a variation of Caleb, cp below)

(1) A Judahite, doubtless to be identified with CALEB (§ 4); similarly We. (*Gent.* 20), who reads 'Caleb b Hezron' (1 Ch. 4 11 χαλεβ [BAL], *Caleb* [Vg.] ܟܠܒ [Pesh.]). His designation 'brother of Shuhah' (אחי שוחה) is not clear; 𝔊[BA] read 'father of Achsah,' possibly a correction (Kit. *SBOT*). Cp the still further corrupt Pesh. 'brother of Ahiah' (ܐܚܝܗ ܕܐܚܣܐ).

(2) Father of EZRI, 1 Ch. 27 26 (χοβουδ [B], χελουβ [A], χα- [L]).

CHELUBAI (כְּלוּבָי, § 67, a gentilic [= כָּלְבִּי: see 1 S. 25 3 Kre] used instead of the proper name CALEB), b. Hezron, 1 Ch. 2 9 (ο χαλεβ [A], ο χαβελ [B], ο χαλωβι [L], ܟܠܒܝ [Pesh., a corruption]); see CALEB, § 3, CARMI, 1.

CHELUHI (χελια [A]), Ezra 10 35 RV, RV[mg.] **Cheluhu**, AV CHELLUH.

CHEMARIM (כְּמָרִים), Zeph. 1 4 RV 2 K. 23 5 mg. Hos. 10 5 mg.; AV **Chemarims**, Zeph. 1 4. Rather Kĕmārim.

The original Heb. word appears also in 2 K. 23 5, where EV gives 'idolatrous priests,' and in Hos. 10 5, where EV has 'priests.' It is also highly probable that in Hos. 4 4 we should read, with Beck 'for my people is like its Chemarim'[1] (𝔊, however, ὡς αντιλεγομενοι ιερευσι, perhaps an error for -οι ιερευσι [Schleusner]) 𝔊 transliterates Χωμαρειμ ([BA] 2 K. *l.c.*; but ιερεις is also supported, see Field, *Hex ad loc.*); it apparently omits in Zeph.; (in Hos. it had a different Heb.). Vg. varies between *aruspices* (2 K.) and *aditui* (Zeph. Hos.); Targ. between כומריא (2 K. Zeph.) and מלהוהי 'the ministers thereof'; Pesh. adheres to ܟܡܪܐ.

As to the meaning, if we appeal to the versions, we find only the dim light which an unassisted study of the context can supply. Evidently the term was applied to the priests of Baal, who served at the high places under royal authority, but were put down by Josiah. But what special idea did the word convey? In itself it meant simply 'priests'; in Zeph. 1 4 *Kĕmārim* and *Kōhănīm* are put side by side to express the idea of a priesthood of many members; and in Hos. 3 4 (if the view proposed above be adopted) we have *kĕmārim* used of the priests of N Israel, when these are spoken of objectively, and the *kōhēn*, when the priests are addressed as an organic unity. But the word *Kĕmārim* probably also conveyed the idea of a worship which had Syrian affinities. Certainly it cannot be explained from Hebrew; כמר does not mean 'to be black' (cp ECLIPSE), and even if it did, the 'black-robed ones' is a most improbable designation for ancient priests.[2] The word is no doubt of Syrian origin (see the Aram. inscriptions in *CIS* 2 nos. 113 130). The primitive form is *kumr*, whence Aram. *kumrā* (never used in an unfavourable sense) and Heb. *kĕmārim* are normally formed. Lagarde (*Armen. Stud.* 2386) compared Arm. *chourm*; but it is more obviously reasonable to compare the Assyrian *kummaru*, which is given as a synonym of *lubaru zakū* —*i.e.*, 'a clean vesture' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 337 *b.*, cp 254 *b.*). The term *kĕmārim* probably described the Syrian and Israelitish priests in their clean vestments (cp 2 K. 10 22, the Baal festival) when ministering to their God. To derive it from an Aram. root meaning 'to be sad' is much less natural.

Delitzsch compares Ass. *kamāru*, 'to throw down'; the term, he thinks, describes the priests as those who prostrate themselves in worship (*Ass. and Heb.*, 41, 42; so Che. *H.*, 103, 111). Finally, Robertson Smith,[3] noting that the word belongs to a race in which the mass of the people were probably not circumcised (Herod. 2 104, cp Jos. *Ant.* viii 10 3, *c. Ap.* i. 22) while the priests were (Dio Cassius, 79 11; Ep. Barnab. 9 6; cp Chwolson, *Ssabier*, 2 114), conjectures that *kumrā* means 'the circumcised' (Ar. *kumara*, 'glans penis'). T. K. C.

CHEMOSH (כְּמוֹשׁ, in *MI* כמיש; on name see § 4, end; χαμωσ [B[b]𝔅AFQL], αμωσ [B* Judge. 11 24], *Chamos*), the national god of the Moabites (1 K. 11 7, Jer. 48 7 13). Moab is the people of Chemosh; the Moabites are his sons and daughters (Nu. 21 29; cp the relation of Yahwè to Israel, Judg. 5 11 Nu. 11 29 Judg. 11 24 Is. 45 11, etc.). A king of Moab in the time of Sennacherib was named Chemoshnadab (*Kamusunadab*;[4] cp Jehonadab); the father of Mesha was Chemoshmelech;[5] a gem found near Beirût is inscribed לכמשיתי[6] (cp Heb. יחיאל, יחיה; Phœn. יחומלך, מריתי). The stele of Mesha king of Moab, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram of Israel (2 K. 1 3), in the middle of the ninth century B.C. (see MESHA), was erected to commemorate the deliverance which Chemosh had wrought for his people.

1. Moab's national deity.

[1] Continue, וּכָשַׁלְתָּ הַכֹּהֵן יוֹמָם, 'and thou shalt stumble, O priest, in the daytime'; at the close of the verse read, with Ruben, תָּמִיד, 'thy Thummim' (addressed to the priest).

[2] Cp Mishna, *Middōth* 5 4. A priest who had become unfit for service put on black garments and departed. One who was approved by the Sanhedrin clothed himself in white, and went in, and ministered

[3] *EB*[(9)] *s.v.* 'Priest.'

[4] *KB* 2 90 *f.*; *COT* 1 221.

[5] Others read Chemoshgad.

[6] [illegible]

The inscription tells us that Omri had oppressed Moab for a long time because Chemosh was wroth with his land (*l.* 4 *f.*); the Israelites had occupied the district of Medeba forty years, but Chemosh had now restored it to Moab (*ll.* 7-9); Chemosh drove out the king of Israel before Moab from Jahaz (*ll.* 19-21); took it (*ll.* 14-17); at his command, he made war on Horonaim, and Chemosh restored it to Moab (*ll.* 31-33); the inhabitants of captured cities were slaughtered, 'a spectacle (?) for Chemosh and Moab' (*ll.* 11 *f.*); men, women, and children were devoted to Ashtar-Chemosh (*ll.* 15-17)—the חרם (see BAN); the spoils of Israelite sanctuaries were carried off and presented to Chemosh (*ll.* 12 *f.*, 17 *f.*).

The religion of Moab in the ninth century was thus very similar to that of Israel: the historical books of the OT furnish parallels to almost every line of the inscription.

2. Other Moabite gods.

We learn from the OT that human sacrifices were offered to Chemosh, at least in great national emergencies; the king of Moab, shut up in Kir-hareseth and unable to cut his way out, offered his eldest son upon the wall; the effect of this extraordinary sacrifice was a great outburst of Chemosh's fury upon Israel, which compelled the invaders to return discomfited to their own land (2 K. 3 27). Priests of Chemosh are mentioned in Jer. 48 7; the language of Mesha, 'Chemosh said to me' (*ll.* 14, 32), supposes an oracle, or perhaps prophets.

The worship of Chemosh as the national god did not exclude the worship of other gods; Mesha's inscription speaks of Ashtar-Chemosh (*l.* 17)—that is, most probably, an 'Ashtar (Astarte) who was associated in worship with Chemosh,[1] perhaps at a particular sanctuary. The worship of Baal-peor (Nu. 25, cp Hos. 9 10) was probably a local Moabite cult—there is no ground for identifying the god with Chemosh. (See BAAL-PEOR.) [Beth] Baal-meon (Mesha, *ll.* 9, 30; OT) was, as the name shows, the seat of another local Baal cult. Mount Nebo may have received its name in the period of Babylonian supremacy; but we do not know that the worship of the Babylonian god was perpetuated by the Moabites. Cp NEBO.

The statement of Eusebius (*OS* 228 *ff.*, *s.v.* 'Αρινά) that the inhabitants of Areopolis in his day called their idol 'Αριήλ, 'because they worshipped Ares,' seems to be the product of a complex misunderstanding.

3. Chemosh outside of Moab.

In Judg. 11 24, in the argument of Jephthah with the king of the Ammonites, 'Chemosh thy god' is set over against 'Yahwè our god' in such a way as to imply that Chemosh was the national god of Ammon. From many passages in the OT we know, however, that the national god of the Ammonites was Milcom (see MILCOM) while Chemosh was the god of Moab. The hypothesis that Chemosh and Milcom are but two names of the same god (Milcom originally a title) is excluded by the contexts in which they appear side by side (*e.g.*, 1 K. 11 33). Nor is it sufficient to suppose that *Chemosh* in Judg. 11 24 is merely a slip on the part of the author or a scribe for *Milcom*: closer examination shows that the whole historical argument applies to Moab only, not to Ammon. Whatever explanation may be given of this incongruity (see Moore, *Judges*, 283; Bu. *Richter*, 80 *f.*), the passage cannot be taken as evidence that Chemosh was the god of Ammon as well as of the sister people Moab. The statement of Suidas (*s.v.* Χαμώς) that Chemosh was a god of the Tyrians and Ammonites is, as the context shows, a confused reminiscence of 1 K. 11 5 7.

[1] In the name χωμασβηλος, the second mythical Babylonian ruler after the flood (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* 2 503), it has been surmised that the worship of Chemosh was of Babylonian origin; the name of the city Carchemish on the Euphrates has been explained as 'Citadel of Chemosh'; neither of these theories has any other basis than a fortuitous similarity of sound.

Solomon built a high place for Chemosh on the MOUNT OF OLIVES (1 K. 11 7 *a*), where, according to 2 K. 23 13, it stood until Josiah's reform—more than three hundred years.

[1] Cp Phœn. בלבעשתרת and (the Astarte in the *ashera* of [illegible] in the Mesha inscription.

During the long reign of the theory—not yet universally abandoned—that all the gods of the nations were heavenly bodies or meteoric phenomena,

4. Nature of Chemosh; representations.

Chemosh was by some thought to be the sun, by others identified with Milcom-Moloch-Saturn; the one opinion has as little foundation as the other. In Roman times Rabbath-moab, as well as the more northern Ar-moab, was called Areopolis, and this name perhaps originally only a Græcising of Ar (Jerome) was understood as 'City of Ares.' Coins of Rabbath-moab in the reigns of Geta and Severus (Eckhel, iii 504; cp Mionnet, v. 501, Suppl. viii. 388) exhibit a standing warrior in whom the type of Mars is to be recognised; but even if we were sure that the old Moabite god of the city is represented, and not the Nabatæan Dusares, we could learn nothing about the nature of Chemosh in OT times from so late and contaminated a source. Confusion of Chemosh with Dusares is probably to be assumed in the statements of Jewish writers that the idol of Chemosh was a black stone—the same which is now adored by Moslems in the Caaba at Mecca.[1]

The etymology of the name Chemosh is quite unknown: a fact which gives good reason to believe that he is one of the older Semitic gods.

5. Literature.

D. Hackmann, 'De Chemoscho Moabitarum idolo,' 1730 (in Oelrich's *Collectio opusculorum*, 1765, pp. 17-70); Movers, *Phönizier*, 1 334 *ff.*; Schultz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern*, 176 *ff.*; Baudissin, in *PRE*(2) *s.v.* 'Kemosch' (with full literature); Baethgen, *Isr.*, 15-15.

G. F. M.

CHENAANAH (כְּנַעֲנָה, § 73, 'towards Canaan' (?); ΧΑΝΑΑΝ [BL]).

1. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 (ii.)), 1 Ch 7 10 (χαναναν [A]).
2. Father of the false prophet Zedekiah, 1 K. 22 11 (χαανα [B], χανανα [A]) 24; 2 Ch. 18 10 (χαναανα [A]) 23.

CHENANI (כְּנָנִי: cp Chenaniah), Levite officiating at constitution of 'congregation' (see EZRA, ii. §§ 12, 13 [*f.*]); Neh. 9 4 (om. B., ΥΙΟΙ ΧΑΝΑΝΙ [for MT Bani Chenani, ℵ A], ΧΩΝΕΝΙΑΣ [L]).

CHENANIAH (כְּנַנְיָהוּ and כְּנַנְיָה, § 31; [Є]ΙΕΧΟ [ℵ BNL]; cp Chenani), chief of the Levites, who was over 'the song,' or 'the carrying' (viz., 'of the ark' text obscure: see Ki. and Be. *ad loc.*); 1 Ch. 15 22 (ΚΩΝΕΝΙΑ [BℵA], ΧΩ. [A]), 27 (ΚΑΙ ΧΕΝΕΝΙΑΣ [A], ΧΟΝΕΝ. [L]), 26 29 (ΧΩΝΕΝΕΙΑ [B], ΧΩΧΕΝΙΑΣ [A], ΧΟΝΕΝΙΑ [L]).[2]

CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI, RV **Chephar-ammoni** (כְּפַר הָעַמּוֹנִי—*i.e.*, 'village of the Ammonite'; see BENJAMIN, § 3;—Kr. has הָעַמּוֹנָה: ΚΑΡΑΦΑ Κ. ΚΕΦΕΙΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΕΙ [B; ΜΟΝΕΙ represents also עמני]; ΚΑΦΗΡΑΜΜΙΝ [A]; ΚΑΦΑΡΑΜΜΩΝΑ [L]), an unidentified place in Benjamin, mentioned with OPHNI [*q.v.*] (Josh. 18 24 P). The name is possibly of post-exilic origin (cp PAHATH-MOAB). See AMMON, § 6, and BETH-HORON, § 4, TOBIJAH, 4.

CHEPHIRAH (כְּפִירָה; in Josh. הַכְּפִירָה; 'the village'? or 'the lion'? ΚΑΦ[Є]ΙΡΑ [BℵA], ΚΕΦΕΙΡΑ [L]), a town of the Hivites, member of the Gibeonite confederation (Josh. 9 17: χεφειρα [A], κεφ. [BF], κεφηρα [L]), afterwards assigned to Benjamin (Josh 18 26: χεφειρα [A], φ. [B]), and mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 6, § 8; cp Ezra 2 25 = Neh. 7 29 (χαφιρα [A]) 1 Esd. 5 19, CAPHIRA (οι εκ πειρας [B], . . . καφιρας [A], κεφηρα [L]), is the modern Kefireh, about 5 m. WSW. from el-Jib (Gibeon).

In 1 Esd. 5 19 PLV (AV, om. RV; πειρας [B]), the second name after Caphira, is apparently a corrupt repetition of it (Ewald, Gesch. iii. 1 [1868] 348) suggests that Kephirim (RV 'villages') in Neh. 6 2 may be the same as Kephirah.

[1] *Lekach Tob* on Nu. 21 29. By a strange blunder W. L. Bevan and Sayce (in Smith's *DB*(2) *s.v.*) have turned this into a black *star*.

[2] The forms Κωνενια, etc., point to a reading כנניה (see 2 Ch 31 12 Ki.); while Ιεχονιας points to יכניה or rather to יכוניה, a scribe's error for וכנניה (cp Ki., Ch., *SBOT*).

CHEQUER WORK (תַּשְׁבֵּץ), Ex. 28 39 RV. See EMBROIDERY, WEAVING; also TUNIC.

CHERAN (כְּרָן; χαρραν [ADEL], a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36 26). See DISHON.

CHEREAS, RV CHÆREAS (χαιρεας and χερ. [A], χεραιας [V]), brother of TIMOTHEUS (*q.v.*), and commander of the fortress at Gazara (2 Macc. 10 32 37).

CHERETHITES (כְּרֵתִי, כְּרֹתִים, 𝔊 in Sam. and K. ο χερεθθει, or [by assimilation to Pelethites] ο χελεθθει; Vg. *Cerethi*; 𝔊 in Prophets κρητες), a people in the south of Palestine. In the days of Saul and David a region in the Negeb adjoining Judah and Caleb bore their name (1 S. 30 14 χολθει [B] χερηθει [A] χορρι [L]). From *v.* 16 it appears that the inhabitants of this region were reckoned to the Philistines; in Zeph. 2 5 and Ez. 25 16 (AV **Cherethims**), also, Philistines and Cherethites are coupled in such a way as to show that they were regarded as one people. Finally, in the names mentioned in the prophecy against Egypt in Ez. 30 5,[1] where AV gives, 'the men of the land that is in league,' we should restore 'the Cherethites' (וּבְנֵי הַכְּרֵתִי; so Cornill, Toy). It is to be inferred that the Cherethites were a branch of the Philistines; or, perhaps, that they were one of the tribes which took part with the Philistines in the invasion of Palestine, and that, like the latter, they remained behind when the wave receded (see PHILISTINES, § 2, CAPHTOR, § 2). The 𝔊 translators of Zeph. and Ez. interpreted the name by *Cretans*; and in this, although they may have been guided only by the sound, they perhaps hit upon the truth.[2] An early connection between Gaza and Crete seems to be indicated by other evidence (see GAZA).

Except in the three passages already cited, the name occurs only in the phrase, 'the Cherethites and Pelethites' (הַכְּרֵתִי וְהַפְּלֵתִי 𝔊 gen. φελεθθει) as the designation of a corps of troops in the service of David—his body-guard (2 S. 8 18 15 18 20 7 23 Kr., 1 K. 1 38 44 1 Ch. 18 17; σωματοφύλακες Jos. *Ant.* vii. 5 4, etc.).[3] They were commanded by BENAIAH, 1, and remained faithful to their master in all the crises of his reign (2 S. 15 20 1 K. 1).

Only the strongest reasons could warrant our separating the Cherethites of David's guard from the people of the same name spoken of in the same source (1 S. 30 14). There are no such reasons: הכרתי has the regular form of a gentile noun; and, although much ingenuity has been expended on the problem, all attempts to explain the word as an appellative have failed. The name Pelethite, which is found only coupled with Cherethite in the phrase above cited, also is a gentile noun; the etymological explanations are even more far-fetched than in the case of the Cherethites. The presumption is that the Pelethites also were Philistines;[4] and this is confirmed by the passages cited from Zeph. and Ez.; פלתי is perhaps only a lisping pronunciation of פלשתי, to make it rhyme with כרתי.

It need not surprise us that David's guard was composed of foreign mercenaries. The Egyptian kings of the nineteenth dynasty recruited their *corps d'élite* from the bold sea-rovers who periodically descended on their coasts; Rameses II. displays great pride in his Sardinian guards, and Sardinians and Libyans are the flower of the army of Rameses III.[1] The Philistines were more skilled in arms than the Israelites, and doubtless liked fighting better: cp ITTAI the Gittite, and see ARMY, § 4. It is the opinion of some recent scholars that where David's *gibbōrīm* (EV 'mighty men') seem to be spoken of as a body, the Cherethites and Pelethites are meant; see especially 1 K. 1 8 10 compared with *v.* 38. This is, however, not a necessary inference from the verses cited; and conflicts with 2 S. 20 7 (cp 15 18 𝔊). More probably the *gibbōrīm* were the comrades of David in the days of his outlawry and the struggle with the Philistines for independence. See DAVID, § 11. In 2 S. 20 23 for 'Cherethites' the Heb. text (Kt.) has Carites (הַכָּרִי).[2] In 2 K. 11 4 19, where this name again occurs, it probably means 'Carians.' The Carians were a famous mercenary folk, and it would not surprise us to find them at Jerusalem in the days of Athaliah (see CARITES). That the soldiers of the guard in even later times were usually foreigners has been inferred from Zeph. 1 8 *f.* and from Ez. 44 6 *ff.*: see WRS *OTJC*(2) 260 *ff.*, but also THRESHOLD. For mercenary troops in post-exilic times see ARMY, § 7.

Literature.—Dissertations by Joh. Benedict Carpzov (1661), and Hen. Opitz (1672), in Ugol. *Thes.* 27 423 *ff.*, 451 *ff.*; J. G. Lakemacher, *Observationes Philologicæ*, P. II. (1727), pp. 11-44; Conrad Iken, *Dissertationes Philologico-Theologicæ* (1740), pp. 111-132; B. Behrend, *Die Kreti und Pleti; ihre inhaltliche Bedeutung und Geschichte* ('88)—extract from *MGWJ* ('87), pp. 117-153; Rüetschi, *PRE*(2) 8 268 *ff.* G. F. M.

CHERITH (כְּרִית, χορραθ [BAL]; χορρα [*Onom.*]), ELIJAH (*q.v.*) has just informed Ahab of the impending drought, when we are abruptly told that 'Yahwè's word came unto him, saying, Get thee hence' (*i.e.*, presumably from Samaria), 'and turn to the east (קֵדְמָה) and hide thyself in the torrent-valley of Cherith which is before (עַל־פְּנֵי) Jordan' (1 K. 17 3 5). This occurs in the first scene of the highly dramatic story of Elijah. In the second he appears in the far north of Palestine—at Zārephath, which hardly suits Robinson's identification (*BR* i. 558) of Cherith with the Wady el-Kelt (which is rather the Valley of ZEBOIM [*q.v.*, i.]), at least if these two scenes stood in juxtaposition from the first. Besides this, the two names *Kelt* and Cherith begin with different palatals and since the expression 'before Jordan' is most naturally explained 'to the E. of the Jordan,'[3] it is plausible to hold with Prof. G. A. Smith that the scene of Elijah's retreat must be sought in Gilead (*HG* 580). Let us, then, look across the Jordan eastward from Samaria (where Elijah may have had his interview with Ahab). The Wady 'Ajlūn and the Wādy Rājib have been proposed by Thenius; the Wādy el-Yābis by Mühlau. But, as C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1 291) points out, Elijah would certainly go to some famous holy place. Of the burial-place of Moses (Niebuhr) we know nothing; but 1 K. 19 3 9 suggests that the sanctuary was in the far south. It is true Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 302 69 113 28) already place Cherith (Χορρα, *Chorath*) beyond Jordan. Josephus, however, makes Elijah depart 'into the southern parts' (*Ant.* viii. 13 2). What we have to do is to find a name which could, in accordance with analogies, be worn down and

[1] [κρῆτες in 𝔊 is obviously misplaced; this version has been conformed to the Hebrew; hence the insertion καὶ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς διαθήκης μου. Davidson's view (κρῆτες = Put) will hardly stand. In three places 𝔊 has Λιβυες for Put. See CHUB, GEOGRAPHY, § 22.]

[2] Lakemacher, Ewald, Hitzig, Stade, and others. For another view see CAPHTOR.

[3] [The readings vary: thus χερεθι [L in 2 S. 8 18], χεττει [B in doublet 2 S. 15 18], χετθι [L *ib.*], A om. doublet χοοεθθει [A in 2 S. 20 7; L omits and in *v.* 23]; ιερεις [BL] and χερηθι [A] in 1 Ch. 18 17, χορρι [L. in 1 K. 1 38 44]). Variants for Pelethites are φελεττει [B in 2 S. 8 18] ωφελεθθει [A *ib.*] -τθει [B in doublet 2 S. 15 18], and φαλτεια [B] -τια [𝔑] φαλεθθι [A] in 1 Ch. 18 17. L has uniformly φελτι, but φελθι in 2 S. 15 18, φερεθι in 1 Ch. 18 17, and πλινθιον in 2 S. 20 23; see BENAIAH, 1.]

[4] Abulwalid, Lakemacher, Ewald, etc.

[1] Many other examples in ancient and modern times will occur to the reader.

[2] In 2 S. 20 23 Kt. הכרי is perhaps not a purely gentile accident; cp also 1 S. 30 14 L χορρι, etc.

[3] [עַל־פְּנֵי in geographical and topographical expressions means commonly *East*; cp 1 K. 11 7 2 K. 23 13 Dt. 32 1, Gen. 25 18, etc. Besides the vaguer meaning of *before* (*e.g.*, Gen. [illegible]) it is sometimes made definite by the addition of a word or an expression in order to denote a particular direction—*e.g.*, 1 K. 15 18, the mountain *before* the [illegible] of Hinnom [illegible] (Zech. 14 4), and the Mount of Olives is *before* Jerusalem [illegible] *the East* (קֶדֶם): cp Nu. 21 11 [illegible] 18 14. Lastly, it is used in the sense of overlooking; cp Gen. 18 16 19 28 Nu. 23 28 (Dr.), on 1 Sam. 15 7, Di. on Josh. 17 7, and especially Moore, *Judges*, 16 3). In 1 K. 17 3, קֵדְמָה, 'eastward,' should be corrected to מִדְבָּרָה, 'towards the desert' (as 19 4).]

corrupted into כרית. Such a name is רחבות, Rehoboth. The valley of Rehoboth (the Wādy Ruhaibeh) would be fitly described as על־פני מצרים, 'fronting Misrim' (see MIZRAIM); cp Gen. 25 18. The alteration of מצרים into הירדן was made in order to suit the next story, in which ZEPHATH (*q.v.*) had been already corrupted into ZAREPHATH.

T. K. C.

CHERUB, plural form **Cherubim** (כְּרוּב, כְּרֻבִים, כְּרוּבִים; χερουβ, χερουβ[ε]ιμ, -[ε]ιν [BAL]; etymology disputed; Ps. 104 3 may allude to a popular [post-exilic] identification of כְּרוּב and רכוב, but *kerub* being, like γρύψ, a loan-word, a Hebrew etymology is inadmissible). In the composite system of Jewish angelology the cherubim form one of the ten highest classes of angels, while another class is distinguished by the synonymous term 'living creatures' (*ḥayyōth*). These two classes, together with the *'ōphannīm* or 'wheels,' are specially attached to the throne of the divine glory, and it is the function of the cherubim to be bearers of the throne on its progresses through the worlds. The Jewish liturgy, like the 'Te Deum,' delights to associate the 'praises of Israel' (Ps. 22 3[4]) with those offered to God by the different classes of angels, and singles out for special mention in a portion of the daily morning service the *'ōphannīm*, the *ḥayyōth*, and the *śerāphīm*. We find an approach to this conception in the Apocalypse, where the four ζῷα (Rev. 4 6-8), though—like the twenty-four πρεσβύτεροι—they are always mentioned apart from the angels, and discharge some altogether peculiar functions, are yet associated with the angels in the utterance of doxologies[1] (Rev. 4 8 5 11-14 19 1-7).

1. Late Jewish angelology.

A similar view is suggested in the 'Similitudes' in *Enoch*, in one passage of which (61 10*f.*) 'the cherubim, seraphim, and 'ōphannim, and all the angels of power' are combined under the phrase 'the host of God,' and unite in the ascription of blessedness to the 'Lord of Spirits,' while in another (chap. xl.) the 'four faces on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits' (a reminiscence of Ezek. 16) are identified or confounded with the archangels. Elsewhere, however, a somewhat different view is presented of the cherubim. They are the sleepless guardians of the 'throne of His glory' (71 7); they are the 'fiery cherubim' (14 11), and together with the seraphim (exceptionally called 'serpents,' δράκοντες) are closely connected with Paradise, and placed under the archangel Gabriel (20 7). From these facts we gather that in the last two centuries B.C. there were different ways of conceiving the cherubim. Some writers had a stronger sense of the peculiarity of the nature of the cherubim than others, and laid stress on such points as their connection with the divine fire, and with Paradise and its serpent-guardians. Whence did they derive a notion so suggestive of mythological comparisons?

2. Ezek. 28 13*f.* 16 **Isa.** 14 13-15.

The most reasonable answer is, From the earlier religious writings, supplemented and interpreted by a not yet extinct oral tradition. A tale of the serpents by the sacred tree (once probably serpent-demons) may have been orally handed down, but the conception of the fiery cherubim in God's heavenly palace is to be traced to the vision in Ezek. 1, and to the account of the 'mountain of God' in Eden, with its 'stones of fire' and its cherub-guardian, in Ezek. 28 13*f.* 16. These two passages of Ezekiel form the next stage in our journey. The latter must be treated first, as being evidently a faithful report of a popular tradition. Unfortunately the received Hebrew text is faulty, and an intelligible exegesis of the passage is rarely given. Keil, for instance, admits some reference to Paradise, but feels

[1] The differences between the ζῷα of Revelation and those of Ezekiel, both as to their appearance and as to their functions, are obvious. But without the latter how could the former have been imagined? The traditional Christian view that the apocalyptic ζῷα symbolise the four Gospels can hardly be seriously defended.

obliged to infer from the epithet 'that covereth' (המכפר) that 'the place of the cherub in the sanctuary (Ex. 25 20) was also present to the prophet's mind.' Nor is the difficulty confined to this epithet and to the equally strange word (מסוכה) which Vg. renders 'extentus,' and EV 'anointed' (so Theodot.); the opening phrase אתה־כרוב, whether rendered 'thou wast the cherub' or (pointing אתה differently) 'with the cherub,'[1] baffles comprehension. It is necessary, therefore, to correct the text of *vv.* 13*f.* 16*b*; we shall then arrive at the following sense:—

'Thou wast in Eden, the divine garden; of all precious stones was thy covering—cornelian, etc.; and of gold were thy . . . worked; in the day when thou wast made were they prepared. To be . . . had I appointed thee; thou wast upon the holy, divine mountain; amidst the stones of fire didst thou walk to and fro.[2] Then wast thou dishonoured (being cast) out of the divine mountain, and the cherub destroyed thee (hurling thee) out of the midst of the stones of fire.'

The sense now becomes fairly clear. We have here a tradition of Paradise distinct from that in Gen. 2 and 3. Favoured men, it appears, could be admitted to the divine garden, which glittered with precious stones (or, as they are also called, 'stones of fire') like the mythic tree which the hero Gilgameš saw in the Babylonian epic,[3] or like the interior of the temples of Babylon or Tyre,[4] or like the walls and gates and streets of the new Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. But these privileged persons were still liable to the sin of pride, and such a sin would be their ruin. This Ezekiel applies to the case of the king of Tyre, who reckoned himself the favourite of his god, and secure of admission to Paradise.

The idea of the passage is closely akin to that expressed in Is. 14 13-15. The king of Babylon believes that by his unique position and passionate devotion to the gods he is assured of entering that glorious cosmic temple of which his splendid terrace-temples are to him the symbols. Towards Marduk he is humility itself, but to the unnamed prophet of Yahwé he seems proud even to madness. From that heaven of which in his thoughts he is already the inhabitant, the prophet sees him hurled as a lifeless corpse to an ignoble grave. This is just what Ezekiel holds out in prospect to the king of Tyre, and the destroying agent is the cherub. How different this idea of the cherub from that of the apocalyptic ζῷα!

We have again a different conception of the cherubim in Ezekiel's vision (Ez. 1).[5] The prophet has not the old unquestioning belief in tradition, and modifies the traditional data so as to produce effective symbols of religious ideas. Out of the elaborate description it is enough to select a few salient points. Observe then that the one cherub of the tradition in ch. 28 has now become four cherubim (cp Rev. 4 6-8), each of which has four faces, one looking each way, viz. that of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, and human hands on his four sides. They are not, however, called cherubim, but *ḥayyōth*

3. Ezek. 1 1*ff.*

[1] So Co., following ⊕BAQ, Sym., but in other respects reading *v.* 14 as above.

[2] According to the ordinary view which makes the Tyrian prince a cherub, the plumage of the cherub of Ezekiel's tradition was resplendent as if with gold and precious stones. But surely it was not merely as a griffin, nor as a griffin's fellow, that the Tyrian prince was placed (as the prophet dramatically states) in Paradise, but as one of the 'sons of Elohim'; and the covering spoken of is a state-dress besprinkled with precious stones. 'Stones of fire' means 'flashing stones,' like the Assyrian *abnu išāti*, 'stone of fire,' one of the names of a certain precious stone (Friedr. Del. *Parr.* 118).

[3] Tablet IX. See Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 30.

[4] For Babylon see Nebuchadrezzar's inscription, *RP*[2] 3 104*ff.*, where he describes the beautification of the temple Ē-sagila at great length. Gold and precious stones are specially mentioned. For the temple of Tyre see Herod. 2 44 (the two brilliant pillars). Gold was also lavishly used in the temple of Solomon.

[5] There is a second description in 10 8-17, but it is the attempt of a later writer to improve upon Ezekiel's account, and to prepare the way for *v.* 20. *V.* 14 should be omitted as a very careless gloss. See Cornill, and on *v.* 14 cp Davidson.

('living creatures'), until we come to 9_3, and Ezekiel tells us (10_{20}) that he did not 'know that they were cherubim' till he heard them called so by God (10_2). By this he implies that his own description of them differed so widely from that received by tradition that without the divine assurance he could not have ventured to call them cherubim. Sometimes, however, he speaks of them in the singular ('the living creature,' 1_{22}; 'the cherub,' 9_3 10_{24}, if MT is correct), apparently to indicate that, being animated by one 'spirit,' the four beings formed but one complex phenomenon. The fourfold character of the cherub is caused by the new function (relatively to the account in ch. 28) which is assigned to it; in fact, it has now become the bearer of the throne of God (more strictly of the 'firmament' under the throne $1_{22\text{-}26}$). But the whole appearance was at the moment bathed in luminous splendour, so that the seer needed reflection to realise it. We will therefore not dwell too much on what must be to a large extent peculiar to Ezekiel and artificially symbolic, and in so far belongs rather to the student of biblical theology. All that it is important to add is that the divine manifestation takes place within a storm-cloud, and that a fire which gives out flashes of lightning burns brightly between the cherubim; also that there are revolving wheels beside the cherubim, animated by the same 'spirit' as the living creatures, and as brilliant as the chrysolith or topaz; and that in his vision of the temple Ezekiel again modifies his picture of the cherubim, each cherub having there but two faces, that of a man and that of a lion (41_{18} *f.*).

4. Some post-exilic passages.

Another group of passages on the cherubim is found in the Psalter, viz. Ps. 18_{10} *f.* [$_{11}$ *f.*] 80_1 [$_2$] 99_1, and to the latter we may join not only Ps. 22_3 [$_4$], but phrases in 1 S. 4_4 2 S. 6_2 1 Ch. 13_6 2 K. 19_{15} (= Is. 37_{16}). All these passages are post-exilic.[1] In the first we read, 'He bowed the heavens and came down, and thick clouds were under his feet; he mounted the cherub and flew, he came swooping upon the wings of the wind.' That there is a mythical conception here is obvious, but it has grown very pale, and does not express much more than Ps. 104_{3b}. The conception agrees with that of Ezekiel; the cherub (only one is mentioned, but this does not exclude the existence of more) is in some sense the divine chariot, and has some relation to the storm-wind and the storm-clouds. The other psalm-passages appear at first sight to give a new conception of the cherubim, who are neither the guards of the 'mountain of God,' nor the chariot of the moving Deity, but the throne on which he is seated. It may be questioned, however, whether the phrase 'enthroned upon the cherubim' is not simply a condensed expression for 'seated on the throne which is guarded by the cherubim.' Both in the Psalter and in the narrative-books it is the heavenly throne of Yahwè which is meant, the throne from which (as is implied in Ps. 80_1 [$_2$] 99_1 and 2 K. 19_{15}) he rules the universe and guides the destiny of the nations. That is the only change which has taken place in the conception of the cherubim; they have been definitely transferred to heaven, and, strictly speaking, their occupation as bearers of the Deity should have gone, for the 'angels' are sufficient links between God and the world of men. Or rather there is yet another point in which the cherub idea has been modified; it is indicated in Ps. 22_3 ($_4$) where, if the text is correct,[2] Yahwè is addressed as 'enthroned,' not upon the cherubim, but 'upon the praises of Israel.' The idea is that the cherubim in heaven have now the great new function of praising God, and that in the praiseful services of the temple, where God is certainly in some degree present, the congregation takes the place of the cherubim. This at any rate agrees with later beliefs, and may be illustrated by the direction in Ex. 25_{20} (P) that the faces of the cherubim on the ark shall be 'towards the mercy-seat (*kapporeth*). The meaning of the priestly theorist (for the description is imaginary, the ark having long ago disappeared) is, that the cherubim are a kind of higher angels who surround the earthly throne of Yahwè and contemplate and praise his glory. It is also stated that their faces are to be 'one to another,' and, if we add to this that they have to guard, not Yahwè, but the sacramental sign of his favour, we get three points in which the cherubim of the priestly writer are closely analogous to the seraphim of the vision of Isaiah (Is. 6).

[1] In the three passages from S. and 1 Ch. the phrase יושב הכרובים has been interpolated (cp ARK, § 1).

[2] See Che., *Ps.*[2], *at loc.*, where the text of the deeply corrupt verse is restored with some confidence.

We now come to the cherubim in the temple of Solomon.

5. Solomon's temple.

Carved figures of cherubim were prominent in the decoration of the walls and the doors, and two colossal cherubim stood in the *dĕbîr* or 'adytum,' where they 'formed a kind of dais, one wing being horizontally stretched towards the lateral wall, whilst the other overshadowed the ark, a felicitous arrangement resulting in charming effects'[1] (see 1 K. $6_{23\text{-}35}$). Obviously they are the guards of the sacred ark and its still more sacred contents. Cp TEMPLE.

6. Paradise story.

There is no record of any myth which directly accounts for the temple-cherubim. But an old tradition said that after the first human pair had been driven out of the divine garden, Yahwè 'stationed at the east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim and the blade of the whirling sword,'[2] and the function of these two allied but independent powers was 'to guard the way to the tree of life' (Gen. 3_{24}). Neither in this case, nor in the preceding one, is any account given of the physiognomy of the cherubim. In the height of the mythological period no such account was needed.

7. Development.

We see therefore that the most primitive Hebrew myth described the cherubim as beings of superhuman power and devoid of human sympathies, whose office was to drive away intruders from the abode of God, or of the gods. Originally this abode was conceived of as a mountain or as a garden on the lower slopes of a mountain, and as glittering with a many-coloured brightness. But when the range of the supreme god's power became wider, when from an earth-god he became also a heaven-god, the cherub too passed into a new phase, he became the divine chariot. We have no early authority for this view, but the age which produced the story of Elijah's ascent to heaven in a fiery chariot (2 K. 2_{11}) may be supposed to have known of fiery cherubs on which Yahwè rode. At a still later time, the cherubim, though still spoken of by certain writers, were no longer indispensable.[3] The forces of nature were alike Yahwè's guards and his ministers. Mythology became a subject of special learning, and its details acquired new meanings, and the cherub-myth passed into an entirely new phase.

There is much that is obscure about the form of the primitive Israelitish cherub. It was in the main a human animal, but it had wings. That is all that we know, though a probable conjecture (see below) may lead us further. As to the meaning of the cherubim, they have been thought to represent the storm-clouds which sometimes hang around the mountain peaks, sometimes rush 'on the wings of the wind,' sending forth an

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Judea*, 1 245.

[2] The sword is not the sword of the cherubim but that of Yahwè; it is the same with which he 'slew the dragon' (Is. 27_1). Marduk, too, has such a sword (see Smith, *Chald. Gen.* 86 [86], and the illustration, opp. 114).

[3] In Hab. 3 8 a very late poet speaks of Yahwè as riding not upon a cherub, but upon horses. This is a return to a very old myth (see tablet 4 of the Babylonian Creation epic, p. 54; Zimmern, Keilinschriftliches in Gunkel's *Schöpf.* 411).

like flashes of lightning. This theory is consistent with the language of Ps. 18 9 *f.* Ez. 1 4 *f.* 24, and the passages in *Enoch*, but hardly explains the symbolism of the cherub in its earliest historically known forms. At any rate, we can affirm positively that the myth is of foreign origin. Lenormant thought that he had traced it to Babylonia,[1] on the ground that *kirubu* occurs on a talisman as a synonym for *Sidu*, a common term for the divine bull-guardian of temples and palaces. This theory however is not confirmed as regards the derivation of כְּרוּב (see *ZA* 1 68 *f.* ['86]). We may indeed admit that Ezekiel probably mingled the old Palestinian view of the cherub with the *analogous* Babylonian conception of the divine winged bulls. But, so far as can be seen at present, the early Hebrew cherub came nearer to the griffin, which was not divine, but the servant of the Deity, and the origin of which is now assigned to the Hittites of Syria.[2] The idea of this mythic form is the combination of parts of the two strongest animals of air and land—the lion and the eagle, and a reminiscence of this may perhaps be traced in the reference to these animals in Ez. 1 10. It was adopted by various nations, but to understand its true significance we must go, not to Egypt nor to Greece, but to the Hittites, whose originality in the use of animal-forms is well known. The Hittite griffin appears almost always, in contrast to many Babylonian representations, not as a fierce beast of prey, but seated in calm dignity like an irresistible guardian of holy things. It is only on later Syrian monuments that the Sun-god is represented in a chariot[3] drawn by griffins, which agrees with a statement respecting the Indian sun-god in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* (3 48). The Egyptian imported this form, probably from Syria or Canaan at the beginning of the New Empire, but the griffin never acquired among them the religious significance of the Sphinx.[4] The Phœnicians, and probably the Canaanites, and through them the Israelites, evidently attached greater importance to the griffin or cherub, and it is said that among the discoveries at Zenjirli in N. Syria (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2) is a genuine representation of this mythic form as described in Ez. 41 18 *f.*[5] Whether the sculptured quadruped with a bearded human head, Assyrian in type, discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the subterranean quarries in the north of Jerusalem,[6] is rightly called a cherub seems very doubtful.

8. Origin.

For a general sketch of the different conceptions of winged composite animals, see B. Teloni, *ZA* 6 124-140 ['91], and cp Furtwängler's art. in Roscher, *Lex.*, cited already; also, for OT criticism, Vatke, *Die Rel. des AT*, 329-334 ['35]. T. K. C.

CHERUB (כְּרוּב; χαρουβ [BA*A]), a town or district in Babylonia, unless Cherub-Addan-Immer should be taken as one name, Ezra 2 59 (χαρουϲ [B], χερουβ [AL]) = Neh. 7 61 (χερουβ [N^vid.,at A], αχ. [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 36 (χαρααθαλαν [B], χερουβιδαν [L], χαρα αθαλαρ [A]), where the former two of these names are run together (CHARAATHALAR, RV CHARAATHALAN) and the names are regarded as personal rather than as local.

CHESALON (כֶּסָלוֹן; χαϲλων [B], -ϲαλ. [AL]), on the N. side of Mount Jearim, one of the places which in Joshua (15 10) mark the northern frontier of the tribe of Judah. It is the modern *Kesla*, 2087 ft. above sea-level, on a high ridge immediately to the S. of the Wâdy Ghurab, and about half-way between Karyat el 'Enab (Robinson's Kiriath-jearim) and Eshu' (Eshtaol). (See Rob. *BR* 2 10 3 134.) In the time of Eusebius and Jerome, who place it on the border, the one in Benjamin and the other in Judah, it was 'a very large village in the confines of Jerusalem' (*OS*, Χαλασων, *Chasalon*). Stanley (*SP* 496) fitly compares the name and situation with that of Chesulloth or CHISLOTH-TABOR (*q.v.*).

CHESED (כֶּשֶׂד, χαϲαδ [*D*], χαϲζαδ [A], χαζαθ [L]), son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen. 22 22), the eponym of a branch of the Chaldæans. See ARAM, § 3, ARPHAXAD.

CHESIL (כְּסִיל), Josh. 15 30 = 19 4, BETHUL.

CHESNUT (עַרְמוֹן), Gen. 30 37, RV PLANE.

CHEST. 1. אָרוֹן, in 2 K. 12 9 *f.* [10 *f.*] = 2 Ch 24 8 *ff.*, used of a box with lid (דֶּלֶת, see DOOR) and hole (חֹר) into which money might be dropped (ϲλωϲϲοκομοϲ [BAL], θηϲαυροϲ [Jos. *Ant.* ix. 8 2]). The same word is used of a coffin (Gen. 50 26, see DEAD, § 1), and of the Ark of the Covenant (see ARK, and cp COFFER).

2. גְּנוּי בְּרִיטִים, Ezek. 27 24, EV 'chests of rich apparel,' but though גְּנוּ (see TREASURE HOUSE, like θησαυρός (Mt. 2 11), might conceivably mean a repository for costly objects, yet the parallel expression 'mantles (not 'wrappings,' as RV) of blue and broidered work' shows that גְּנוּי must mean 'garments,' or the like. ר and ו are so easily confounded that we need not hesitate to read בְּגָדִי (Che.), rendering 'robes of variegated stuff.'[1] See EMBROIDERY, and cp DRESS, § 4.

CHESULLOTH (כְּסֻלּוֹת), Josh. 19 18. See CHISLOTH-TABOR.

CHETTIIM (χεττιειμ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 1 1 AV, RV CHITTIM. See KITTIM.

CHEZIB (כְּזִיב), Gen. 38 5 †. See ACHZIB, 1.

CHIDON (כִּידוֹן), 1 Ch. 13 9. See NACHON.

CHIEF, CHIEFTAIN. The former, like 'captain,' is often used in AV as a substantive with a convenient vagueness to render various Heb. words (such as קָצִין, פְּנִי, רֹאשׁ, נָשִׂיא) which appear to be used in a more or less general sense.

For 'chief ruler' or 'chief minister' (2 S. 8 18 20 26 1 Ch. 5 2), cp PRIEST and PRINCE; for 'chief man' (πρῶτος Acts 28 7), see MELITA; and for 'chief of Asia,' (Acts 19 31) see ASIARCH.

CHIEFTAIN occurs only in Zech. 9 7 12 5 *f.* RV for אַלּוּף, for which see DUKE.

CHILDREN, SONG OF THE THREE. See DANIEL, §§ 19, 22.

CHILEAB (כִּלְאָב, § 4), son of David (2 S. 3 3). In 1 Ch. 3 1 he is called DANIEL (*q.v.* 4).

CHILIARCH (χιλιαρχοϲ [Ti. WH]), Rev. 19 18 RV^mg. See ARMY, § 10.

CHILION (כִּלְיוֹן; § 74, χελλαιων [L]), and MAHLON (מַחְלוֹן, μααλων [BAL], § 74), 'sickness' and 'wasting,' the names given to the sons of Naomi in the narrative of Ruth (Ruth 1 2 κελαιων [B], χελεων [A]; *v.* 5 χελαιων [B], χελεων [A]; 4 9 χελαιων [B], χαιλεων [A]).

CHILMAD (כִּלְמַד, χαρμαν [BAQ]), Ez. 27 23, MT, usually supposed to be a place or land not far from Assyria. If this be correct, it must at any rate be some fairly well-known place or land. But no name resembling Chilmad occurs anywhere else, and, as two

[1] See Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1 112 *ff.*; Schrader, *COT* 1 40; Frd. Del. *Par.* 153; Che. *Is.*[5] 2 297 *f.* Delitzsch, however, still holds to a connection between כְּרוּב and Ass. *kurûbu* (?) = *karûbu* 'mighty' (*Ass. HWB*, 352). Sayce compares the quasi-human winged figures represented on Assyrian walls as fertilising the 'tree of life,' the date-palm (*Crit. Mon.* 102; cp Tylor, *PSBA*, 12 383 *ff.* [1889-90]).

[2] Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lex.* Bd. ii., art. 'Gryps.'

[3] Rakûb'el (D. H. Müller) or perhaps Rekab'el or Rakkâb'el (G. Hoffmann) is one of the gods of the Syrian district of Ya'di (Zenjirli inscriptions). G. Hoffmann explains Rekab'el 'charioteer of El' (*ZA*, 11 ['96], 252).

[4] Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lex.* Bd. ii. (*ut sup.*), cp Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 434 *f.*

[5] See *ZA* 9 420 *f.* ['94].

[6] *Rev. crit.*, 16 Mai, 1892.

[1] Cp Ass. *burrumu*, 'variegated cloth' (Muss-Arnolt).

corruptions of the text have already been found in this verse (CANNEH, SHEBA, iii.), we may presume a third. Read with Targ. 'and Media' (ומדי). Less probably Graetz, 'Babylon and Media' (בבל ומדי); Mez and Bertholet, 'all Media' (כל־מדי). כל should be disregarded. It came from רכל; the scribe began to write רכל too soon. ר fell out owing to the ר which precedes; restore ו. T. K. C.

CHIMHAM (כִּמְהָם, §§ 66, 77, or [2 S. 19 41] כִּמְהָן,[1] or [Jer. 41 17 Kt.] כִּמּוּהָם—*i.e.*, if the text is right, 'blind' [cp ܥܡܝܐ, *caecus fuit*, and note Nestle's view on the Aramaean origin of BARZILLAI]; χαμααμ [B], χανδαν [A], αχιμααμ [L], αχιμανοϲ, Jos. *Ant.* vii. 11 14; in Jer. 41 17 -χαμαα [B], -χαμα [ℵ], -χαμααμ [AQ*]), one of the sons of the Gileadite Barzillai, in whose stead he entered the service of David (2 S. 19 37 [38] *f.* χααμ [B*] 40 [41]). Most probably his real name was Ahinoam (אחינעם); note the ו in Jer.'s form, the ן in 2 S., the Gr. forms with α χι and ν, and the Egyptian form (? see below) with n-ma (Che.). Following Ew. (*Hist.* 3 216), Deans Stanley and Plumptre have supposed that he carried on the family tradition of hospitality by erecting at Bethlehem a khan or hospice for travellers (see Jer. 41 17, גרות כמהם, RV^mg. 'lodging-place of Chimham'). This view, however, is based on the faulty reading גרות. This should be corrected into גדרות, which is the reading of Jos. (see *Ant.* x. 9 5), of Aq., and of the Hexaplar Syriac (see Field), and has been adopted by Hitzig and Giesebrecht. In the text represented by 𝔊 [see Swete] the ר in גדרות had become a ב. Gidroth-chimham—*i.e.*, 'the hurdles, or sheep-pens, of Chimham'—seems a probable name for a locality in a pastoral district. 'Chimham' (or Ahinoam?) is appended to distinguish this Gederoth from other places of the same name. It is just possible that the family of Chimham or Ahinoam had property there. Among the names of the places in Palestine conquered by Seti I. we find Ḥa(?)-ma-he-mu, 'the city of Ḳaduru in He(?)-n-mā,' which may *possibly* belong to the same place (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 193, 202), *-vis.*, Gidroth-chimham (Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 157), or rather Gidroth-ahinoam. T. K. C.—S. A. C.

CHIMNEY (אֲרֻבָּה), Hos. 13 3. See COAL, § 3, LATTICE, § 2 (1).

CHINNERETH (כִּנֶּרֶת, in Josh. 13 27 χενερεθ [B], χενερωθ [AL]; 19 35, κενερεθ [B], χεν. [L], χενεροθ [A]; in Dt., מִכִּנֶּרֶת, 'from Chinnereth'; μαχαναρεθ [B], απο μαχενερ. [AF], απο χ. [L]), the name of one of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali (Josh. 19 35). Possibly it is also referred to in 1 K. 15 20, where we should perhaps read 'and Abel-beth-maacah, and Chinneroth, and all the land of Naphtali.'[2] It is of great antiquity, for it occurs under the form *kn-na-ra-tu* in the list of places conquered by Thotmes III., n. 34 (*RP*[2]) 5 45; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 84). It is also given (1), with the prefix 'sea of,' to the Galilean lake (Nu. 34 11 [χεναρα BF, -ερεθ AL] Josh. 13 27); (2) to the same inland 'sea' without that prefix (Dt. 3 17, cp Josh. 11 2 and see below). The site of the town can no longer be identified.

Jerome identified it with Tiberias (*OS* 112 29); some rabbins with a town at the S. of the lake called Beth-jerach (probably the Tarichæa of Josephus). Others included Sanbari (the Sennabris of Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 7) under the designation; a third extended the application of the name to Beth-shean (*Ber. rabba*, par. 98, Wünsche). This vagueness sufficiently shows that nothing was known as to the site of the ancient town. Cp Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.*, 214 *f.*

On the derivation of Chinnereth, see GENNESARET.

T. K. C.

[1] The Kt. reading כִּמּוּהָם, Jer. 41 17, may safely be disregarded.

[2] ואת כנרת ואת כל־ארץ נפתלי. ות in MT's כנרות may conceal ואת. 𝔊, in 2 Ch. 16 14, however, presupposes כִּכְּרוֹת נפתלי (τὰς περιχώρους; see Ki., *SBOT*).

CHINNEROTH ([Gins.] כִּנְרוֹת or [Bd.] כִּנֶּרֶת, the '*pluralis extensivus*' of CHINNERETH) is the name applied (1), with the prefix 'sea of,' to the Galilean lake in Josh. 12 3 (χενερεθ [BFL], χενν. [A]), (2), without this prefix (cp Dt. 3 17), to the same lake in Josh. 11 2 (κενερωθ [B], χενερεθθι [A], -εθ [FL]), (3), in the spelling CINNEROTH (AV only), to a district (?) in Naphtali laid waste by Benhadad king of Damascus (1 K. 15 20, χενερεθ [AL], χεξραθ [B]). See CITY, § 2 (*f.*), n. The second and third passages need a brief comment. In 1 K. 15 20, Ewald (*Hist.* 2 290, n. 6) explains 'all Chinneroth' to mean the W. shore of Lake Merom and the Sea of Galilee and of that part of the Jordan which flows between those lakes; Thenius, the basin which extends from Lake Merom to the upper point of the Sea of Galilee. Such a large extent of meaning, however, is improbable. Unless we adopt the correction suggested above (CHINNERETH) it is best to suppose Chinneroth to mean here the shores (or the W. or E. shore alone) of that famous lake. In support of this explanation, the second passage mentioned above (Josh. 11 2) may be appealed to.

The text, however, is not quite correct. The rendering 'in the Arabah south of Chinneroth' (RV) can hardly be defended. The difficulty lies in נֶגֶב, for which it is better with Dl. to read נֶגֶד (𝔊^HAFL ἀπέναντι); we shall then get the phrase 'in the Arabah over against Chinneroth.' This may be a designation of the fertile plain called *el-Ghuweir*, the GENNESARET of the Synoptic Gospels, in which the town of Chinnereth was presumably situated. Cp GENNESARET, and JUDAH UPON JORDAN.

CHIOS (χιοϲ [Tl. WH]: *Chius*), the beautiful and fruitful *Scio*, the central member of the triad of large islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor. It has little connection with biblical history, but the solitary mention of it (Acts 20 15) very clearly indicates its geographical position. Paul returning from Macedonia, to keep Pentecost at Jerusalem, touched at Mitylene in Lesbos; next day he was 'over against' Chios (κατηντήσαμεν ἀντικρὺ Χίου); probably somewhere about Cape Argennum mod. *Asprokavo*, which was a place of anchorage (Polyb. 16 8). On the third day at Samos. The ship evidently anchored each night and sailed with the early morning breeze, which prevails generally in the Ægean during the summer, blowing from the N. and dying away in the afternoon. The run from Mitylene to Chios is something over 50 m. Herod's voyage as related in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2 2, in the reverse direction, illustrates the apostle's journey.

Strabo describes the town as having a good harbour with anchorage for eighty ships (645). Paul possibly lay becalmed in the channel (about 7 m. wide), and may not have landed. The island was noted for its wines (Strabo, 645, 657). W. J. W.

CHISLEU, RV **Chislev** (כִּסְלֵו, in Assyr. Kisilivu, cp *KAT*[2]) 380, in Palm. כסלול De Vog. *Syr. Cent.* nos. 24, 75): Zech. 7 1 χαϲελεγ [ABF^ca], -ϲιλ- [ℵ^1fc.a.c.b], -ϲλ- [Γ*], ραϲιλεγ or ραϲ. [ℵ*]); Neh. 1 1, ϲεχεηλογ [B], -χενλ. [B*^vid.], -χεηλ [ℵ*], χεϲελεγ [ℵ^c.a mg.], χαϲεηλογ [A], χαϲαλεγ [L]). AV has CASLEU in 1 Macc. 1 54 4 52 (χαϲελευ [Aℵ^c.aV], -ϲαλ. [ℵ*], but χαϲελεογ [A in 4 52]). See MONTH, § 5.

CHISLON (כִּסְלוֹן 'confidence'? χαϲλων [BAFL]), the father of Elidad (Nu. 34 21).

CHISLOTH-TABOR (כִּסְלוֹת־תָּבוֹר; § 99 'loins' or 'flanks' of Tabor; cp Aznoth-tabor, 'ears' or 'peaks' of Tabor; χαϲελωθαιθ [B], -ϲαλωθ βαθωρ [A], -ϲελλαθ θαβωρ [L]), Josh 19 12 or in *v.* 18 CHESULOTH (כְּסֻלּוֹת; χαϲαλωθ [B], αχαϲελ. [AL]), by on the border between Zebulun (Josh. 19 12) and Issachar (*v.* 18). It is the Xaloth (Ξαλωθ) of Josephus (*BJ* iii. 3 1 *Vit.* 44), the *Chasalus* or Χασελοθ of Eusebius and Jerome—described by them as a small village on the plain below Mount Tabor, 8 R. m. from Diocæsarea or Sepphoris (*OS*[2]) 91 4 94 25 223 59). It is represented by the modern *Iksāl*, 460 ft. above sea level, 7 m. SW. from Sepphoris, 5½ m. N. from Shunem,

and nearly 3 m. W. from the base of Mount Tabor. The name has been suggested as an emendation for Μαισαλωθ or Μεσσαλωθ in 1 Macc. 9 2 and of Chellus in Judith 1 9 (see CHELLUS). The position of the place on the main road N., in the pass between Tabor and the hills of Nazareth, explains its strategical value, as witnessed in its various appearances in history.

CHITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ), Josh. 15 40 RV, AV KITHLISH.

CHITTIM (כִּתִּים), Is. 23 1 AV, etc.; Gen. 10 4 KITTIM (*q.v.*).

CHIUN (כִּיּוּן) and **SICCUTH** (סִכּוּת), Am. 5 26 RV, 'Yea, ye [O house of Israel] have borne Sicuth your king, and Chiun your images, the star of your god.' AV, RV^mg differ by rendering סִכּוּת, 'the tabernacle (of).' These words

1. Identification. have long been a puzzle to scholars. The primary question is, whether they should be considered appellatives or proper nouns. The problem is ancient, as appears from the phenomena of the versions (see below, § 2). Into the syntactical and exegetical difficulties of v. 26, taken with its context, we cannot here enter; our object is to consider the explanation of the above-mentioned words offered by Schrader (*St. Kr.* 324 *ff.* [74], and *COT* 2 141 *f.*), which, though widely accepted, fails to satisfy some good critics. According to Schrader's theory סִכּוּת is to be pointed סַכּוּת and כִּיּוּן כִּיּוּן, the former representing the divine name Sakkut, the latter Kaiwan. Oppert had already recognised in Chiun the Babylonian Kaiwān, and this identification may be regarded as almost certain. The word is of frequent occurrence in Babylonian mythological and religious texts as the name of the planet Saturn. It is of uncertain meaning and etymology.

Other Semitic peoples have preserved the same name, probably as loan words, for Saturn is called by the Mandæans כיוָן, by the Syrians ܟܝܘܢ, and by the Persians *Kaiwān* (for references to the occurrence of the word in Babylonian texts, see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 111 *ff.*).

The name Sicuth presents much greater difficulties. Schrader has shown that the name Sak-kut, which is probably the same as the Sicuth of the text, is used in a Babylonian list as a name, or an ideographic writing, for the god Ninib (2 R. 57 40). Ninib, however, appears to be the god of the planet Kaiwanu or Saturn (see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 136 *ff.*; Lotz, (*Quæst. de hist. Sabbati*, 27 *ff.*). We seem, therefore, to be brought to the conclusion that Sakkuth and Kaiwan are the same (which would be still more clear if it could be shown with certainty that SAG-UŠ, 2 R. 32 no. 3 *l.* 25, might be read Sak-kut, as Oppert and Schrader believe). Not all the steps in the argument made to connect Sak-kut and Kaiwan are perfectly clear. Still, indirect confirmation of the correctness of the result has lately come to hand, the two words having been found together in a mythological text. In the Šurpu texts Sak-kut and Kaiwānu are invoked together (4 R. 52 col. 4 *l.* 9; cp Zimmern, *Beit. zur Kenntniss der Bab. Rel.*, 1896, p. 10 *l.* 170). In this text at least the two words Sak-kut and Kaiwan appear together as they do in Amos.

[Not improbably, according to Che., there is a reference to Saccuth-Kaiwān in 2 K. 17 30 (see SUCCOTH-BENOTH) and another to Kaiwan in a passage of Ezekiel. 'The image of jealousy' in Ezek. 8 3 5 is not a possible title; קִנְאָה seems to be a corruption of כִּיּוּן. The word for 'image' is סֶמֶל; it was probably a statue of Kaiwan which Ezekiel saw (in ecstasy) 'northward of the altar gate' in the outer court of the temple, unless indeed סֶמֶל (IDOL, § 1 c) should rather be שֵׁדִים = *šêdu*, *lamassu*, one of the names for the colossal winged bulls which guarded the entrances of Assyrian and Babylonian palaces and temples (cp Ezek. 8 3 5 where, however, read פֶּתַח, 'at the entrance,' with Grä. *f.* בְּבוֹאָה). At any rate, we now seem to know the period to which the interpolation of Am. 5 26 refers (see further Che., *Ex. Times*, 10 142, Dec. '98)].

The connection of Sicuth and Chiun with the Babylonian name and the ideographic value for the planet Saturn agree well with their juxtaposition in Am. 5 26, and if כוכב אל and צלמים are transposed, the verse

becomes at least intelligible (see Schr. *ib.*, and cp Orelli, *ad loc.*). The phenomena of 𝔊's text, however, and

2. Text. also those of the MT, suggest the inference that there may be a more deeply-seated corruption (see AMOS, § 13).

[For the סכות of Heb. text 𝔊 ΒΑ give την σκηνην—*i.e.*, סֻכָּה (cp Acts 7 43). Peš. ܣܘܟܘܬܐ, Aq. συσκιασμους, Theod. την οραστν, Vg. *tabernaculum*, Tg. (Lag.) קיבות, which confirms MT. For כיון (Heb. text and Tg.), Aq. and Symm. have χιουν, Theod. ἀμαυρωσιν, Vg. *imaginem* (for 𝔊 see REMPHAN). The pointing of MT seems to be suggested by that of שִׁקּוּץ, 'abomination' = 'idol'; cp גִּלּוּל. For references to recent critics see AMOS, § 13, and cp Che., *Exp.* Jan. 1897, pp. 42-44.]

R. W. R.

CHLOE (ΧΛΟΗ [Tl. WH]), a woman of whom nothing is known, save that 'they of Chloe' (ΟΙ ΧΛΟΗΣ) were the first to let Paul know at Ephesus of the division which had arisen in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1 11).

Whether she belonged to Ephesus or to Corinth, who the members of her household were, whether even she was a Christian or not, are questions on all of which only conjectures can be offered. It is possible, but hardly probable, that Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor. 16 17 *f.*) may have been servants of Chloe.

CHOBA (ΧΩΒΑ [BA], ΧΑΒΑ (𝔄), ܟܘܒܐ [Lag.], ܟܘܒܐ [Walton]), called in Judith 15 4 *f.* **Chobai** (ΧΩΒΑΙ [B𝔄^corr A], ΧΩΒΑ [𝔄*], in 15 5 ΧΩΒΑ [B𝔄A], ܟܘܒ [Lag.]), is mentioned in connection with the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes (Judith 4 4). Reland (p. 721) proposed the *Cobis* of the Tab. Peut. near Jericho, a site that would agree with both the Greek and the Syriac of Judith 4 4; and in connection with it Conder (*PEF Mem.* 2 231) points to the ruin *el-Mekhubby* and the cave *'Arak el Khubby* on the Roman road 3 m. from *Ṭubās* (see THEBEZ) and 11 from *Beisān*.

CHOENIX (ΧΟΙΝΙΞ; in Ezek. 45 10 *f.* 𝔊^BAQ for BATH), a measure of capacity Rev. 6 6 RV^mg. (EV 'measure'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CHOIR. The subject of the hereditary choirs, or better, guilds of singers is considered elsewhere (see

1. Members. PSALMS). We content ourselves here with the Talmudic statements relative to the Temple choir in the narrower sense of the word, postponing, however, the question of choral psalms. The Talmud affirms that the choir in the Second Temple consisted of not less than twelve adult Levites, nine of whom played on the instrument called the Kinnor (lyre?), two on the Nebel (lute?), while the remaining one beat the ṣelṣēlim (cymbals). This number might, however, be exceeded on the occasion of festivals (Mish. *Erach.* 2 3-5). No statement is made as to the number of the singers whom these musicians accompanied, from which Gratz infers that the instrumental and the vocal music were performed by the same persons. This seems to illustrate Ps. 92 1[2] 3[4] (Che.)—

> Good is it to give thanks to Yahwè,
> To make melody to the name of the Most High,
> To the sound of the horn and the lute,
> To the sweetly sounding notes of the lyre.

Certainly the most important duty of the choir of Levites was the service of song. The Talmud also states that boys' voices were called in to modify the deep bass of the men's voices. The choir-boys did not stand on the platform with the Levites, but lower down, so that their heads were on a level with the feet of the Levites. They were sons of persons of rank in Jerusalem (בני יקירי ירושלם, Talm. *Erach.* 13*b*). See Gratz, *Psalmen*, 65 *f.*; Del., *Ps.* 26 *f.*, 372; and cp MUSIC, § 13 *f.*

The duty of the choir is briefly summed up in Neh. 12 24, 2 Ch. 5 13. It is לְהַלֵּל וּלְהוֹדוֹת, *i.e.*, to raise the

2. Duty. strain of praise (Hallēlū = praise ye) and thanksgiving (Hōdū = give ye thanks). See HALLEL, CONFESSION, § 3. The formula of 'thanks-

giving which served as a refrain in the later eucharistic songs was, 'For he is good, for his loving-kindness is for ever' (2 Ch. 5 13 7 3 6 Ezra 3 11 Jer. 33 11—the last passage has been expanded by a late writer—and cp the psalms beginning 'Give thanks unto Yahwe'). Were there any female singers in the temple choirs? From Neh. 7 67 Peritz infers that there were ('Women in the Ancient Hebrew Cult,' *JBL* 17 148 [98]).

Strange to say, the word 'choirs' occurs but once, and only in RVmg. Mattaniah (if this mg. is right) was 'over the choirs' (MT מחזיקות), Neh. 12 8. Del. (*Psalmen* 26), Ry., and Kau. (*HS*), however, give 'choir' as the rendering of מחזיק in Neh. 12 31, where RV has 'companies that gave thanks.' This may be accepted, but the mg. 'choirs' in 12 8 is but a confession of the great improbability of MT. Neither מחזיקות nor מחזיק (which Ry. and Kön. prefer) can be naturally defended. Read מחזיקים, 'over the thanksgiving' (Bottch., Ol., Guthe). EV in Neh. 12 8, therefore, virtually corrects the text. ⊗ᴬ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξομολογήσεων; ⊗ᴮᴺᴬ pointed מַזִּיקִים (ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν). Cp Neh. 11 17, and see MATTANIAH, 2.

T. K. C.

CHOLA (χωλα [B]), Judith 15 4 RV, AV COLA (*q.v.*).

CHOR-ASHAN, RV COR-ASHAN (כּוֹר־עָשָׁן), 1 S. 30 30. See ASHAN and BOR-ASHAN.

CHORAZIN (χοραζειν [Ti. WH] Mt. 11 21 Lk. 10 13 Eus. *OS*[2] 303 77 χωρ.). In these two passages Jesus calls woe upon Chorazin and Bethsaida (and immediately after on Capernaum) as towns in which his wonderful works have produced no effect. From his direct address to all three, they appear to have lain together within his sight. Jerome (*OS*[2] 114 7 Chorozain) places Chorazin 2 R.m. from Capernaum (Euseb. 12 R.m., but this seems a copyist's error). In his commentary on Is. 9 1 Jerome describes the town as on the shore of the lake—like Capernaum, Tiberias, and Bethsaida. From this Robinson (*BR* 3 359 *ff.*) argues for the site at Tell Hūm. But about 1 m. N. of Tell Hūm, in a shallow wādy running from the Lake into the hills, there are black basalt ruins, including those of a large synagogue, with Corinthian columns, which bear the name *Kerazeh* (*PEF Mem.* 1 400-2). Now, Willibald (722) says that he went from Capernaum to Bethsaida, thence to Chorazin, and thence to the sources of the Jordan—a course which, in spite of what Robinson asserts, suits Kerazeh as it does not suit either Tell Hūm, or any other site on the Lake. Accordingly, most moderns, since Thomson discovered the site in 1857, agree that Kerazeh is Chorazin, and take Jerome's statement as either vague or inaccurate. (Robinson thinks the name may have drifted from Tell Ḥūm to Ḳerāzeh.) Jesus calls Chorazin a city and treats it as comparable with Tyre and Sidon. The ruins are extensive, and there are traces of a paved road connecting the site with the great trunk road from Capernaum to Damascus.

The Bab. Talmud (*Menaḥoth* 85*a*) praises the wheat of Chorazin (כרזים cp Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.* 220). In the days of Eusebius and Jerome (310 and 420 A.D.) the place was in ruins. Willibald found a Christian Church there.

G. A. S.

CHORBE (χορβε [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 12 RV = Ezra 2 9 ZACCAI.

CHOSAMEUS (χουαμαος [B], -ομαιος [A], ܫܡܥܘܢ ܫܡܥܐ [Syr.]), 1 Esd. 9 32. The name follows Simon (= Shimeon in ‖ Ezra 10 31), and hence may represent one of the three names in Ezra 10 32 otherwise omitted in 1 Esd. Possibly in a poor MS only the final ן of Malluch and the third name Shemariah were legible, and out of these the scribe made Choshamiah (Ball, *Var. Apoc.*). Otherwise the name has arisen from Hashum (חָשֻׁם), *v.* 33; but the Syr. ܫܡܥܐ still remains a difficulty.

CHOZEBA, RV COZEBA (כּוֹזֵבָה), 1 Ch. 4 22*f.* See ACHZIB, 1.

CHRIST (ο χριστος [Ti. WH]), Mt. 24. See MESSIAH, § 2, end.

CHRISTIAN, NAME OF. We can readily understand that the followers of Jesus confessed to the name of their Master whenever occasion arose. On the other hand, the time, the place, and the circumstances of the origin of the name Χριστιανός as a specific designation are obscure. According to Acts 11 26 the matter seems a simple one; but, with this passage before us, it is

1. Infrequency. remarkable how seldom the name occurs elsewhere in the records of early Christianity. In the NT the only other places where it is found are Acts 26 28 and 1 Pet. 4 16. It is certainly not alluded to in Acts 5 41; for 'the name' on account of which the apostles here suffer dishonour was, as we are expressly told in *v.* 40, the name of Jesus. This passage, accordingly, belongs to the same category as Mk. 9 37 41—where, besides, the words 'because ye are Christ's' after ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου (so Ti.) may be merely the explanatory marginal gloss of some early reader—and Mk. 13 13. In Ja. 2 7 also, the 'honourable name' by which the readers are called is not the name 'Christian,' but the name of Christ himself as their Lord; for the expression is to be explained in the same sense as Am. 9 12 ('the heathen, which are called by my name'), viz., by reference to 2 S. 12 28 ('lest . . . it be called after my name'). All passages of this class must here be left out of account, inasmuch as they do not presuppose the specific name 'Christian.' The name is presupposed, as far as the NT is concerned, only in Lk. 6 22 (τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν).

Outside of the NT, according to the exhaustive researches of Lipsius,[1] the name does not occur in either of the epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome; it is absent from Barnabas, Hermas, Polycarp, the Pseud. *Clementine Homilies*, Tatian, and the *Cohortatio Graecos*. The Pseudo-*Clementine Recognitions*, as a. the Catholic Acts of Peter and Paul, have it only in a few passages of later insertion; so also with the Gnostic writings. As a word in regular use it makes its earliest appearances in the Apologists—Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Minucius Felix—and in the 'Epistle to Diognetus,' in Ignatius, who uses also the word Χριστιανισμός, in the 'Martyrdom of Polycarp,' in the Catholic κήρυγμα Πέτρου, in the letter of the churches of Lugdūnum and Vienna (Eus. *HE* 5 1 *f.*), in Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. To this list must be added the passage in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (12 4), discovered after the publication of Lipsius's essay.

Lipsius, it is true, points out allusions to the existence of the name 'Christian' in older writings. As far as Hermas, however, is concerned, the only valid passage is *Sim.* ix. 17 4

The phrase is ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖσθαι. Such expressions as τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ φορεῖν (ix. 14 5 *f.* 16 3) or λαμβάνειν (ix. 13 7) or φέρειν (Polycarp, 6 1) necessarily presuppose the word Χριστιανός, and the simple phrase τὸ ὄνομα φορεῖν (*Sim.* ix. 13 2 *f.*), or πάσχειν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα or ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος (ix. 28 3 5; *Vis.* iii. 1 9 2 1), in several is clearly in juxtaposition to the words τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ or τοῦ κυρίου (*Sim.* ix. 13 3, 28 2-6; *Vis.* iii. 5 2).

Even 1 Clem. 14 3 *f.* cannot with certainty be taken in the sense which is so abundantly plain in Justin (*Ap.* i. 14): Χριστιανοί εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστεύεσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. This play upon words seems, besides, to be sufficiently explained by the consideration that χρηστός had at that time the same pronunciation as χριστός. Tertullian (*Ap.* 3; *Ad Nat.* 1 3), however, expressly says that the Gentiles *perperam* mispronounced it *Chrestiani*. Χρηστιανοί is the reading of three NT passages of the uncorrected ℵ, and preponderates in the inscriptions; and Justin, according to Blass (*Hermes*, 1895, pp. 465-470), associates the word with χρηστός in his *Apology* (i. 4 46 49; ii. 6, where he says, κεχρῆσθαι ought to be read), just as in his *Dialogue with Trypho* he associates it with χρίειν. Blass

[1] 'Ueber den Ursprung u. d. ältesten Gebrauch des Christennamens;' Gratulationsprogramm der theologischen Fakultät Jena für Hase, 1873, pp. 6-10.

lectures from this that the Pagans to whom the *Apology* is addressed had derived the words 'anointed, followers of the anointed,' which were mysterious to them, by a popular etymology from χρηστος; and Justin, for simplicity's sake, accepted the derivation without seeking to correct it.

We have thus seen that the name was left unused by a series of Christian writers at a time when it was already familiar to the younger Pliny (*Epist.* 10 96 [97]) in 112 A.D., to Tacitus (*Ann.* 15 44) in 116-117 A.D., and to Suetonius (*Nero*, 16) in 120 A.D. The plain fact is that they did not need it. For designating their community there lay at their command an ample variety of expressions,[1] such as 'brethren,' 'saints,' 'elect,' 'called,' 'that believed,' 'faithful,' 'disciples,' 'they that are in Christ,' 'they that are in the Lord,' 'they that are Christ's,' and ['any . . . of the way' *t*]. It follows that, notwithstanding its absence from their writings, the name of Christian may very well have originated at a comparatively early time.

2. Possible early origin.

It can hardly, however, have been current at so early a date as that indicated in Acts 11 26.

The famine predicted at that time, according to Acts 11 28, occurred in Palestine between the years 44 and 48. (The belief that it extended over the whole of the habitable world is a mistake.) The prediction itself must, of course, have been earlier. Indeed, the expression, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius,' may be held to imply that it was made before the accession of that emperor—that is to say, before 41 A.D. With this it agrees that the death of Herod Agrippa I. (44 A.D.) is mentioned in the following chapter (12).

Some fifteen years later, or more, the claim to be 'of Christ' was made by a single party in Corinth (1 Cor. 1 12).

Presumably certain personal disciples of Jesus had first applied this designation to themselves, whilst denying to Paul the right to be so called, as also his right to the apostleship (2 Cor. 10 7). Paul, on the other hand, takes great pains to establish the right of all believers in Christ to the designation (1 Cor. 1 13 3 23, also 7 22 15 23 Rom. 8 1 Gal. 3 29 5 24).

Thus it can hardly have been already a current name.

As for Jesus himself, [illegible] permissible to doubt whether he used in their presence forms such expressions as we now find in Mk. 9 37 41 [illegible] 13—that is to say, with the emphasis upon his own name. The theory that he presupposes the currency of the name 'Christians' in Lk. 6 22 is absolutely excluded by the consideration that, according to the same gospel, he does not himself lay claim to the name of Christ till later (9 20), and even then wishes it to be kept secret, and further that, according to the same author (Acts 11 26), the name 'Christians' did not arise till a considerable time after his death.

All this makes it more than doubtful whether the writer had even here any trustworthy authority for assigning the occurrence to so early a date. His reason for doing so may have been simply that the founding of the first Gentile Christian church seemed to be the most likely occasion for its coming into use.

3. Used by and with Pagans.

The suddenness with which the name 'Christian' becomes one of frequent occurrence in the writings of the apologists shows that the word first became necessary for Christians in their dealings with Pagans. In speaking to the latter, such periphrases as those of [illegible] were found to be made quite [illegible] a definite name was wanted. In fact, it is probable enough that the name came from [illegible] them themselves [illegible] instance. With such a [illegible] of its origin Acts 11 [illegible] well. At all events, the name did not come from the Jews. These were still looking for their Messiah. By using a name which signified [illegible] of the Messiah they would by innuendo have pilloried the sect that regarded Jesus as such, and so have stigmatised them [illegible]. Even Herod Agrippa II. [illegible] understanding [illegible] the indifference towards his ancestral religion [illegible] this carried with it, could not have gone so far; moreover, he still held by Judaism to the extent at least that he insisted upon King Azizus of Emesa and King Polemo of Cilicia being circumcised before [illegible] his sisters Drusilla and Berenice [illegible] 139, 145 f.). It [illegible] attributed to him in Acts 26 [illegible] must by that time [illegible] so thoroughly established that its etymological meaning was no longer thought of.

The whole scene, however, is in full accordance with the tendency of Acts (see Acts, § 51) to set forth Paul's innocence, and at the same time the truth of Christianity, as accepted by the Roman authorities, and that of course is more effectively done by the mouth of a king. An obvious parallel is the statement of Herod Antipas in the gospel by the same author (Lk. 23 [illegible]), but its historicity is open to serious suspicion both in view of what we know of Herod's attitude to John the Baptist and in view of the fact that the story is evident [illegible] other gospels. Even if Paul's meeting with Herod Agrippa II. is historic, the word Χριστιανός [illegible] easily have come into the narrative out of the author's own vocabulary. We are informed by the same writer (Acts 24 5) with much greater precision that sect of the 'Nazarenes' (αἵρεσις τῶν Ναζωραίων). The name [illegible] by the Jews to the Christians, as we [illegible] from Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4 8) and Jerome (*Ep.* 74 7 [illegible] 19 7 [illegible]). It was not till afterwards that [illegible] was restricted to a particular sect of Christians, a fact by which Epiphanius allowed himself to be [illegible]. He tells us (*Haer.* 29 6) that the Jews, in their [illegible], which were offered three times [illegible] pronounced a solemn curse upon this [illegible] which, as we learn from Justin (*Dial.* [illegible]), and indeed as we see from the nature of the case, applied rather to all Christians.[2] Its Hebrew name [illegible] Minim, shows that the Jews had still another name for the Christians—and this name could also be Græcised into Μινοῖοι.

4. Place of origin.

As for the place where the name Christian arose, the apparent Latin termination used to be thought to point to a western, indeed (Tac. *Ann.* 15 44) to a Roman, origin; but that it was there that the name first came into use is by no means said by Tacitus, whilst in such a word as Herodian, Ἡρῳδιανός (Mk. 3 6 and elsewhere), we have evidence that in the Greek-speaking domain this colloquial Latin formation of personal names (*e.g.*, Christiani), in incorrect imitation of forms like Pompeiani (where the *i* is part of the root), was not unknown. The ancient Greek grammarians recognise the termination -ανος for derivatives from town and country names, and even designate it specially as the τυπος Ἀσιανός, as being met with, not in Greece itself, but in Asia (Buttmann, *Ausf. Gr. Sprachlehre*, § 119 54; many examples in Lipsius, 13-16). In this matter, therefore, Acts 11 26 is not open to criticism (yet see above, § 2).

The time at which the name arose could not with assurance be placed earlier than 79 A.D., even if a certain inscription (which disappeared soon after its discovery) at Pompeii, on the wall of a building at first supposed to have been a Christian meeting-house), had actually contained the letters [illegible].

5. Pompeii inscription.

This reading might very well have been a derivative from the [illegible] Christus (see above, § 1); [illegible] the [illegible] and, according [illegible] the inscription (which is still extant), the word [illegible] was [illegible] whatever that may mean.

The [illegible] of the house shows it to have been an [illegible] worked even with a [illegible] *mentrina*; wherefore, accordingly, it is hardly likely that Christians

[1] ἀδελφοί, ἅγιοι, ἐκλεκτοί, κλητοί, πιστεύοντες, πιστοί, μαθηταί, οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ, οἱ ὄντες ἐν κυρίῳ, οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἱ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντες.

[1] The best-attested reading, ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι (unless we are to read, with TR, γενέσθαι, or, with A πείθῃ, or, to conjecture with Hort, πεποίθας (instead of με πείθεις) is perhaps most easily explained as a Latinism "a are persuading me somewhat to act the part of a Christian" (*Christianum agere*; so Potwin, *Bibl. Sacr.* 1880, p. 5 2 f.).

[2] This solemn curse is said to have first taken shape at Jabneh in the time of Gamaliel ii. (90-177 A.D.)

meetings would have been held; in fact the inscription, which begins with the words, 'Vina Nervii,' was probably an advertisement of wines.[1]

An answer to our question can, therefore, be hoped for only from evidence that the history of the Christian persecutions.

8. Early persecutions. The character of these has been placed in an entirely new light by the proposition of Mommsen in 1885 (*Rom. Gesch.* v. 555, n.), which has since then been more fully and elaborately developed by him in Sybel's *Hist. Zeitschr.* 64 (1890-429 [90]), and accepted by C. J. Neumann (*Der röm. Staat u. d. Allgem. Kirche*, 116 [90]) and by Ramsay (chap. 10, § 5)—that 'the persecution of the Christians was always similar to that of robbers.' On this view, every provincial governor had, without special instructions, the duty of seeking out and bringing to justice *latrones, sacrilegos, plagiarios* (kidnappers), and *fures* (*Dig.* i. 18 1; xlviii. 13 4), and for this end was invested, over and above his ordinary judicial attributes, with a very full power of magisterial coercion, which was not limited to definite offences, or to a regular form of process, or to any fixed scale of punishments. Only, as far as Roman citizens were concerned, banishment was forbidden, and the capital penalty was reserved for the judgment of the emperor.

i. *Legal Status of Christians.*—While actually throwing into still further obscurity the date of the origin of the Christian name, this discovery of Mommsen's (above, § 6) sheds much light upon the question of legal position. The points on which the scholars named, as well as others, are agreed are, briefly, these. Among the duties of a Roman citizen a fundamental place was held by that of worshipping the ancestral gods. By these in the earliest period were meant only those of the city of Rome; but subsequently those of Latium were included, and finally all those of Italy and Greece, as soon as they had been formally recognised by decree of the senate. Non-citizens were forbidden to proselytise to strange gods, but not to worship them, so far as this did not appear to be of danger to the state. The Christian religion, however, was held to be dangerous in this way, as denying the existence of the gods of the state. The Jewish religion was, strictly, under the same ban; and, therefore, circumcision was laid under severe penalties by Hadrian, and, as far as non-Jews were concerned, by Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus also. For themselves, however, the Jews, apart from the prohibition by Hadrian just mentioned, possessed religious freedom on the ground of special privileges conceded to them, particularly by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, in accordance with the favoured position they had enjoyed, long before the Roman rule, in Egypt and elsewhere in the East. These privileges included exemption from military service, which would have interfered with their strict observance of the sabbath, and exemption from the obligation to appear before the courts on that day. When Cæsar, on account of suspected political activity, suppressed *cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta* (Suet. *Caes.* 42), the Jews were expressly exempted. New corporations in the older (*i.e.*, senatorial) provinces required the sanction of the senate; in the imperial provinces still under military government that of the emperor himself was doubtless sufficient. It is probable that burial societies had a general sanction from the senate. Apart from these, however, there were many societies which had never obtained any special concession. They were left alone if they did not appear to be dangerous, but at any moment they could be suppressed by the police. In the cases of those which had been sanctioned by the senate, suppression was made lawful only by a new senatorial decree. Now, the Christians could never have obtained such a concession, for their religion did not belong to the class of permitted religions. In their case, accordingly, the well-known rule (*Dig.* xlvii. 22 1) did not apply: 'permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre, dum tamen semel in mense coeant . . . sed religionem cuiusque non prohibentur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo illicita collegia arcentur.' They had, therefore, to hold their meetings simply on sufferance, and were never for a moment free from the risk of police interference. Still, they did not expose themselves to persecution or to death merely by holding unauthorised meetings. For such an offence the penalties were much too severe. When a *collegium* of this sort was broken up, unless its object had been in itself criminal, the members were subjected only to a mild punishment. In fact, they were allowed to divide among themselves the funds of the society, which were confiscated in the case of all capital offences. Persecution and capital punishment fell to the lot of the Christians, therefore, only because their religion was regarded as criminal. In the case of Roman citizens it implied a violation of the duty of worship the gods of the state; in the case of provincials who were not citizens, ἀθεότης as against the local gods of the place was in like manner implied. In a (legally) very lax sense they were accused of *sacrilegium*, which originally meant only theft of sacred objects. Over and above this, all Christian subjects were chargeable with the offence of refusing to worship the Emperor, an offence legally construed as *majestas* or *crimen laesae majestatis*—more precisely, as *majestas imperatorum*—the *majestas populi Romani* not being touched by this class of offences. Thus, either as sacrilege or as *majestas*, Christianity could at all times be prosecuted, and certainly in the case of non-citizens, probably also in that of citizens, by the mere exercise of arbitrary coercive power. The penalties under either charge were, approximately, the same.

ii. *Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan.*—Thus we gain a new light on the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan (see above, § 2). Let it be premised that by the *flagitia* (2), as may be gathered from an allusion in the words *cibum promiscuum et innocuum* (7), were certainly intended the *epulae Thyesteae* and *concubitus Oedipodei*, which, as we learn from Justin (*Apol.* 1 26 2 12) and other writers of the second century, were laid to the charge of the Christians. Acts 20 already appears to be intended to meet the family accusation. The story ran that before the beginning of these orgies all lights were put out. Pliny's question, then, whether the mere fact of being Christian (*nomen ipsum*), or whether only the crimes associated therewith ought to be punished, is, from what we have seen, already answered in the first sense, and is so decided by Trajan also. On the other hand, Trajan's injunction, *conquirendi non sunt*, with which also is to be associated his order to disregard anonymous letters of accusation, is an important mitigation of the law, as is his other direction that a Christian who formally renounces Christianity by sacrificing to the images of the gods shall be exempt from punishment. Such a degree of favour could, from the nature of the case, never be shown to the robber or to the thief, with whom nevertheless, the Christian is classed. Let it be noted, also, that Pliny had no difficulty in deciding on his own responsibility the earlier cases that came before him (2-4). His reference of the matter to the emperor was first occasioned by the largeness of the number of those who ultimately came to be denounced, and by certain leanings, on grounds of policy, towards clemency (4 9 *f.*), to which Trajan gives his sanction in both of his decisions.

We must, therefore, no longer hold to the view that in this rescript (which, although originally intended

[1] So Victor Schultze, *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 1881, pp. 125-130, and also, as regards the text, *CIL* 4679 (71). The inscription ought not, therefore, to be relied on, as it is still relied on by Ramsay (*Church*[6], chap. 12, § 5, p. 263, and *St. Paul*, chap. 15, § 1, ed. 1896, p. 346).

only for Pliny, was shortly afterwards published, along with the whole correspondence, and taken as a *norm* by other provincial governors) the persecution of the Christians was now for the first time authorised. Accordingly, we must proceed to investigate such notices as we have of earlier persecutions, and especially to discuss the question whether in these cases the *nomen Christianum* was known to the authorities and constituted the ground of accusation.

iii. *Claudius.*—Of Claudius we are informed by Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) that *Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.* It is quite impossible, however, to determine whether by *Chresto* (on the form of the name, see above, § 1) we are here to understand Jesus, the preaching of whom by Christians divided the Jews in Rome into two parties, or whether Suetonius conceived him to have been personally present in Rome, or whether we should take him to be a Jewish agitator of whom nothing further is known. Acts 18 2 is by no means decisive for the first or the second alternative, even if we are to suppose that Aquila and Priscа were already Christians when they came to Corinth.

iv. *Pomponia Graecina.*—Of Pomponia Graecina we learn from Tacitus (*Ann.* 13 32) only that in 57 A.D. she was accused *superstitionis externae*, and that she was acquitted of the charge by her husband, the celebrated A. Plautius, before whom she had been brought for trial. At that time, however, the Jewish and Egyptian religions were regarded as foreign, just as much as the Christian, which has been supposed to be meant in her case (Tac. *Ann.* 2 85; Suet. *Tib.* 36). For full details see Hasenclever, *JPT*, 1882, pp. 47 64.

v. *Neronian Persecution.*—The notices we have of the Neronian persecution are very obscure.

Tacitus (*Ann.* 15 44) says: 'abolendo rumori (of having planned the burning of Rome) Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat . . . primum correpti, qui fatebantur, deinde . . . eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odio generis humani convicti sunt.' *Correpti* here could mean only that the *ingens multitudo* was added to the *primum correpti* (Ramsay, chap. 11, § 3); the reading *convicti* for *convincti* is a conjectural emendation almost universally adopted.

At the outset the only thing quite clear is that the Christians were from the first accused not as Christians, but as incendiaries. Otherwise Nero could not have been freed from the suspicion of being the guilty party. The Christians, however, were innocent (*subdidit*); and the ground on which they were condemned, accordingly, was not so much (*haud proinde*) the evidence that they had been incendiaries as the *odium generis humani*. By this expression there cannot be understood a hatred of which they were the objects: Roman society, which alone could be regarded as cherishing it, cannot possibly have been spoken of as *genus humanum* by Tacitus. Still, understood as cherished by the Christians, 'hatred of the human race' is no less an idea foreign to all legal conceptions, nor could it be supposed to represent another ground of accusation against them, over and above that of incendiarism.

Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalt.* 478, 2nd ed. 462; ET 2 143) and Ramsay (chap. 11, §§ 2 4) try indeed to make out that this actually was brought as a charge against them by referring to Suetonius (*Nero* 16): *afficti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae*, holding that by *maleficae* witchcraft and poisoning are meant, and that it was precisely for these offences against society that the two punishments *bestiis objici* and *crucibus affigi* were threatened, and (according to Tacitus) inflicted. These same punishments, however, were attached to many other crimes also. Suetonius says nothing about the conflagration as having occasioned the accusation against the Christians. In other words, he follows an entirely different account, and we are not justified in seeking to explain Tacitus by referring to Suetonius. The two authors agree only in believing that the occurrence in question was confined to Rome.

The main question, then, in the case of Tacitus, is as to what it was that the persons first accused made confession of (*fatebantur*). The answer seems to lie to our hand: *se incendium fecisse.* Such a confession may very well have been made by them, though innocent, under torture. As regards the *ingens multitudo* nothing more was required than merely some vague suspicions, or a few false witnesses, to whom the judges, on account of the commonly assumed general perversity of the Christians (their *odium generis humani*), were only too ready to give credence. There remains, therefore, a possibility that the religion of the accused did not come into question at all, and that Tacitus and Suetonius, here, unhistorically, carried back the name *Christian* from their own time into that of Nero. Were this true, the reader, moreover, would expect to find in Tacitus a name indicating the characteristic attributed to the denoted by it, after *quae fe[illegible]* would expect not *Christiani* but some such expression as *conflagrationis [illegible]*.

Another interpretation of *fatebantur* is not less possible. It is that it [illegible] those who had [illegible] boldly confessed their [illegible] in public to be Christians (*fatebantur* [illegible]) and that only after [illegible] on the evidence [illegible] in the course of the [illegible] proceeding. [illegible] of the [illegible] had not fallen to people any such public profession, hated the name Christian. The Christians were laid hold of because it was hoped that persecution would lead to attribute the incendiarism to them. Although on this supposition also the religion constituted no ground of accusation, it was strongly insisted upon as distinct from the Jewish, whereas in the other interpretation [illegible] is adopted the Christians may have been regarded simply as Jews. [illegible] (*Hist.* 5 [illegible]) attributes *adversus omnes homines odium* to the Jews also.

Clement of Rome further (i. 5 6; [illegible]) speaks of the sufferings that the Christians suffered, without informing us [illegible] and Paul's trial in Rome could throw light upon the question before us only if we knew what was its result. [illegible] was not led by the accusation, as cited in Acts 18 [illegible] to suppose that Paul taught a religion dangerous to the state. The representation, too (though not necessarily the fact), is open to suspicion on account of the tendency observable in Acts (see Acts, § 5 [illegible]). In a word, the little that we really know of the Neronian period does not enable us to come to a decision on the question as to the date and origin of the name 'Christian.'

Ramsay, however (chap. 11, §§ 2 6 *f.*), considers that in the second stage the Neronian persecution was permanent, otherwise than in the first stage. As the persecution is mentioned by Suetonius along with other measures of police which must have been of a permanent nature, he holds that it must have had the same character: in the second stage, of course, the persecution was not on account of incendiarism, but on account of alleged witchcraft and other *flagitia*. Tacitus, Ramsay believes, also gives proof of this permanence of the persecution under Nero when he says, *unde . . . miseratio oriebatur tanquam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur*; and Sulpicius Severus (ii. 29 3) is understood to speak to the same effect—*hoc initio in Christianos saevire coepit: post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat.* Immediately upon this, however (11 7 12 1; 3rd ed., pp. 244, 255), Ramsay explains that the word *post* refers to *other* emperors than Nero, and also concedes that the expressions *edicta* and *leges* are 'loosely and inaccurately' employed by Sulpicius. Further, the *unde* in Tacitus traces the *miseratio* to the horrors of the public celebration of the executions and Nero's personal participation in them—incidents which were, of course, not of constant recurrence. The argument based on the context in Suetonius is too precarious to rest history upon, even apart from the doubtful interpretation of *mali[illegible]*.

vi. *Titus and Vespasian.*—We read in Sulpicius Severus (ii. 30 6 8) that, in a council of war, Titus finally decided on the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem *quo plenius Iudaeorum et Christianorum [illegible] deleretur: quippe has religiones [illegible] contrariis sibi, in dem tamen (ab) auctoribus profectas. Christianos [illegible] evertitur [illegible] suadet, stirpem Iudae perdendam.* Now, even were we to reject, as a falsification of history from motives of complaisance, the very different statement of Josephus, an eye-witness (*BJ* vi. 4 3-7), that Titus wished the temple to be preserved, and were we to carry back the words of Sulpicius Severus to Tacitus,

whom he elsewhere always follows, we should still be a long way from having proved the account of Severus to be historical. It is in the highest degree improbable that Titus had such erroneous ideas as to the dependence of the Christians on the temple, while attributing to them such dangerous qualities and so great a degree of independence as apart from the Jews. Even Mommsen (*Rom. Gesch.* 5539; ET *Provinces*, 2216 *f.*), on whose authority Ramsay relies, detects here traces at least of a Christian editor. Ramsay, however (chap. 121 *f.*), regarding the speech as a programme for treatment of Christians, holds it to be 'a historical document of the utmost importance,' and further assumes that the programme was actually carried out by Vespasian. For this he has not a word of proof to allege apart from the statement of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 15)—*neque de cuiusquam unquam latatus est et* (by the three last words he conjecturally fills a hiatus) *justis suppliciis illacrimavit etiam et in ejus mutat*—which, he considers, we are entitled to interpret as referring to processes against Christians. Were this the case, it would be natural at least to expect that these should have begun immediately after the destruction of the temple; but, according to Ramsay, they did not begin till towards the end of the reign of Vespasian. As far as the documents are concerned, this last hypothesis finds still less support than that of Vespasian's Christian persecution as a whole. All that can be said for the hypothesis is that it is requisite in order that, by the shortness of the persecution under Vespasian, the silence of Christian writers respecting them may be explained (see below, § 16).

vii. *Domitian.*—With regard to Domitian, Suetonius (*Dom.* 15) tells us that eight months before his death *Flavium Clementem patruelem suum contemptissimae inertiae . . . repente extenuissima suspicione tantum non in ipso ejus consulatu interemit.* Cassius Dio (lxvii. 14 *f.*) according to the excerpt of the monk Xiphilinus, adds that at the same time his wife, Flavia Domitilla, was banished to the island of Pandataria: ἐπήχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν. Now, Christian legend, and in particular the Pseudo-*Clementine Recognitions* and *Homilies*, speak of Flavius Clemens as Bishop of Rome, and of his father as, like the consular in Suetonius, related to the imperial family; the daughter of his sister (also called Flavia Domitilla) became involved in a Christian persecution, and was banished to Pontia (the island adjacent to Pandataria). This last statement is all the more important because Eusebius (*Chron.* ann. 2110, 2112 Abrah.: *HE* iii. 184) takes it from a heathen chronographer, Bruttius or Brettius, who wrote before 221 A.D. For further details see Lipsius, *Chronol. d. röm. Bischöfe*, 152-161. It is alike natural and difficult to assume that Clement and Domitilla represent each only one person, and that person a Christian. The charges in Cassius Dio, taken by themselves alone, show either that the question was one not of Christians but of Jews, or that Christians at that time still remained undistinguished from Jews. The view that they were Jews can hardly be maintained.

In the heathen writer Bruttius, Domitilla figures expressly as a Christian, and in all later Christian writings Domitian is represented as a violent persecutor of the faith (see, e.g., Melito *ap.* Euseb. *HE* iv. 269). He is called by Tertullian (*Ap.* 5) *portio Neronis de crudelitate*; and, though the heathen Juvenal (437 *f.*), it is true, says something to the same effect, the Christian bases his accusation expressly upon the persecution of his brethren in the faith.

We are, then, left with the second interpretation of the words of Cassius Dio, that they relate to Christians. Ramsay's method of evading this (chap. 12, § 4) is surely forced—that in Dio's time (211-222 A.D.) it was 'a fashion and an affectation among a certain class of Greek men of letters to ignore the existence of the Christians and to pretend to confuse them with the Jews.' Further, in the collection of temple money (now a state tax) from the Jews, according to Suetonius (*Dom.* 12), those also were taken account of *qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam* (or: *Judaicam fidem similem viverent vitam*) *vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent.* As at that time the *Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est*, it would be very remarkable if here we were not intended to understand both the Jewish Christians regarded as circumcised persons and the Gentile Christians regarded as proselytes. The Roman officers, we know from Suetonius, in cases where it was necessary, satisfied themselves as to the fact of circumcision by inspection. Even though greed may well have been a motive for conniving at the profession of the Christian religion, it is plain that the danger to the state presented by the Christians cannot have been taken very seriously. We are led to the same conclusion by the story (as far as it can be believed) of Hegesippus (in Eus. *HE* 319 *f.*) that Domitian released the grandchildren of Jude, the brother of Jesus, as not being dangerous persons, although they confessed themselves to be not only descendants of David, but also Christians. It was not till the end of his reign that the persecution began.

viii. *Nerva.*—As far as the accusations under Domitian had reference to Christians they are covered by the regulations of Nerva (Cassius Dio, lxviii. 12, after Xiphilinus).

Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) and Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* iii. 20) erroneously attribute the regulations to Domitian himself. The text of Cassius Dio is: τούς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε . . . τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὔτ' ἀσεβείας οὔτ' Ἰουδαικοῦ βίου καταιτιᾶσθαί τινας συνεχώρησεν.

The preceding discussion of the Christian persecutions makes it evident that the grounds upon which these were conducted were by no means clearly set forth, and that (partly on this account, but mainly from want of information) we can hardly venture to suppose the persecutions to have been of so great frequency as we should have expected on the principles laid down by Mommsen and Ramsay. In particular, had they been so frequent, the hesitation of Pliny—or, at all events, that of Trajan—would be quite inexplicable. Ramsay's answer (chap. 10, § 6), that Trajan's words—*neque enim in universum aliquid quasi certam formam habeat constitui potest*—refer to Pliny's doubt whether or not the question of age should be allowed to make a difference in the punishment, is quite inadmissible. *Neque enim* does not refer to the decision upon a matter which was still in question. It refers, in commendation, to a judgment which Pliny had already taken: *actum quem debuisti . . . secutus es.* Thus Ramsay's conjectures of some archive which Trajan caused to be searched for the decisions of his predecessors upon previous references by other procurators must also be rejected. Whatever the principles of the government, and however strongly they may have led, if rigidly interpreted, to unremitting search for and punishment of Christians once these had been definitely distinguished from Jews, they can have been carried into practice only in an intermittent way. In the conditions of privacy in which, as we know, the Christians carried out the exercises of their religion, no direct danger to the state can have manifested itself. In Pergamum Antipas was the only martyr (Rev. 213). Therefore, Trajan's *conquirendi non sunt* was a mitigation in principle, indeed, but not necessarily in practice. If only parties could be found to denounce, persecutions could be instituted after Trajan's time, on a much greater scale than before under the influence of the stricter but seldom used principle of *conquirendi*. Such, according to the documents, was in reality the case.

For the period before Trajan we know of persecutions under Nero and Domitian. Tertullian, for example, was aware of any others (*Apol.* 5), and Melito in his Apol. to Antoninus Pius (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 269) expressly says that Nero and Domitian (μόνοι πάντων Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός) had given up the Christians to the slanders of demagogues. T.

same purpose we have the statement of Origen (*c. Cels.* 3.8) that ὀλίγοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ σφόδρα εὐαριθμητοι . . . τεθνηκασιν; over against which the πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν spoken of by Clemens Romanus (i. 6.1) in the reign of Nero, and the *ingens multitudo* of Tacitus, must, of course, not be overlooked.

In view of such definite statements as these, it is not possible to explain the silence of our authors—especially that of Christian authors—on the persecutions which Ramsay infers to have been instituted under Vespasian and Titus, as being due only to the shortness of those reigns—or rather the shortness of the portions of them in which persecutions occurred (above, § 6, vi. end)—or to the fact that the Christians had no eyes for anything except the imminent end of the world (Ramsay, chap. 12, § 2).

8. Date of 1 Pet.

Ramsay, it is true, finds support by assigning 1 Pet. to about the year 80 A.D.—that is to say, the reign of Titus (chap. 13.1-3)—or to 75-79 A.D., in the reign of Vespasian (*Expositor*, Oct. 1893, p. 286). He does so, however, on grounds the validity of which depends on that of his hypothesis.

He shows with truth that the epistle presupposes accusations on account of the mere *nomen Christianum* (4.15 *f.*), and that it was composed at the beginning of a persecution (4.12 3.14 17 2.14). It has also been rightly urged that there is no reason for assigning it to the year 112 on the mere ground that then for the first time a persecution of Christians over the whole οἰκουμένη (5.9) became possible. On the other hand, before that date there had been no persecution which had touched or threatened the provinces named in 1.1 and gave cause to anticipate its extension over the whole habitable world.

When the contents of this letter are considered, no one who can be reached by critical considerations will unreservedly maintain its genuineness, containing as it does so little that is characteristic of Peter and so much that is reminiscent of Paul.

The presence in 1.17 of the words διασπορά and δόκιμον, which here are superfluous and disturbing, and have their appropriate place only in Ja. 1.3, shows its dependence on that epistle, which in its turn depends not only on the Epistles of Paul but also on that to the Hebrews (11.31, cp. Ja. 2.25). Dependence on James is shown also in 1 Pet. 5.5 *f.*, which is borrowed from Ja. 4.6 *f.* In the latter passage the οὖν is logical (θεοῦ 4.4 . . . θεῷ), and in the former, therefore, in like manner, the ἀλλήλοις of *v.* 5 should have been followed by some such expression as 'submit yourselves one to another,' if the writer had been following a natural and not a borrowed train of thought.

As for the word ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, the only satisfactory explanation of its use in 1 Pet. 4.15, to denote a criminal of the same class as φονεὺς and κλέπτης, is that of Hilgenfeld, according to whom what is intended is the class of *delatores*, who made a trade of denunciation, which was first made criminal by Trajan (Plin. *Panegyr.* 34 *f.*). By ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοποι Ramsay understands people who stir up strife between members of the same family, or between servants and masters. This accusation could be very easily brought against Christians, as soon as they began to attempt conversions. Ramsay's assertion, however, that Nero gave power to the courts of justice thenceforward to regard such persons as magicians and to punish them as criminals (chap. 15.1), rests upon no documentary evidence: it proceeds solely upon his own interpretation of the *maleficae* of Suetonius (above, § 6, v.). Nor has Ramsay made out (chap. 8, §§ 1.2, pp. 280 *f.* 290) that 1 Pet. presupposes search for Christians to have been made by the state.

Were this so, the epistle could, of course, have been written only either before Trajan's decision, *conquirendi non sunt*, or after the re-enactment of *conquirere* by Marcus Aurelius; but once again it has to be remarked that, if only there were delations enough—and Ramsay himself (chap. 10, § 2) is aware that credibly these could at any time appear among the class of makers of sacrificial animals (Pliny to Trajan, 10), or among people in the position of Demetrius (Acts 19.24-34), or of the masters of those vexed with the spirit of divination (16.16-19)—1 Pet. 3.15 *f.* become intelligible enough, even after the publication of Trajan's *conquirendi non sunt*.

We may still hold, therefore, that 1 Pet. was written in 112 A.D.

The one new thing we have learned is that, when 1 Pet. touches upon the subject of punishment for the bare name of Christian (4.16), it is describing not a new attitude of the authorities but one that they have been taking for some time. This very fact makes it impossible to use this passage as Ramsay does as fixing the date of the epistle for the transition period during which punishment of Christians only for *flagitia* was giving place to a system of persecution for the mere name. Ramsay (chap. 13, § 1) argues that this last mode of persecution must have been new to the author, inasmuch as at the same time his language constantly presupposes the continuance of the old state of things; that the exhortation in 4.15 that none should suffer as a malefactor presupposes it is not in any case out of place, even if *flagitia* had up to hitherto been the only ground on which the punishment of Christians proceeded; against such *flagitia* Paul also constantly warns his readers (Gal. 5.19-21 1 Cor. 6.9 *f.* 2 Cor. 12.20 *f.* Rom. 13.1-13), and that at a time when there was no thought of Christian persecution. Further, the hope of being able by 'seemly behaviour' and 'good works' to convince the secular power of the injustice of persecution (1 Pet. 2.12 3.13 etc.) is one that Christians can never have wholly abandoned, and it found a reasonable justification in the plea of Pliny (27-10) for mild treatment of those who had been denounced. We can understand its persistence most easily on the assumption, as made above, that persecution was only then beginning.

9. Conclusion.

The very positions argued for by Mommsen (and accepted by Ramsay) make it clear that there never had been a period during which Christians, although recognised as a distinct religious society, were punished for *flagitia* merely, and not on account of the *nomen*. The strength of Mommsen's view lies precisely in this: that the name, as soon as it was known, also became punishable. According to Mommsen, we must also conclude, conversely, that where *flagitia* alone are punished the *nomen* is not yet known. Even for the time of Nero this argumentation would be conclusive, had he not wanted incendiaries. But if, as Ramsay says, Christians under Nero were already recognised as distinct from Jews, then *flagitia* other than fire-raising—as, for example, witchcraft—cannot, even in the second stage of the Neronian persecution (on the assumption of there having been such a stage at all), have been the sole ground on which condemnation proceeded. On the question as to the date at which Christianity first began to be recognised as a distinct religion we must confess ourselves completely at a loss. Only this much is certain: that it had come about before the time of Pliny's governorship. From what has been said above, the view of Neumann (and Lipsius) appears the most plausible: the view, namely, that the distinction first received recognition under Domitian, and, more precisely, in the last year of his reign. To this Weizsäcker and others[1] object, with good reason, that it is highly improbable that Christians should have passed for Jews so long. The simple facts that they did not accept circumcision, and frequented, not the synagogues but meeting-places of their own, and moreover often came into conflict with the Jews, made the recognition of a distinction inevitable—especially as the Roman authorities, most notably in matters affecting societies, were wont to take careful cognisance of even the minutest trifles, and of course, in a formal investigation, had means readily at their disposal for eliciting every detail. If we had nothing but Suetonius's account of Nero to go upon, these considerations would certainly be held to be conclusive even for the time of Nero; but we have Tacitus, who makes us hesitate; and what is said about Domitian goes against Weizsäcker's conclusion. Christian sources give no hope of a decision. Hitherto the usual citation of 1 Pet. does not hold good; that of the Apocalypse

1 *E.g.*, Keim, the only one besides Lipsius and Carr, *Expos.*, June [illegible], pp. 436-403) who has *ex professo* taken up the question of the origin of the name of Christian (*Aus dem Urchristenthume*, [illegible] 1-1-1-5).

is worthless as long as the unity and the date of the book continue to be as questionable as they are; and the Pastoral Epistles are too doubtful. Moreover, it is not at all certain that they speak of *flagitia* as the ground of persecution, so as to necessitate their being assigned to the period of Nero, even if Ramsay's view is adopted as correct; for 2 Tim. 2 9 does not necessarily mean that Paul suffers *because* he is regarded as a κακοῦργος—it can just as well mean that he suffers the same penalties as those to which a κακοῦργος is liable, but that the cause of them is in his case his preaching of the gospel (ἐν ᾧ)—in other words, his Christianity. In like manner, it is quite as conceivable in 2 Tim. 3 12 that the *nomen* is the cause of the sufferings of all Christians as that *flagitia* are. As for the Third Gospel and Acts, according to what has been said above (§ 2), they show only that their author, about 100-130 A.D., was acquainted with the name, and knew nothing as to its origin that rendered it impossible for him to place its date about the year 40. All that the present discussion can be regarded as contributing towards the solution of the question is the conjecture that the Pagans, in as far as they knew the true character of Christianity at a time before that which we have definitely ascertained, hardly took any cognisance of it—on account of the infrequency with which it came under public notice. P. W. S.

CHRONICLER (מזכיר), 2 S. 8 16 20 24, Is. 36 3, RV^mg.; EV RECORDER (*q.v.*).

CHRONICLES (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים), 1 K. 14 19. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 13 *f.*

CHRONICLES BOOKS OF. In the Hebrew canon Chronicles is a single book, entitled דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *Events of the Times.*

The full title would be כפר דברי הימים, *Book of Events of the Times;* and this again appears to have been a designation commonly applied to special histories in the more definite shape—*Events of the Times of King David*, or the like (1 Ch. 27 24 Esth. 10 2 etc.).

1. Name. The Greek translators divided the long book into two, and adopted the title Παραλειπομενα, *Things [often] omitted [scil.* in the other historical books; cod. A adds βασιλεων *respecting the kings* or των Βασιλειων Ιουδα: see Bacher, *Z.A.T.W.* 15 305 *ff.* (95)]. Jerome, following the sense of the Hebrew title, suggested the name of *Chronicōn* instead of *Paralipomenōn primus et secundus.* Hence the English *Chronicles.*

The book of Chronicles begins with Adam and ends abruptly in the middle of Cyrus's decree of restoration.

2. Connexion with Ezra-Nehemiah. The continuation of the narrative is found in the Book of Ezra, which begins by repeating 2 Ch. 36 22 *f.*, and filling up the fragment of the decree of Cyrus. A closer examination of those parts of Ezra and Nehemiah which are not extracted word for word from earlier documents or original memoirs, leads to the conclusion that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was originally one work, displaying throughout the peculiarities of language and thought of a single editor (see § 3). Thus the fragmentary close of 2 Chronicles marks the disruption of a previously-existing continuity. In the gradual compilation of the canon the necessity for incorporating in the Holy Writings an account of the establishment of the post-exilic theocracy was felt, before it was thought desirable to supplement Samuel and Kings by adding a second history of the pre-exilic period. Hence Chronicles is the last book of the Hebrew Bible, following the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, which properly is nothing else than its sequel.

Whilst the original unity of this series of histories can hardly be questioned, it will be more convenient in the present article to deal with Chronicles alone, reserving the relation of the several books for the article HISTORICAL LITERATURE (*q.v.*, § 14 *f.*). The author used a different class of sources for the history of the pre-exilic and the post-exilic periods respectively; and thus the critical questions affecting Chronicles are for the most part quite distinct from those which meet us in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. Besides, the identity or authorship cannot be conclusively demonstrated except by a comparison of results drawn from a separate consideration of each book.

Of the authorship of Chronicles we know only what can be determined by internal evidence. The colour of the language stamps the book as one of the latest in the OT (see § 11); but it leads to no exact determination of date.

3. Date. In 1 Ch. 29 7, which refers to the time of David, a sum of money is reckoned by *darics* (but see DRAM), which certainly implies that the author wrote after that Persian coin had long been current in Judea. The chief passage appealed to by critics to fix the date, however, is 1 Ch. 3 19 *ff.*, where the descendants of Zerubbabel seen to be reckoned to six generations (so Ewald, Bertheau, etc.).

The passage is confused, and ⊕ reads it so as to give as many as eleven generations (so Zunz, Nöld., Kuen. § 29 5; Kön. § 54 3b); whilst on the other hand those who plead for an early date are disposed to assume an interpolation or a corruption of the text, or to separate all that follows the name of Jeshua in *v.* 21 from what precedes (Movers, Keil). It seems impossible, however, by any fair treatment of the text to obtain fewer than six generations, and this result agrees with the probability that Hattush (*v.* 22), who, on the interpretation which we prefer, belongs to the fourth generation from Zerubbabel, was a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 8 2).

Thus the Chronicler lived at least two generations after Ezra. With this it accords very well that in Nehemiah five generations of high priests are enumerated from Jeshua (12 10 *f.*), and that the last name is that of Jaddua, who, as we know from Josephus, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. That the Chronicler wrote after the period of the Persian supremacy was past has been argued by Ewald (*Hist.* 1 173) and others, from the use of the title King of Persia (2 Ch. 36 23).

The official title of the Achæmenidæ was not 'King of Persia,' but 'the King,' 'the Great King,' 'the King of Kings,' 'the King of the Lands,' etc. (see RPD 1 111 *ff.* 5 151 *ff.* 9 65 *ff.*); and the first of these expressions is that used by Ezra (7 27 *f.* 8 1 etc.), Neh (1 11 2 1 *ff.*), and other Jews writing under the Persian rule (Hag. 1 1 15 Zech. 7 1 Ezra 4 8 11 5 6 *f.* etc.).

What seems to be certain and important for a right estimate of the book is that the author lived a considerable time after Ezra, probably indeed (Nöld. Kuen.) after 300 B.C., and was entirely under the influence of the religious institutions of the new theocracy. The standpoint determined the nature of his interest in the early history of his people.

The true importance of Hebrew history had always centred in the fact that this petty nation was the people of Yahwe, the spiritual God. The

4. Character: its explanation. interest which distinguishes the annals of Israel from the forgotten history of Moab or Damascus, lies wholly in that long contest which finally vindicated the reality of spiritual things and the supremacy of Yahwé's purpose, in the political ruin of the nation which was the faithless depositary of these sacred truths. After the fall of Jerusalem it was impossible to write the history of Israel's fortunes otherwise than in a spirit of religious pragmatism. Within the limits of the religious conception of the plan and purpose of the Hebrew history, however, more than one point of view might be taken up. The book of Kings looks upon the history in the spirit of the prophets, in that spirit which is still echoed by Zechariah (1 5 'Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live for ever? but my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your fathers? so that they turned and said, Like as Yahwe of Hosts thought to do unto us . . . so hath he dealt with us.' Long before the Chronicler wrote however, there had been a great change. The new Jerusalem of Ezra was organised as a municipality and a church, not as a nation. The centre of religious life was no longer the living prophetic word, but the ordinances of the Pentateuch and the liturgical service of the sanctuary. The religious vocation of Israel was no longer national

but ecclesiastical or municipal, and the historical continuity of the nation was vividly realised only within the walls of Jerusalem and the courts of the temple, in the solemn assembly and stately ceremonial of a feast day.

These influences naturally operated most strongly on those who were officially attached to the sanctuary. To a Levite, even more than to other Jews, the history of Israel meant above all things the history of Jerusalem, of the temple, and of the temple ordinances. Now the author of Chronicles betrays on every page his essentially levitical habit of mind. It even seems possible, from a close attention to his descriptions of sacred ordinances, to conclude that his special interests are those of a common Levite rather than of a priest, and that of all levitical functions he is most partial to those of the singers, a member of whose guild Ewald conjectures him to have been.

To such a man the older delineation of the history of Israel, especially in Samuel and Kings, could not but appear to be deficient in some directions, whilst in other respects its narrative seemed superfluous or open to misunderstanding, as for example by recording, and that without condemnation, things inconsistent with the pentateuchal law. The history of the ordinances of worship holds a very small place in the older record. Jerusalem and the temple have not that central place in the Book of Kings which they occupied in the minds of the Jewish community in post-exile times. Large sections of the old history are devoted to the religion and politics of the northern kingdom, which are altogether unintelligible and uninteresting when measured by a strictly levitical standard; and in general the whole problems and struggles of the earlier period turn on points which had ceased to be cardinal in the life of the new Jerusalem, which was no longer called upon to decide between the claims of the Word of Yahwè and the exigencies of political affairs and social customs, and which could not comprehend that men absorbed in deeper spiritual contests had no leisure for such things as the niceties of levitical legislation.

Thus there seemed to be room for a new history, which should confine itself to matters still interesting to the theocracy of Zion, keeping Jerusalem and the temple in the foreground, and developing the divine pragmatism of the history, with reference, not so much to the prophetic word as to the fixed legislation of the Pentateuch (especially the Priest's Code), so that the whole narrative might be made to teach that Israel's glory lies in the observance of the divine law and ritual.

5. Contents. I. *Outline of Chronicles.* The book falls naturally into three parts. 1. *Introductory resumé* (1 Ch. 1-9).—For the sake of systematic completeness the author begins with Adam, as is the custom with later Oriental writers. He had nothing, however, to add to the Pentateuch, and the period from Moses to David contained little that served his purpose. He, therefore, contracts the early history (1 Ch. 1-9) into a series of genealogies,[1] which were doubtless by no means the least interesting part of his work at a time when every Israelite was concerned to prove the purity of his Hebrew descent (see Ezra 2 59 62, cp GENEALOGIES, I. § 3). The greatest space is allotted naturally to the tribes of JUDAH and LEVI (*qq.v.*) (2 3-4 23 6 [5 27-6 66]); but, except where the author derives his materials from the earlier historical books (as in 1 3 1-16 6 54-81), his lists are meagre and imperfect, and his data evidently fragmentary. Already, however, the circumstances and interests of the author betray themselves; for even in these chapters his principal object is evidently to explain, in a manner consonant with the conceptions of his age, the origin of the ecclesiastical institutions of the post-exile community.

Observe that 1 Ch. 9 2-17*a* is excerpted (with merely clerical differences) from Neh. 11 3-19*a* (on the passage see LEVI, § 5 ii. § 15 (1) *a*); and that the stage to which the genealogies in 1 Ch. 8 17-24 and 8 33-40 (cp 9 35-44, and see BENJAMIN, § 9) are carried, shows that their purpose is to give the pedigree of post-exilic families who traced their descent from David and Saul respectively. In ch. 2 We. (*De gent.*; cp more briefly *Prol.* 216 *ff.* [E.T. *ib.*]) has shown that 2*a*, 9 25-33 42-50*a*, forming the kernel of the chapter, refer to pre-exilic Judah, whilst 7 13-17 18-24 34-41 50*b*-55 (like the greater part of 4 1-23) have reference to the circumstances of the post-exilic community; the chief aim of ch. 2 is to explain how the Caleb-ites, who before the fall of Jerusalem had their home in the S. of Judah, had in post-exilic times to find new homes in the more northerly parts of Judah (see CALEB, § 3 *f.*).

2. *Israel before the schism* (1 Ch. 10-2 Ch. 11.—From the death of Saul (1 Ch. 10) the history becomes fuller and runs parallel with Samuel and Kings. The limitations of the author's interest in past times appear in the omission, among other particulars, of David's reign in Hebron, of the disorders in his family and the revolt of Absalom, of the circumstances of Solomon's accession and of many details as to the wisdom and splendour of that sovereign as well as of his fall into idolatry.

3. *The Southern Kingdom* (2 Ch. 12-36).—In the later history the north tribes kingdom [illegible] and political affairs in Judah receive attention, not in proportion to their intrinsic importance, but as they serve to exemplify God's help to the obedient and his chastisement of the rebellious. That the author is always unwilling to speak of the past faults of good rulers, is not to be ascribed with some critics to a deliberate suppression of truth, but as a result of the book was throughout composed not in pure historical interests, but with a view to illustrate a single practical lesson.

II. *Additions to Kings.* 1. The more important additions which the Chronicler makes to the old narrative consists of (*a*) statistical lists (1 Ch. 12, see DAVID, § 11, iii.); (*b*) full details on points connected with the history of the sanctuary (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 15) and the great festivals (see FESTIVALS), or the archæology of the Levitical ministry (see LEVITES), 1 Ch. 13 15 16 (the three chapters expanded remarkably from 2 S 6), 22 29, 2 Ch 29-31 35 1-17 etc.); and (*c*) narratives of victories and defeats, of sins and punishments, of obedience and its reward, which could be made to point a plain religious lesson in favour of faithful observance of the Law.

See the following passages—2 Ch. 13 2-21 (Abijah), 14 9-15 (Zerah), 15 1-18 (Asa and the prophet Azariah), 16 7-10 (Asa and Hanani), 19 1-3 (Jehoshaphat and the prophet Jehu), 20 1-30 (the shepherd and Moab, etc.), 21 11-17 (Jehoram), 24 15-22 (Zechariah) etc.

These narratives often include prophetical discourses, inculcating the same principle of the theocratic conditions of success and failure, with much uniformity of expression, and in a tone very different from that of the prophets who appear in Samuel or Kings.

2. Attention should be directed also to the *short insertions*, introduced often into the narratives excerpted from the older historical books, for the purpose of supplementing them at some point where they appeared to the author to need explanation or correction.

Such are the notes on ritual 1 Ch. 15 27*a* 28*b* (David); 2 Ch. 5 11*b*-13*a* 6 13 7 6 8 13-15 (Solomon); 23 6 *bb* 13 (*mediate*) 18 (from "and the") 19 (deposition of Athaliah); 34 9 ("the Levites") 12 (from "and the") 19 etc.; the reflections in 1 Ch 21 6 *ff.* (Joab's census); 2 Ch. 8 11*b* (Solomon's wife's palace); 12 12 (Rehoboam humbling himself); 18 31*b* (Yahwè delivers Jehoshaphat); 22 4*b* (cause of Ahaziah's wickedness); 25 27*a* (to "Yahwè," cause of plot against Amaziah); 26 21 (*middle*) 23 (*middle*; consequences of Uzziah's leprosy); 27 6 (effects of Jotham's piety), 33 23 (character of Amon).

The minor variations of Chronicles from Samuel and Kings are analogous in principle to the larger additions and omissions, so that the whole work has a consistent and well-marked character, presenting the history in quite a different perspective from that of the old narrative.

6. Sources. Here, then, a critical question arises. Is the change of perspective wholly due to a different selection of items from authentic historical tradition? May we assume that everything which is new in Chronicles has been taken exactly from older

[1] See the articles on the several tribes.

sources, or must we judge that the standpoint of the author has not only governed the selection of facts, but also coloured the statement of them? Are all his novelties new data, or are some of them inferences of his own from the same data as lie before us in other books of the OT?

To answer these questions we must first inquire what were the materials at his command. The Chronicler makes frequent reference to earlier histories which he cites by a great variety of names.

1. The *Book of the Kings.*—That the names 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' 'Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel,' 'Book of the Kings of Israel,' and 'Affairs of the Kings of Israel' (2 Ch. 33 18, *Heb.*) refer to a single work is not disputed. Under one or other title this book is cited some ten times (1 Ch. 9 1 2 Ch. 16 11 25 26 27 7 28 26 33 18 35 27 36 8, also 20 34 32 32, noted below).

That it is not the canonical Kings is manifest from what is said of its contents.

It must have been quite an extensive work, for among other things it contained genealogical statistics (1 Ch. 9 1), as well as other particulars, not mentioned in the existing Book of Kings (see 2 Ch. 27 7 33 18 36 8); and it incorporated certain older writings of (or about) prophets—in particular the *Dĕbārīm* (*Words*, or rather *Matters*, i.e., *History*) of Jehu ben Hanani (2 Ch. 20 34, where read with RV, 'which is inserted in') and the Vision of Isaiah (2 Ch. 32 32).

Now it is noticeable that, where the Chronicler does not cite this comprehensive work at the close of a king's reign, he generally refers to some special authority which bears the name of a *prophet* (1 Ch. 29 29, Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; 2 Ch. 9 29, Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo, 12 15, Shemaiah, and Iddo; 13 22, Iddo; 26 22, Isaiah). Never, however, are both the *Book of the Kings* and a special prophetic writing cited for the same reign. It is therefore highly probable that, in other cases as well as in those of Jehu and Isaiah (see above), the writings cited under the names of various prophets were known to the author only as parts of the great *Book of the Kings*.

Even 2 Ch. 33 19 (cp vv. 18), where AV departs from the received Hebrew text, but probably expresses the correct reading, seems rather to confirm than to oppose this conclusion (which is now disputed by very few scholars) except in the case of Isaiah's history of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26 22), where the form of the reference is different.

The references to these Dĕbārīm will thus not imply the existence of historical monographs written by the prophets with whose names they are connected; they will merely point to sections of the *Book of the Kings*, which embraced the history of particular prophets, and were hence familiarly cited under their names.

2. The *Midrash of the Book of the Kings.*—Whether the Book of the Kings is identical with the *Midrash* (RV, badly, *Commentary*) *of the Book of the Kings* (2 Ch. 24 27) is not certain. On the one hand, the peculiar title would suggest a distinct work; on the other hand, it is not apparent why, if (as its title shows) it was a comprehensive work, dealing with the kings generally, it should be cited for only one reign. The term 'Midrash,'[2] moreover, from דָּרַשׁ *to search out, investigate*,—as applied to Scripture, to discover or develop a thought not apparent on the surface—denotes a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story (such, for instance, as that of Tobit or Susannah); the Midrash here referred to will thus have been a work intended to develop the religious lessons deducible from the history of the kings. This, however, is just the guiding motive in many of the narratives, peculiar to Chronicles, for which the author cites as his authority the *Book of the Kings*: the last-named work, therefore, even if not identical with the *Midrash of the Book of the Kings* (as Ew. We. Kue. with much probability suppose), will nevertheless have been similar in character and tendency (cp below, § 9, end).

The *Midrash of the prophet Iddo* (2 Ch. 13 22) will have been either a particular section of the *Midrash of the Book of the Kings*, or, more probably, perhaps, a separate work of the same character, which was attributed to Iddo as its author, or in which the prophet Iddo played a prominent part. For allusions to other authorities, see 1 Ch. 5 17 23 27 27 24 2 Ch. 35 25.

3. *Conclusion.*—All these writings must have been *post*-exilic works; nor is it probable that, except for some of his statistical information, the Chronicler had access to any sources of early date other than the canonical histories of the OT. The style (see below, § 11) is conclusive evidence that no part of the additional matter[1] peculiar to Chronicles is an *excerpt* from any pre-exilic writing.

The general conclusion is that it is very doubtful whether the Chronicler used any historical work not accessible to us, with the exception of this lost *Book of the Kings*. Even his genealogical lists may have been derived from that work (1 Ch. 9 1), though for these he may also have had other materials at command.

4. *Sources of the Canonical Kings.*—Now we know that the two chief sources of the canonical book of Kings were entitled *Annals* ['events of the times'] *of the Kings of Israel* and *Judah* respectively. That the lost source of the Chronicles was not independent of these works appears probable both from the nature of the case and from the close and often verbal parallelism between many sections of the two biblical narratives. Whilst the canonical Book of Kings, however, had separate sources for the N. and the S. kingdoms, the source of Chronicles was a history of the two kingdoms combined, and so, no doubt, was a more recent work, in great measure extracted from the older annals. Still it contained also matter not derived from these works, for it is pretty clear from 2 K. 21 17 that the *Annals of the Kings of Judah* gave no account of Manasseh's repentance, which, according to 2 Ch. 33 18 *f.*, was narrated in the great *Book of the Kings of Israel*.

5. *Dependence of Chronicles on Kings.*—It was formerly the opinion of Bertheau, and other scholars (e.g., Keil), that the parallelisms of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings are sufficiently explained by the ultimate common source from which both narratives drew. Most critics hold, however, that the Chronicler also drew directly from the canonical Samuel and Kings, as he unquestionably did from the Pentateuch. This opinion is probable in itself, as the earlier books of the OT cannot have been unknown to the author; and the critical analysis of the canonical Book of Kings shows that in some of the parallel passages the Chronicler uses words which were not taken from the annals but written by the author of Kings himself. In particular Chronicles agrees with Kings in those short notes of the moral character of individual monarchs which can hardly be ascribed to a hand earlier than that of the final author of the latter book (cp *e.g.*, 2 Ch. 20 32 *f.* [Asa] with 1 K. 22 43; 24 2 [Joash], with 2 K. 12 3 [2] [Jehoash]; 25 1-4 [Amaziah], with 2 K. 14 2 *f.* 5 *f.*, etc.). It is of course possible, as Bertheau (Ehr. *f.*) and Kue. (§ 32 15) suppose, that the author of the chief source of Chronicles had already incorporated extracts from the canonical book of Kings; and in general the conclusions of the successive historical books which precede the present canonical histories are sufficiently obscure to make it unwise to indulge in positive assertion on a matter in which so many possibilities may be suggested.

[1] 'The Seers'; so ⊕, RVmg., Bertheau, Kuenen, Ball, Oettli, Kautzsch. Budde and Kittel read חוֹזֵי *his seers* (cp vv. 15). Those who follow MT (as Ew. *Hist.* 1 184, Keil) find in vv. 15 an unknown prophet Hozai (cp AVmg. RV).

[2] Though common in Rabbinical literature, it occurs otherwise in the OT only in 2 Ch. 13 22.

[1] Including the genealogies and statistical matter, which (so far as they are not colourless lists of names) show unmistakable marks of the Chronicler's hand, and must therefore be regarded as his compilations: see, *e.g.*, the late expressions in 1 Ch. 2 30 4 21 22 3 3 38 39 42 5 1 2 etc.

7. Treatment of sources.

In[1] studying Chronicles a sharp distinction ought always to be drawn between the parts excerpted (without substantial alteration) from the earlier canonical historical books and the parts peculiar to the Chronicler. The recently published edition of Chronicles by Kittel (*SBOT*), in which such excerpts are coloured light red, will materially assist the reader in doing this.

The question arises, What is the historical value of the passages peculiar to Chronicles? After what has been said, it can hardly be doubtful that, except for some of his statistical information, his one genuine ancient source was the series of the 'Former Prophets,' Samuel and (more largely) Kings. The MSS of these books which he employed preserved occasionally a better reading than is found in the existing MT; but where he adds to the earlier narrative or departs from it, his variations are seldom such as to inspire confidence. In large measure these variations are due to his assumption, the validity of which he never questions, that the religious institutions of his own time must have existed in the same form in old Israel.

1. *High Places.*—Living in a time when high places were universally regarded as idolatrous, the Chronicler could not imagine that a good king had tolerated them. Thus, whereas 1 K. 15 14 22 43 state that Asa and Jehoshaphat did not abolish the high places, the Chronicler (2 Ch. 14 5 17 6) says that they *did* abolish them.

2. *Levitical Choirs.*—Again, he assumes that the Levitical organisation of his own time, and especially the three choirs of singers, were established by David.

Had this really been the case, the silence of the older history would be inexplicable; indeed the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah shows that, even at the time of the return from Babylon, the system with which the Chronicler was familiar had not been elaborated, for the 'singers' there still form a separate class not yet incorporated with the Levites.

(*a*) The narrative in 2 S. 6 of the removal of the ark to Zion does not say a word respecting the presence of Levites upon the occasion. In 1 Ch. 13 15 *f.* this omission is made good: the Levites, including the singers, take a prominent part in the ceremony; the mishap of Uzzah is represented (15 13) as due to the fact that the ark had not at first been properly carried by the Levites, and a psalm composed of parts of three *post*-exilic psalms (105 1-15 96 1-13*a* 106 1 47 *f.*) is placed in David's mouth (16 8-36).

(*b*) In 1 K. 8 3 the ark is borne by priests (in accordance with Dt. 31 9, and all pre-exilic allusions); but in 2 Ch. 5 4 'Levites' is substituted for 'priests,' to bring the passage into conformity with the later Levitical law.

(*c*) In 2 K. 11 Jehoiada's assistants in the revolution which cost Athaliah her life, are the foreign body-guard, which we know to have been employed in the temple down to the time of Ezekiel (44 7); but in 2 Ch. 23 the Carians (see CHERETHITES) and the foot-guards give place to the Levites, in accordance with the rule of the second temple, which did not allow aliens to approach so near to the holy things. 'Deliberate alterations' (Be.) are in consequence introduced throughout the narrative; and a new colouring is imparted to the whole occurrence.

(*d*) There are other incidental allusions, also, which show that the author is really describing institutions of a date later than the age to which he refers them. Thus (i.) not only do the gates mentioned in 1 Ch. 26 (under David) presuppose the existence of a temple, but also the Persian name PARBAR (*q.v.*), given to one of them (*v.* 18), shows that the writer is thinking of the post-exilic temple. (ii.) The allusions in 2 Ch. 13 11 (in the speech put into Abijah's mouth) to the golden candlestick and the evening burnt-offering, point also to the usage of the same age: in the pre-exilic temple the number of golden candlesticks was not one but ten (1 K. 7 49; see, however, CANDLESTICK, § 1), and the evening sacrifice of the pre-exilic temple was not a holocaust but a cereal oblation (מנחה: 1 K. 18 36 2 K. 16 15 Ezra 9 4).[2]

In his descriptions of pre-exilic solemnities, as in the speeches which he places in the mouth of pre-exilic characters, the Chronicler is unconsciously an unimpeachable witness to the religious usages and beliefs of his own time; it is inconsistent with sound historical principles to treat his testimony with regard to antiquity as of equal value with that of the older and more nearly contemporary historical writings, where the two, whether directly or by legitimate inference, are at variance.

8. The Chronicler's theories.

Another principle traceable in the Chronicler's additions is the tendency not merely to lay stress upon the doctrine of divine retribution, but also to represent it as acting immediately (see especially below [*c*]). To the earlier prophets the retributive justice of God is manifest in the general course of the history—the fall of the Hebrew nation is the fruit of sin and rebellion against Yahwe's moral commands—but God's justice is mingled with long-suffering, and the prophets do not suppose that every sin is punished promptly, and that temporary good fortune is always the reward of righteousness. The aim of very many of the additions made in Chronicles to the old history, is to show that in Israel retribution followed immediately on good or bad conduct, especially on obedience or disobedience to prophetic warnings.

(*a*) In 1 K. 22 [illegible] we read that Jehoshaphat built Tarshish ships (*i.e.*, great ships, sea-vessels) at Ezion-geber to go to Ophir for gold; but the ships were wrecked before they sailed. For this the Chronicler seeks a religious reason. As 1 K. proceeds to relate that, after the disaster, Ahaziah of Israel offered to join Jehoshaphat in a fresh enterprise, and the latter declined, the narrative of 1 K. 22 48 is so altered in 2 Ch. 20 35 *f.*, 37*b* as to represent the king of Israel as having been partner in the ships that were wrecked; whilst in *v.* 37*a* there is an addition stating that Jehoshaphat was warned by a prophet of the certain failure of an undertaking in which he was associated with the wicked Ahaziah.

(*b*) In 2 K. 3 we read of a war with Moab in which Jehoshaphat was associated with the wicked house of Ahab, and came off scathless. In Chronicles this war is entirely omitted, and in its place we have (2 Ch. 20) an expedition of Jehoshaphat alone against Moab, Ammon, and Edom, in which the Jewish king, having opened the campaign—with the assistance of the Levites with suitable prayer and praise, has no further task than to spoil the dead of the enemy who have fallen by one another's hands.

(*c*) Kings states simply as a fact that Shishak invaded Judah and carried off the treasures of the temple and palace; the Chronicler inserts between 1 K. 14 25 and 26 a notice expressing that this was because Rehoboam had forsaken Yahwé, but that, as he and his princes had humbled themselves, they should not be entirely destroyed (2 Ch. 12 2*b*-8, cp *v.* 1-2).

(*d*) In Kings, Asa, who according to 1 K. 15 14 was a good king all his days, had in his old age (*v.* 23) a disease in his feet. With the object, apparently, of accounting for this, the Chronicler explains (2 Ch. 16 7-10; cp the addition in *v.* 12*b*-14) that three years previously he had shown a distrustful spirit by contracting an alliance with Benhadad (which is mentioned in 1 K. 15 17-22, without any mark of disapproval on the part of the narrator). The singular dates in 2 Ch. 15 19 16 1 (which place Baasha's invasion at a period which, according to 1 K. 15 33 16 8, was ten years after his own death) are most naturally explained as an attempt to bring the fault sufficiently near the punishment.

(*e*) Similarly the misfortunes of Jehoash, Amaziah, and Azariah are explained by sins of which the older history knows nothing (2 Ch. 24 23 *f.*, 25 14-16 20*b*, 26 16-20);[2] and Pharaoh Necho himself is made a prophet, that the defeat and death of Josiah may be due to his rejection of a divine warning (2 Ch. 35 21 *f.*), whilst on the other hand, Manasseh, whose character as depicted in 2 K. 21 1-18 23 26 (cp 24 3 *f.*, Jer. 15 4) is without a redeeming feature, is represented as a penitent (2 Ch. 33 12 *f.*, 15 *f.*) in order, it would seem, to justify his long reign.[3]

All this is entirely in the style of the Jewish 'Midrash'; it is not history, but 'Haggādā,' moralising romance attaching to historical names and events. The Chronicler himself, it will be remembered (see above, § 6 [2]), gives the name of 'Midrash' to two of the sources from which

[1] A portion of Robertson Smith's article in the *EB* is here omitted; and this and the following section (§ 8) exhibit the (presumably) more matured view expressed by the author in *OTJC*(2) (22), pp. 140-148 (cp ed. 1, pp. 419-423).

[2] Cp 1 Ch. 21 28-22 1 (excusing David's sacrifice on Araunah's threshing-floor and explaining why he could not go to Gibeon); 2 Ch. 1 3*b*-5*a* (describing the worship at the high-place of Gibeon; cp 1 Ch. 16 39 *f.*); 7 9 *f.* (1 K. 8 65 *f.*, altered to harmonise with the practice of the post-exilic temple); and the short notices relating to ritual, especially the functions of the singers, instanced above (§ 5, end; cp § 7 [2]).

[1] Where the 'yet' of RV should be 'and also' (viz., as well as in the alliance with Benhadad).

[2] 2 K. 15 5 mentions only the fact that Uzziah became a leper.

[3] Cp 1 Ch. 10 13 *f.* (the cause assigned for Saul's death), 2 Ch. 12 5*b* (cause of Shishak's invasion), 21 10*b* (cause of Libnah's revolt), 22 7 25 20*b* 28 5 19 22 *f.* (Ahaz's troubles attributed to his idolatry), 30 12*b*. In 2 Ch. 24 4-14 28 22 *f.*, 24 *f.* the older narratives of Kings have been not less curiously transformed than in 2 Ch. 23 (see above, § 7 *c*); Be., *ad loc.*; Kue.(2), § 30 21, § 31 2; We., *Prol.*(4), 192, 198 *f.* [ET 194, 198 *f.*]. The correspondence between Hiram and Solomon (2 Ch. 2 3-16; cp 1 K. 5 2-9) has been rewritten by the Chronicler (with reminiscences from other parts of Kings) in his own style.

his materials were derived. There need be no uncertainty, therefore, as to the nature of his work when it departs from the older narratives of S. and K.

Another peculiarity of the Chronicler is to be found in the incredibly high figures with which he deals.

9. Exaggerations. David (1 Ch 22 14) amasses 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver for the temple (contrast the much more modest estimate of even Solomon's revenue in 1 K. 10 14 *f.*); the army of Abijah numbers 400,000 men, that of Jeroboam 800,000, of whom 500,000 perish in one day (2 Ch. 13 3 17); Asa musters 580,000 soldiers, Zerah 1,000,000 (14 8 9), Jehoshaphat 1,160,000 (17 14-19), —although in 20 12 he complains that he has 'no might,'—Uzziah 307,500 (26 13); of the army of Ahaz 120,000 are slain in one day, while 200,000 women and children are taken captive (28 6 8).

Manifestly such figures cannot be historical. The past was magnified, as it was also idealised. The empire of David and his successors was imagined on a scale of unsurpassed power and magnificence; pre-exilic Judah was pictured as already in possession of the institutions, and governed—at least in its greater and better men—by the ideas and principles which were in force at a later day. The past was read in the light of the present, and the history, where necessary, re-written accordingly. No doubt in many instances a traditional element lies at the basis of the Chronicler's representation; but this element has been developed by him, and embellished with fresh details, for the purpose of giving expression to the ideas which he had at heart, and of inculcating the lessons which he conceived the history to teach. It is probable that the new conception of Israel's past history, and the characteristic didactic treatment of it, did not originate with the Chronicler himself, but had already appeared in the *Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah* or the *Midrash of the Book of Kings*, which he so frequently cites as his authorities (cp Be. xxxvii.).

A usage, not peculiar to the Chronicler among OT writers, which must be carefully taken into account by the historical critic, is that of giving information that is really statistical in the form of a narrative. This is the principle which underlies many of the OT statements of genealogical relationships, and which alone explains the variations between different accounts of the genealogy proceeding from a single ancestor: information as to the subdivisions of clans, the intermingling of populations, and the like, is thrown into a genealogical form (see GENEALOGIES, § 1). The most striking example of the application of this principle is the ethnographical table of Gen. 10 (cp also 22 20-24 25 1-4 13-16, and parts of 36); but these instances by no means stand alone; there are many in 1 Ch. 1-9.

10. The genealogies.

Thus it is avowedly the intention of 2 24 42-45 49-55 4 2-5 11-14 17-23 to indicate the origin of local populations; in 2 43 Hebron, the town, has 'sons.' Several of the names in 2 4 are also those of Edomite clans (Wellh. *De Gentibus etc.* 38 *f.*); these came gradually to be treated as belonging to Judah, and the connection was afterwards exhibited artificially in a genealogical scheme. Caleb and Jerahmëël were not originally Israelite; Caleb belonged to the Edomite clan (Gen. 36 11) of the Kenizzites (Jos. 14 6-14); and clans bearing the name of Caleb and Jerahmëël are in David's time (1 S. 27 10, cp 30 29; note also the terms of Jos. 14 15*a*) still distinguished from Judah: in course of time, however, they were regarded as an integral part of the tribe, and a genealogy was formed (1 Ch. 2 18 25) to give expression to the fact.[1]

A different application of the same principle seems to lie in the account of the institutions of Levitical service which is introduced in connection with the transference of the ark to Jerusalem by David. The author is not concerned to distinguish the gradual steps by which the Levitical organisation attained its full development. He wishes to describe the system in its complete form, especially as regards the service of the singers, and he does this under the reign of David, who was the father of Hebrew psalmody [cp *OTJC*[2] 223 *f.*] and the restorer of the sanctuary of the ark.

The style of the Chronicler has remarkable peculiarities. It is not merely that it presents characteristically late linguistic novelties (which are not confined to the vocabulary, but, as König's *Syntax der hebr. Sprache* fully shows, extend to the Syntax), but it has also a number of special mannerisms. Even the reader of a translation can see that this must be the case. Modern words, often with Aramaic affinities, inelegant syntax, cumbrous and uncouth sentences in strongest possible contrast to the ease and grace of the earlier Hebrew historical books,—these are the predominant marks of the Chronicler's style; and so constant are they that there is hardly a sentence, not excerpted from Samuel or Kings, in which they are not observable.[1] For details we must refer to the Introductions and Commentaries (see *e.g.*, Be. xiv.-xvii., Dr. *Introd.* 535-540; F. Brown, Hastings' *DB* 1 389-391). It might be thought, by those unacquainted with the Chronicler's manner, that the *speeches* in Chronicles might form as a whole an exception to what is here stated, and that they might conceivably be based on some special sources of older date. But this would be a great mistake. The tone and literary style of the speeches which have parallels in Samuel and Kings are both very different from those which have been added by the Chronicler. The latter not only reflect, almost uniformly, the ideas and point of view of the Chronicler himself, but also exhibit frequently the same literary peculiarities. There can be no reasonable doubt that they are, one and all, his own composition.[2]

11. Style.

Bertheau's work in the *Kurzgef. Hdb.* (ed. 2, 1873) is still a most helpful commentary; see also Keil (73); Zockler, in Langes *Bibelwerk* (74); Oettli, *Kgf. Komm.* (89); Rawlinson, *Speaker's Comm.* (75); Ball (learned), Ellicott's *Comm.* (79); Bennett (suggestive), *Expos. Bib.* (94). On isagogic questions (structure, sources, credibility of narrative, etc.), the principal works are De Wette, *Krit. Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit d. Chron.* 1806 (*Beiträge*, vol. 1); Keil, *Apolog. Versuch.* (3.), and *Einl.*[(4)] (73), §§ 138-144; Movers, *Krit. Unterss. über die B. Chron.* (34); Graf, 'Das Buch der Chron. als Geschichtsquelle,' in *Die Gesch. Bücher des ATs* (66), p. 114-247 (see also Be. viii.); Ew. *Hist.* 1 169 *ff.*; De Wette-Schr. *Einl.* (6.), §§ 224-233; We. *Prol.*[(4)] 169-228 [ET, 171-227]; Kue. *Ond.*[2] §§ 28-32 (very thorough); Dr. *Introd.*[(6)] 516-540; Wildeboer, *Letterkunde*, § 25; König, *Einl.* § 54. Cp also Bu. 'Vermutungen zum "Midrash" des Buches der Könige' in *ZATW*, 1892, p. 37 *ff.* (speculative); Ki. *Chronicles, Critical Edition*, etc., with Notes, *SBOT* (Hebrew), 95; W. E. Barnes, 'Religious Standpoint of the Chronicler,' *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, Oct. '96; 'Chronicles a Targum,' *Ex. Times*, 8 316 *f.* (97); *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version* (97) (contains a rather surprising number of variants in the primary MSS); F. Brown, art. 'Chronicles,' Hastings' *DB* (98).

12. Bibliography.

W. R. S.—S. R. D.

[1] So in 7 22 Ephraim is not an individual, but the tribe; and in v. 21 Ezer and Elead are, no doubt, Ephraimite clans. Cp Bennett in *Expos. Bib.* chap. iv. esp. p. 87 *ff.*

[1] The peculiarities in question may often be observed even in the short sentences which the Chronicler sometimes introduces into a narrative otherwise exceeded without material alteration from Samuel or Kings: *e.g.*, 1 Ch. 21 1 (נסה), 3 (אשמה), 11 end (בבר), 2 Ch. 2 3(2) 5 11*b*-13*a* 12 12 18 3 etc., etc.

[2] For illustrations see Dr., 'The Speeches in Chronicles,' *Expositor*, Apr. and Oct. 1895, pp. 247-254, 294 *f.*, 304-307.

CHRONOLOGY

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A. OLD TESTAMENT.

1. No fixed era.

The advantages afforded by a fixed and uniform chronological system of defining historical events seem so evident that one might expect to find some such method of determining dates in use from the very earliest times. History, however, shows that a long development was needed to lead to this simple result. Only in connection with a universal history did the desire for a uniform and comprehensive method of determining dates spring up. The impulse towards a real universal history and a general chronology came, not when the attempt was made to collect and record all human events, but when men learned to look at them from a single point of view and to comprehend them in a single plan. The roots of such a universal history lie in the prophets of Israel, who regarded the plan of Yahwé as realising itself in the experience of the nations of the earth as well as in the history of Israel; and its actual beginnings, strange as it may seem, are to be found in the Apocalyptic writers, who regarded history as a comprehensive whole (see Apocalyptic, § 2). This mode of regarding history was continued by Christianity. It is not strange, therefore, that Christianity felt the need for a universal chronology and found a way of meeting that need, thus proving its own world-embracing significance. This is not the place to enter upon the long and involved history of the adoption of the Christian era, which, after its author, the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus of the first half of the sixth century, is also called the Dionysian era. In order, however, to obtain a fixed starting-point from which to reckon, we must simply state here that the year 1—*i.e.*, the year of the birth of Christ—is equivalent to the year 754 of the era of Varro—*i.e.*, the era of the city of Rome,—and to the first year of the 195th Olympiad; and, also, that King Herod died in the year 750 of the city of Rome, and so in the year 4 B.C. (cp Schür. *GJV* 1 343-345).

The same phenomenon of gradual arrival at a satisfactory chronological method is repeated in the narrower sphere of the national history of the several nations. We never find a settled era, a definite date from which years were counted, at the very beginning or even at an early period of a nation's history. If anything of this kind has seemed to appear in early times, it has always turned out to be in the highest degree uncertain, or really to rest on later calculations. Nor is the OT any exception to this rule. Only once had the Jews before Christ a national era, and that was for a very short time. When Simon the Maccabee had obtained from the Syrians complete freedom from taxation along with the acknowledgment of the political independence of Judea, documents and contracts were dated by years of Simon, the High Priest and Prince of the Jews, the first year of Simon the High Priest (1 Macc. 13 41 f. 14 27) representing the 170th year of the era of the Seleucides (= 143-142 B.C.).[1]

On the other hand, since the time when the Jews fell under the dominion of Syria, they had used the so-called era of the Seleucidæ (βασιλεία Ἑλλήνων, 1 Macc. 1 11; βασιλεία Ἀσσυρίων [Assyrian = Syrian], Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6 7; מנין שטרות = *æra contractuum* amongst the Jews, and year *dêyarwanyê* amongst the Syrians). This era has for its starting-point the defeat of Nicanor, the general of Antigonus, by Seleucus Nicator, and the final establishment of the dominion of the Seleucidæ in Syria and Babylonia in the year Ol. 117, 1—*i.e.*, 312 B.C. It is used in the Books of the Maccabees, but there, it would seem, with this difference, that in the first book it begins, not, as was usual elsewhere, in the autumn, but in the spring of 312, thus about half a year earlier.[2] This era reached in general as far as the Syrian power, and although, usually, where states were able to obtain freedom they introduced new eras of their own, none was able to maintain itself so long as that of the Seleucidæ. It remained in use, indeed, among the Syrians for centuries alongside of the Arabic era, which counts from the Hegira (*hijra*, flight of Mohammed), 16th July, 622 A.D.

Real eras are not met with in the OT in earlier times. We cannot cite as an exception the practice of the Jews during the Exile, of counting the years since they were carried away from their land (גלותנו, Ezek. 33 21 and 40 1; גלות יהויכין, 2 K. 25 27; also Jer. 52 31, and Ezek. 1 2, and, without mention of the point from which the reckoning is made, Ezek. 8 1 20 1 29 1 17). In truth, they desired nothing more eagerly than to be delivered from the need of counting in this way. Besides, there

[1] Whether the numbers 1-5 that are found on silver shekels and half-shekels with the inscription ירושלים קדשה or ירושלים הקדשה refer to another era than this of Simon's, and, if so, to some pre-Christian era, has not been decided. That Simon had coins stamped, however, is hardly to be doubted (cp 1 Macc. 15 6; also Schürer, *op. cit.* 1 192 *ff.* 616 *ff.*).

[2] So Schürer, *op. cit.* 1 144; We., however (*JJG* 129 *f.* 208), regards this assumption as unnecessary (cp Year, § 6).

was along with it a reckoning from the final fall of Jerusalem (Ezek. 40 1), while Ezek 1 1 (if the text has reached us intact) must rest on still a third mode of reckoning.[1] It is, moreover, a very unsafe hypothesis which ventures to retain in the case of the statement of 2 Ch. 16 1 (as a whole clearly untenable) at least the number 36 as based on trustworthy tradition, and proposes to find therein a trace of a Judean era, thought to date from the division of the kingdom (Sharpe, *Chronology of the Bible*, 29; cp Brandes, *Abhandl.* 62). Nor, lastly, are we any more justified in finding any trace of a real era counting from the Exodus i.e. the late passage 1 K. 6 1, where the building of Solomon's temple is assigned to the 480th year after that event. This number does not rest on tradition: it has been reached by calculation based on some hypothesis. No corroboration can be obtained from the numbers in the late Priestly Code if the passages containing them are original even there—numbers which date the events of the journey through the wilderness by years from the deliverance out of Egypt (יצאת בני־ישראל מארץ מצרים: cp Ex. 16 1 19 1 Nu. 1 1 9 1 33 38). Nor can any support, in fact, be found for the notion that the Jubilee period was turned to chronological purposes. There is not the slightest trace of a real carrying out of the regulations concerning it mentioned in Lev. 25 9 ff.: even the Books of the Maccabees speak only of Sabbatic years, never of Jubilee years (1 Macc. 6 49 53; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 16 2).

In spite of this lack of a proper era, the OT is not without notes and data intended to serve as a means of fixing events chronologically.

2. Miscellaneous data. In addition to isolated observations (none the less important that they are incidental) setting an occurrence in relation to another prominent event (*e.g.*, to the death of the king, as in Is 6 1 14 28, or to an important expedition, as in Is. 20 1, to the building of a city, as in Nu. 13 22, or to an extraordinary natural phenomenon, as in Am. 1 1), we generally find, in the case of any important OT personage, the year of his life or his reign specified; and in the books edited during the Exile the date of the events narrated begins to be given by years of the reigning king. Besides, there are the various synchronistic data often supplied by headings of books (*e.g.*, in the case of certain of the prophets), and by the Books of Kings, which have a complete synchronistic record for the time of the coexistence of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Finally, the evidence of the contemporaneousness of certain events furnished at times by the historical narrative itself is of the highest importance.

The weightiest question, however, is, to what degree of credibility this chronological material can lay claim.

3. Late origin. Before undertaking the examination of this question for the several points of the history, we must premise some general considerations that thrust themselves on our notice. First of all, there is the remarkable fact that these chronological notes are to be found in greatest abundance in those parts of the historical books that are confessedly to be regarded as the youngest. In the Pentateuch they belong to the post-exilic Priestly Code or to additions of even later date; in the other historical books into which the older

[1] In that case nothing would meet the requirements of the passage but a reckoning that counted from the reform of Josiah (622). Of any such mode of reckoning we know nothing, any more than we do of a reckoning by Jubilee periods, or of a Babylonian era meeting the requirements of the text (cp Kue. *Einl.* 2 60 n. 4). Wi. (*AT Unters.* 94-96) therefore alters the text, and reads Ezek. 1 1 thus, ב בעי (read בשלשי) בחמשי (read בחמשי), or בשלשי (read בשנה הרביעי והרביעית), which must be understood like 8 1, and give an earlier date than 8 1. It would be better, however, to assume the original reading to have been 'in the fifth year' (cp the following verse)—*i.e.*, בשנה החמישית,—and that from the fact of Jeremiah's having predicted seventy years for the Exile (25 11, cp 29 10) while Ezekiel gave only forty (4 6), a later writer drew the inference that Ezekiel prophesied thirty years after Jeremiah, and accordingly inserted as a date in Ezek. 1 1 the thirtieth year of the Exile (Duhm).

sources have been worked, they are due, in the main, to the latest exilic editors. Then, it must be regarded as proved that the superscriptions of the prophetic books containing detailed information concerning the time of the respective prophets do not come from the prophets themselves, but are much younger additions, such as the erudition of later ages delighted in. This appears from the inexplicable double date (by kings of Judah and of Israel) found in Hosea and Amos, as well as from the inaccuracy, or the crowding, of the data in Is. Jer. and Ezek. Nor is the remarkable addition in Amos 1 1, 'two years before the earthquake,' any exception to this rule: the fact that a later event is employed to define the date shows that the statement is a subsequent addition, and it is therefore very probable that it rests on the exegesis and calculation of the scribes (cp Hoffmann, *ZAW* 11 3 123 ['83]). Lastly, it is remarkable that the text presents no uniformity of reading in the matter of recording dates: nay, that there are even to be found unfilled blanks. Thus in 1 S. 13 1 the numbers have been omitted from the formula giving the age of Saul and the length of his reign, and in 𝔊[L] the whole verse is omitted.[1] There are also other places in the LXX where such chronological data are lacking (*e.g.*, Jer. 47 1 [BAℵ]) and elsewhere in the old versions we come on considerable variations from the traditional Hebrew text. All these are marks that indicate a late origin for the chronological numbers and warn us in the most emphatic way to submit them to a thorough examination.

As regards the oldest period, with which Genesis deals, the time down to the Exodus, it is known that the numbers supplied by the Samaritan and the LXX texts, and even by the Book of Jubilees (dating from the first century A.D.) differ in many points from those of the Massoretic text.

4. Oldest period.

The divergence will be made most plain by a comparison showing the sum of the years according to each tradition. In Gen. 5 the period from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood is, according to the Hebrew text, 1656 years; according to the Samaritan, 1307; and, according to 𝔊[L], 2242. In Gen. 11 10 ff. the interval from the birth of Shem to the birth of Abraham is, according to the Hebrew text, 390 years; according to the Samaritan, 1040; and, according to the text of 𝔊[L], [illegible]. In this no account is taken of the variations exhibited by the other MSS of 𝔊 itself, nor is it inquired whether the tradition represented by any one given text is free from internal inconsistency (cp, *e.g.*, Gen. 11 10, 'two years after the flood' with Gen. 5 32 7 6, and Gen. 11 10a; further Gen. 12 4 with Gen. 11 26, 32).

This state of matters shows, what was indeed probable to begin with, that there was no fixed tradition concerning the early history of Israel: that, indeed, even at so late a time as that of the LXX and the Book of Jubilees there was no clear idea of how the period in question should be measured. Thus the numbers of the Hebrew text, since they are not earlier than the Priestly Code, go back at the best only to the fifth century B.C., and do not rest on tradition, but have been reached by the application of some artificial theory. Since they are useless, therefore, at least for chronology (if indeed one could ever have hoped to obtain such a thing for these earliest times) it is unnecessary to attempt to discover what the actual theory underlying them is.

It will be enough to mention that v. Gutschmid observed that 2666—the number of years resulting from the summation of the Massoretic numbers for the period (Gen. 5 to Ex. 12 4) from the creation of Adam to the Exodus[2] is exactly two-thirds of 4000 years. These 4000 years he took to represent a period (of 100 generations of 40 years each) assigned for the duration of the world. In this way he sought to explain the artificial origin of the system (cp Nöld. *Untersuch. zur Krit. des AT*

[1] 𝔊[L] follows MT. 𝔊[A] is lacking at this point (see [illegible] Dr. *TBS*).

[2] The number 2666 results from the addition of 1656, the number of years from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood (cp Gen. 5), +290, the sum of the years from the flood to the birth of Abraham (cp Gen. 11 10 ff.) +75 [illegible] departure of Abraham from Haran (Gen. 12 4) +215 [illegible] departure of Jacob for Egypt (=25 to the birth of Isaac [Gen. 21 5], +60 to the birth of Jacob [Gen. 25 26], +130 [illegible] Jacob's life [Gen. 47 9 28]), +430 years of stay in Egypt (Ex. 12 40).

111). It is worth while, however, noting the relation in which according to Oppert (*ZfA.V*, 1877, pp. 201-223), the Chaldean numbers for the first ages in Berossus and the statements in Genesis stand to each other. The Chaldeans reckon from the beginning of the world to Alexander 215 myriads of years, of which 47 myriads represent the time from the first man to Alexander. Thus they allow for the creation 168 myriads of years. Now, the 7 days of the biblical account of the creation give 168 hours. Thus in the creation age a myriad of years is represented in the biblical account by an hour. Again, for the time of the first ten men down to the flood, the Chaldeans reckon 432,000 years,[1] Genesis 1656. If both numbers be divided by 7, we get 6000 and 24 respectively, and 24 years—*i.e.*, 8400 days represent 1200 weeks, while 6000 years is 5 times 1200 years. Hence the Chaldeans seem to have reckoned 5 years (*i.e.* 60 months) as a *austrum* (*saros*), where Genesis has reckoned 1 week. 1656 years (Genesis) 72×23 years 72×1200—*i.e.*, 86,400 *weeks*; 432,000 years (Chaldean) 86,400 *lustra*. This remarkable relation, which can hardly rest on pure accident, presupposes a complicated calculation, and a very late origin for these numbers. Whatever be the theory underlying the numbers of Genesis, one thing, therefore, is certain: for a sure chronology of the times before the Exodus, the OT numbers, appearing as they do for the first time in the youngest sources of the Pentateuch, afford no security.

The case is no better with the chronology of the interval that extends from the Exodus to the building of the temple of Solomon. We have here, indeed, a check in 1 K. 6 1 which makes the building of the temple begin in the 480th year after the Exodus; but this number did not make its appearance till a time when the temple of Solomon was no more (cp above, § 1). It bears, moreover, the clear impress of being artificial; for it plainly counts from Moses to David twelve generations of forty years each, which we can easily identify as follows: Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. This explanation of the origin of the number 480 is corroborated by the fact that the five "little" Judges in Ju. 10 and 12 appear to have been inserted into the Deuteronomistic Book of Judges later (on the object of their insertion, see JUDGES, § 9). Nor can anything certain be obtained from the individual numbers, since they are neither quite clear nor free from gaps.

5. Exodus to Temple.

It remains obscure, *e.g.*, how the numbers relating to the supremacy of the Philistines and the judgeship of Samson (13 1 15 20 and 16 31) are related to each other; how the twenty years from the arrival of the ark at Kirjath-jearim to the victory of Samuel over the Philistines are to be fitted into Samuel's history (1 S. 7 2); and how the ninety-four years of foreign oppression are to be combined with the data concerning the length of rule of the individual Judges.[2]

The tradition also presents gaps, however, since it does not mention the time during which Joshua was the leader of the Israelites, and in 1 S. 13 1 the numbers for Saul are entirely wanting. Finally, 𝔊BAL allows Eli in 1 S. 4 18 only twenty years instead of the forty of MT: and the frequently recurring round numbers—such as 40 for Moses, Othniel, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Eli (𝔊 20) and David; 80 (=2×40) for Ehud; and 20 (=½40) for Samson, for Eli (according to 𝔊), for Samuel, and (approximately) for Tola (23), and Jair (22)—go to set in still clearer light the unhistorical character of the data.

The matter may rest, then, as Nöldeke left it at the end of his chronology of the period of the Judges (*op. cit.* 197), with the verdict that 'neither for the several divisions of the period of the Judges nor for its whole duration

[1] Cp *KAT*(2) 419 n.

[2] If we reckon together the numbers for this period, we get as follows:—40 (stay in the wilderness) +40 (Othniel, Ju. 3 11)+80 (Ehud, 3 30) +40 (Deborah-Barak, 5 31) +40 (Gideon, 8 28) +23 (Tola, 10 2) +22 (Jair, 10 3) +6 (Jephthah, 12 7) +7 (Ibzan, 12 9) +10 (Elon, 12 11) +8 (Abdon, 12 14) +20 (Samson, 16 31) +40 (Eli, 1 S. 4 18) +20 (Samuel, 1 S. 7 2) +40 (David, 1 K. 2 11) +4 (Solomon, 1 K. 6 1) =440 years. If we deduct the 'little' Judges (Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon=70), we shall have a total of only 370 years. For Joshua and Saul, for whom the numbers are lacking, there still remain, to complete the 480 years, according to the first calculation 40 years, according to the second 110. If, however, we are to insert between the periods of the several Judges the 94 years of foreign oppression (=8 [Cushan Rishathaim, Ju. 3 8] +18 [Eglon, 3 14] +20 [Jabin, 4 3] +7 [Midianites, 6 1] +3 [Abimelech, 9 22] +18 [Ammonites, 10 8] +40 [Philistines, cp 13 1 15 20 and 16 31]), we get 534 or 464 years—according to the first reckoning already 54 years too many with nothing left for Joshua and Saul; according to the second, only sixteen years for these two together, a period far from sufficient for the deeds of both.

chronology any longer attainable.' It is therefore useless to seek, by counting from these notices, to ascertain the date of the leaders of Israel and the reign of Solomon. The furthest we can go is to conclude from passages like Am 2 10 that an old tradition extended the journey through the wilderness at forty years (On the chronology of the Book of Judges see JUDGES, § 15).

It is much harder to deal with the chronological dates for the period from the building of the temple by Solomon to the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. In various important instances we now meet with statements concerning the year of the reigning king to which the event narrated belongs. Thus in regard to events of war we read: 'In the fifth year of King Rehoboam Shishak King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem' (1 K. 14 25), and 'In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria' (2 K. 17 6). So also in regard to home affairs: 'In the three and twentieth year of King Jehoash the priests had not repaired the breaches of the house' (2 K. 12 6). Clear as such passages seem to be, we need to know which year of a given king was called the first, the year in the course of which he ascended the throne, or the first complete year at the beginning of which he was already seated on the throne. Sound information on this point is still more indispensable, however, for the understanding of the further data for our period supplied by the Books of Kings. These give the sum of the years of reign of each several king. If, however, for any interval that can be defined by means of events related, we add together these amounts, the totals for the parallel kingdoms of Judah and Israel do not agree. The question becomes very complicated when at each accession the date is regularly defined synchronistically, by years of the contemporary ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Israel or Judah. This synchronism again leads to a reckoning of its own. What we have first to do is to estimate the value of the various chronological data which form a sort of framework for the whole history of the period. Then we can determine the importance and range of the individual dates assigned by years of accession.

6. Temple to Nebuchadrezzar.

The statements concerning the duration of a reign as well as the synchronism of its beginning form parts of the brief reviews which pass judgment on each king from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic law (see KINGS, BOOKS OF, § 1 *ff.*). The two chronological elements, however, have a diverse origin; for the synchronistic notes betray their character as 'subjective additions of the Epitomator.' It is clear, to begin with, that this noting of synchronism was not in actual use during the existence of the two kingdoms: apart from dates of accessions, we find it only once—at the fall of Samaria (2 K. 18 9 10), the point where the system comes to an end.

7. Reigns and synchronisms.

It would be natural to maintain that the very construction of the chronological notes reveals their diverse origin: the verb מָלַךְ has in the same sentence one meaning for the words that precede, and another for those that follow. It is to be construed as inchoative ('he became king') as well as progressive ('he reigned'). For instance, in 2 K. 14 23 'In the fifteenth year of Amaziah the son of Joash, king of Judah, Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel מָלַךְ (=became king, and also reigned) forty-one years in Samaria.' If here and there (1 K. 15 25 16 29 22 52; 2 K. 3 1 15 13) וַיִּמְלֹךְ is added to מָלַךְ, this only proves, it would seem, a sense of the irreconcilability of expressing both the date of accession and the duration of the reign by the simple verb מָלַךְ. The double sense of this verb, however, is peculiar to such annals, and is to be explained by the brevity of the style. Exactly so in the list of kings of Tyre given by Josephus (*c. Ap.* 1 18) from Menander of Ephesus βασιλεύσαν is used in both senses at the same time: 'he became king' as well as 'and he reigned.'

The decisive proof, however, of the secondary character of the synchronistic numbers is reached only when

we compare them with the years of reign. It then appears that the former has been attained by calculation from the latter, although the method that has been followed cannot in all points be discerned.[1] A tabular

exhibition of the data will be the best way to make this clear. In the first column we give the date reckoned from an imaginary era of the division of the kingdom, and in the last the references from the Books of Kings.

TABLE I.—OLD TESTAMENT DATA AS TO REIGNS: SOLOMON TO FALL OF SAMARIA
SYNCHRONISMS AND LENGTH OF REIGNS

Year acc. to imaginary era of division of Kingdom.	Israel. Synchronistic Date.	Israel. Length of Reign. Acc. to Synchronisms.	Israel. Length of Reign. Acc. to Tradition.	Judah. Synchronistic Date.	Judah. Length of Reign. Acc. to Synchronisms.	Judah. Length of Reign. Acc. to Tradition.	References to the Books of Kings.
1	1st year of **Jeroboam**	..	22 years	1st year of **Rehoboam**	17 years	17 years	1 K. 14 20 f.
18	18th " Jeroboam	..		1st " **Abijah**	2 "	3 "	1 K. 15 1 f.
20	20th " Jeroboam	20 years	..	1st " **Asa**	..	41 "	1 K. 15 9 f.
21	1st " **Nadab**	1 year	2 "	2nd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 15 25
22	1st " **Baasha**	23 years	24 "	3rd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 15 33
45	1st " **Ela**	1 year	2 "	4th " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16 8
46	1st " **Zimri**	4 years	7 days	5th " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16 15
50	1st " **Omri**	7 "	12 years	1st " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16 21
57	1st " **Ahab**	..	22 "	7th " Asa	40 "	..	1 K. 16 29
60	4th " Ahab	19 "		1st " **Jehoshaphat**	..	25 "	1 K. 22 41
76	1st " **Ahaziah**	1 year	2 "	15th " Jehoshaphat	..	..	1 K. 22 52
77	1st " **Jehoram**	..	12 "	18th " Jehoshaphat	21 "	..	2 K. 3 1
81	5th " Jehoram			1st " **Jehoram**	7 "	8 "	2 K. 8 16 f.
88	12th " Jehoram	12 years	..	1st " **Ahaziah**	1 year	1 year	2 K. 8 25 f.
	Sum of Years of reign in Israel	258 "		Sum of Years of reign in Judah	98		
89	1st year of **Jehu**	..	28 years	1st year of **Athaliah**	6 years	6 years	2 K. 10 36; 11 1 3
95	7th " Jehu	28 years		1st " **Jehoash**	..	40 "	2 K. 12 1 2
117	1st " **Jehoahaz**	14 "	17 "	23rd " Jehoash	..		2 K. 13 1
131	1st " **Jehoash**	..	16 "	37th " Jehoash	37 "	..	2 K. 13 10
132	2nd " Jehoash	15 "	..	1st " **Amaziah**	..	29 "	2 K. 14 1 2
146	1st " **Jeroboam (II.)**	..	41 "	15th " Amaziah	40 "	..	2 K. 14 23
172	27th " Jeroboam (II.)	63 "	..	1st " **Azariah**	..	52 "	2 K. 15 1 2
209	1st " **Zechariah**	1 year	½ year	38th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 8
210	1st " **Shallum**	0 "	1½ "	39th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 13
210	1st " **Menahem**	11 years	10 years	40th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 17
221	1st " **Pekahiah**	2 "	2 "	50th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 23
223	1st " **Pekah**	..	20 "	52nd " Azariah	52 "	..	2 K. 15 27
224	2nd " Pekah	..	.	1st " **Jotham**	15 "	16 "	2 K. 15 32 f.
239	17th " Pekah	27 "	..	1st " **Ahaz**	..	16 "	2 K. 16 1 f.
250	1st " **Hoshea**	..	9 "	12th " Ahaz	13 "	..	2 K. 17 1
252	3rd " Hoshea	..		1st " **Hezekiah**	..	..	2 K. 18 1
258	9th " Hoshea	9 "	.	7th " Hezekiah to Fall of Samaria	7[1] "	6[2] "	[1] 2 K. 18 1 [2] 2 K. 18 10
		258 years	241½ yrs.		258 years	260 years	

This table shows that at the end of the 258th year after the division of the kingdom, there had elapsed 258 synchronistic years, $241\frac{7}{12}$ years of reign in Israel, and 260 such years in Judah; and we have thus the singular equation $258 = 241\frac{7}{12} = 260$. The result is even more singular, however, when we examine separately the parts before and after the first point of coincidence obtained through a contemporaneous accession in both lines. Before the year of accession of Jehu and Athaliah there were only 88 years according to the synchronisms for 98 years of reign in Israel and 95 in Judah; but for the second part there are 170 years according to the synchronisms for only $143\frac{7}{12}$ years of reign in Israel and 165 in Judah. Whilst thus, in the first period, the number, according to the synchronistic calculation, is smaller than the sum of the traditional years, in the second period, which is longer by about a half, it exceeds the traditional years not inconsiderably. Similar variations for smaller periods can easily be proved by a glance at the table. Nor can we equalize the synchronistic and the traditional numbers by assuming that the latter represent a popular way of counting according to which from the middle of the first to the beginning of the third year was considered three years, as in the case of the siege of Samaria (2 K. 18 10). The excess of the traditional values in the period before Jehu could perhaps be thus explained, but not their defect in the following period. Nor is it possible by altering the individual numbers to bring the synchronisms into harmony with the years of reign; even were one to alter all the synchronistic statements, this would do nothing towards removing the differences between the numbers for Israel and those for Judah. Thus, almost along the whole line, the discrepancy between synchronisms and years of reign is incurable.

We must not fail, however, to appreciate a remarkable agreement. The sum of the synchronistic years is very nearly equal to the sum of the years of reign for Judah (258 = 260). The slight difference of two years can have no weight, and can perhaps be entirely removed. In the surprising statement of 2 K. 13 10 that the accession of Jehoash of Israel happened in the 37th year of Jehoash of Judah, we may follow *v.* 1 and change 37 to 39; for, according to that verse, Jehoahaz, who had acceded in the 23rd year of Jehoash of Judah,

[1] It has recently been shown by Benzinger (*Comm. zu den Königen*, 1899, pp. xviii.-xxi.) that the synchronisms start from two different points and proceed upon two distinct methods of reckoning, one of which is followed by preference in the Hebrew text and the other in ⊕L.

reigned 17 years. In this way the sum of the years of reign in the lines of Israel and Judah, according to the synchronisms, would be increased in each case by two years—for Jehoahaz would have reigned, according to the synchronism, 16 years instead of 14, and Jehoash 39 instead of 37—while the traditional numbers would undergo no alteration. Even without this slight emendation—adopted in the *Aldine* edition of the LXX. and demanded by Themius, Klostermann, and Kamphausen—it is apparent that it is the sum of the Judean years of reign that forms the basis on which the synchronistic numbers are calculated. In this process, however, though the individual sums have not been disregarded, it has been impossible, especially in the case of the kings of N. Israel, to avoid important variations.

Care, however, has been taken not to alter the synchronism of events.[1] It is worthy of note that the following requirements are satisfied: Jeroboam's reign runs parallel with that of Rehoboam and Abijah (1 K. 14 30 15 7); Baasha is king during the reign of Asa (1 K. 15 16); Jehoshaphat succeeds Ahab and Ahaziah, and reigns contemporaneously with Jehoram of Israel (1 K. 22 2 *ff.* 50; 2 K. 3 7 *ff.*); the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah fall in the same year (2 K. 9); Amaziah and Jehoash of Israel reign contemporaneously (2 K. 14 *ff.*); and Pekah is a contemporary of Jotham and Ahaz (2 K. 15 *ff.*, 16 *ff.*).

Although the synchronistic dates have thus not been attained without regard to tradition, they are obviously, as belonging to the youngest parts of the text, not a standard for chronology. They apply to the past a method of dating with which it was quite unacquainted. This is true not only of the practice, which could never be carried out in actual life, of connecting the years of one kingdom with reigns of kings in a neighbouring kingdom, but also of the methodical practice, presupposed in such a custom, of indicating in an exact and regular way the years within one and the same kingdom, by the years of reign of its king for the time being. In such texts as we can, with any confidence, assign to pre-exilic times, we find nothing but popular chronologies associating an event with some other important event contemporary with it (cp Is. 6 1 14 28[2] 2 1 1). The few dates according to years of kings given in the older history (as, *e.g.*, 1 K. 14 25; 2 K. 12 7) may be ignored. They are too isolated, and must rest (*e.g.*, in the writings and portions which treat of the latest pre-exilic times) on subsequent calculation, or be due to interpolation (cp also the dates introduced by the Chronicler in deference to the desire felt at a later date for exacter definition of time, of which the Books of Kings still knew nothing: 2 Ch. 13 23 15 10-19, and especially 16 1)—though it is perhaps possible that, even without there being a settled system, some prominent events might, occasionally and without set purpose, be defined by years of reign. In any case, dating by native kings must be regarded as at least older than the artificial synchronism between Judah and Israel.

8. First attempts at chronology.

Dating by the years of kings was thus never systematically used by the Hebrews so long as they had national kings. They learned this useful method from the Babylonians, and then introduced it into their historical works compiled during the exile (cp Wi. *AT Untersuch.*, especially pp. 87-94). Thus the question how the Hebrews dealt with the year of a king's death (*i.e.*, whether they reckoned the fraction of a year that remained before the beginning of the next year to the deceased king, or made the first year of the new king begin at once—disappears. There can be no doubt that the synchronisms, as well as the dates and years of reign in general, presuppose the Babylonian method (the only satisfactory one), according to which the rest of the year in which any king died was reckoned to the

9. Babylonian method.

[1] We need take no account of the independent narratives of CHRONICLES (*g.v.*, § 5); they do not agree even with the conventional year-of-reign.

[2] Whether the account is correct need not here be considered.

last of his reign, and the first year of the new king was the year at the beginning of which he actually wore the crown.

[illegible] up to [illegible] we are [illegible] back for the chronology of [illegible] on the basis of the [illegible] and [illegible] kings. [illegible] and [illegible] 242 Israelitish years represent [illegible] be [illegible] Omitting [illegible] 242 Israelitish years [illegible] Judah and [illegible] of Samaria. [illegible] in the [illegible] to [illegible] expectation, for that may have started from an [illegible] calculation in putting the [illegible] of Hezekiah as late as the reign of Hezekiah. [illegible] however, [illegible] procedure on other grounds. If we subtract the sum [illegible] 15 years [illegible] of Hezekiah and the last 12 of Ahaz from the total for Judah, and that is 14 of Ahaz's [illegible] with the [illegible] years of reign is the [illegible] 14 years. [illegible] who [illegible] numbers before the fall of Samaria (2 K. 17 [illegible] that [illegible] of Ahaz have been [illegible] which is [illegible] according to 2 K. 16 [illegible] king was attacked by him. [illegible] subtraction, [illegible] remains, that 242 Israelitish years [illegible] way, since no [illegible] can be [illegible] the contemporaneousness of the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah, 144 Israelitish years [illegible] 15 Judean.

If the text is not [illegible] appear, [illegible] made to remove them; but this has not been achieved in any convincing way.

[illegible] K. [illegible] states that during the [illegible] years of reign of father [illegible] were [illegible] their respective [illegible] these 19 years the father [illegible] 144 Israelitish years [illegible].

Mistaken attempts of this kind are, moreover, the less to be taken into consideration that, as will appear (§ 35), even the lowest total of 144 years for the interval from Jehu to the fall of Samaria is more than [illegible] years too high. From all this it results that the individual numbers of years of reign, as well as the totals, are untrustworthy and useless for the purposes of a certain chronology, even if it be admitted that, within certain limits or in some points, they may agree with actual fact.

10. Years of reign.

The untrustworthiness of the numbers becomes plainer when the principle according to which they are formed is clearly exhibited.

[illegible] (see below, § [illegible]) [illegible] that, at least in the [illegible] the Israelitish kings, the [illegible] assigned to the respective reigns rest in general on an artificial fiction. He then thought that the series of kings of Judah, and indeed those also of the house of Jehu, 'show no such artificiality'; but (acc. to Bleek-We. *Einl.*[4] 265) he soon observed a playing with figures also in the items for Judah. To begin with the kings of Israel down to Jehoram, we find an average reign of 12 years. In the case of Omri and Jehoram this is the exact number, whilst for Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab we have [illegible] (*i.e.*, [illegible] 12), and for the rest Nadab, Elah, and Ahaziah (the immediate successors of the [illegible]) [illegible] kings with [illegible] years each, making a total of [illegible] in [illegible] years. Moreover, the [illegible] for the first and the [illegible] of the [illegible] exactly 42. In the [illegible] part of the series, as we compute it [illegible], we have for the [illegible] kings [illegible] Jehu to Hoshea [illegible] of 144 years, which means an average of 15 for each. One might also urge the remarkable fact that, even as Jehu [illegible] 28 years [illegible] his two successors [illegible] 41 years of Jehoahaz II. [illegible] exactly equal [illegible] of his successors. In the Judean [illegible] is played by [illegible] 4 and [illegible] Jehoshaphat [illegible] of Samaria to the 4th year of H[illegible] Strictly, Baasha has exactly 24 assigned him.

Jehoram + Ahaziah + Athaliah 40, Jehoash 40, Amaziah + Azariah 81, Jotham + Ahaz + Hezekiah 58 years; and [illegible] point onwards till the last date, the 19th year of Jehoiachin, we have Hezekiah + Manasseh + Amon 83, and also [illegible] Jehoiakim + Jehoiachin 23½ years. If we might [illegible] complicated it, he inclined to find in all this only a freak of [illegible] on comparing the total [illegible] kings of Israel ([illegible]) with the number in 1 K. [illegible] (4 [illegible]), and still more on observing that 479 is also the total of years from the building of the temple of Solomon to the beginning of a new epoch, the epoch that opens with the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus and the consequent possibility of founding the temple. (The [illegible] years of Solomon [illegible] the fall of Samaria [illegible] years to the fall of Jerusalem + 50 years of the Exile, give [illegible] 479 years.)

There can hardly, then, be any mistake about the antiquity of the total as well as of the various items. If so, the origin of the present numbers [illegible] years of reign of the individual kings, on which the synchronistic notices are founded, must fall in a period later than the victory of Cyrus over Babylon, and chronology cannot trust to the correctness of the numbers.

12. Result.

For all that, it may be conjectured the numbers in individual instances are correct; but which are such cases, can be known only in some way independent of the numbers. Sometimes indeed, the narrative of Kings or a prophetic writing can decide the point; but without help from outside we could not go far. In itself it cannot be more than probable that the last kings of Judah appear with the correct numbers. These numbers give Hezekiah 29 (2 K. 18 1 f.), Manasseh 55 (21 1), Amon 2 (21 19), Josiah 31 (22 1), Jehoahaz ⅓ (23 31), Jehoiakim 11 (23 36), Jehoiachin ⅓ (24 8), and Zedekiah 11 years (24 18); thus, 133⅓ years in all, embodying an estimate of 133 years from the fall of Samaria to the conquest of Jerusalem. Thus, the earliest that the dates according to years of kings can lay claim to consideration is in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Here grave mistakes in retrospective calculation (for even they rest on that) seem to be excluded by the nearness of the time. Naturally no account can be taken of the statements of the Book of Daniel, which did not originate till the second century B.C.; it knows the history of the fall of the kingdom of Judah and of the exile only from tradition, and cannot be acquit[illegible] grave mistakes (see DANIEL, ii. § 9 f.).

13. From Fall of Jerusalem onwards.

For the last period, reaching from the fall of Jerusalem to the beginning of the Christian era, we have in the Hebrew OT itself but few historical records. Beyond the introduction of the law in the restored community the historical narrative does not conduct us. For the short interval preceding it we are referred to the statements in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. These, however, show that the Jews had learned in the interval how to date exactly by years of reign. The writings mentioned give dates by years of the Persian kings. All difficulties in the way of a chronology of this period, however, are not thus removed. The names Darius and Artaxerxes leave us to choose between the several bearers of these names among the Persian kings. Hence both the first and the second of the three Dariuses have been regarded as the Dariāwesh mentioned in the OT, and even all three Artaxerxes have been brought into connection with the Artaḫšasta of Ezr.-Neh. Then, again, the transpositions and actual additions that the Chronicler allows himself to make increase the difficulty of knowing the real order of events. In the case of Darius, indeed, only the first can, after all (in spite of Havet and Imbert), be seriously considered.

14. Advent of Ezra.

The chief interest, accordingly, lies in deciding as to the date in Ezra 7 7 f. which sets the return of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaḫšasta. It is to be noted that this passage (7 1-10) has been revised by the Chronicler (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, Books of), and in both verses the date is open, from its position or [illegible], of course [illegible] the suspicion of not being original. K[illegible] accordingly leaving this datum wholly out of account maintained (*Th[illegible]* [illegible]) that Ezra made his first appearance in Jerusalem with the *Gôlā* (see ISRAEL, § 57) immediately after Nehemiah's second arrival there, while Artaxerxes I. was still on the throne, and introduced the law then. Van Hoonacker, on the other hand, accepted the datum of Ezra 7 7 f., but believed that it had reference to Artaxerxes II., and accordingly set down the date of Ezra's arrival as in the seventh year of that king, [illegible] B.C.) [Marquart (*Die Orientalische Geschichte nach dem sogenannten Zal Sâmnâmah und Gesch.* [illegible]) thinks that the careers of Nehemiah and Ezra can fall only a few decades earlier than the reported deportation of Jews to Hyrcania under Artaxerxes III., Ochus. Nehemiah's Artaxerxes, says he thinks, Artaxerxes II., Mnemon. He finds no trace of Ezra's presence in Jerusalem during the twelve-years' governorship of Nehemiah; the reference to Ezra in Neh. 12 36 is an addition of the Chronicler. Nehemiah, too, is nowhere mentioned in Ezra (Neh. 8 9, 10 1 are interpolated). Internal evidence alone can determine the date of Ezra. Neh. 13 is connected naturally with Ezra 9-10 44. Ezra's arrival then follows in the time after Nehemiah's return to Susa; the text of Ezra 7 7 (which belongs to the redaction) has suffered in transmission; 368 or 365 was the original date reported. Nehemiah's second arrival, at any rate, fell after the promulgation of the Law (Neh. 13 1). M[illegible] proposes to read in Neh. 13 6 'at the end of [illegible] days' (מקץ) implying a date between 367 (364) and 358. Cheyne, in a work almost devoid of notes but [illegible] 'the provisional summing up of specialist researches,' differs in some respects in his chronological view of the events alike from the scholars just referred to, and from Ed. Meyer, who is about to be mentioned (See his *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, translated, after revision by the author, by H. Stocks, under the title *Das religiöse Leben der Juden nach dem Exil*, [illegible]). Like Marquart he doubts the correctness of the text of Neh. 5 14; but he is confident that the Artaxerxes of Ezra-Nehemiah is Artaxerxes I., and that Nehemiah's return to Susa precedes the arrival of Ezra with the Gôlā. The incapacity of Nehemiah's successor (the Tirshatha?) probably stimulated Ezra to seek a firman from the king, though the terms of the supposed firman in Ezra 7 cannot be related to it. Ezra seems to have failed at the outset of his career, and it was the news of this failure, according to Cheyne, that drew Nehemiah a second time from Susa. Klostermann's treatment of the chronology in Heb. cannot be here summarised.—ED.]

Ed. Meyer's thorough discussion (*Entst.* '96), however, has convinced the present writer that we are not entitled to call in question the arrival of Ezra before Nehemiah, and consequently that the datum of Ezra 7 7 f. may be right after all. If so, Ezra returned to Jerusalem with the *Gôlā* in 458 B.C., having it for his object to introduce the law there. In this, however, he did not succeed. It was not until after Nehemiah had arrived in Jerusalem in 445 B.C. clothed with ample powers, and had in the same year restored the city walls with his characteristic prudence and energy, that Ezra was at last able to come forward and introduce the law under Nehemiah's protection (445 B.C.). From that date onwards till 433 B.C. (cp Neh. 13 6) Nehemiah continued in Jerusalem. Shortly after 433 B.C. (perhaps in 432 B.C.) he obtained a second furlough. How long this lasted we do not know; but its termination is clear from Neh. 13 4-11.

15. Later times.

The OT offers no further chronological material for determining the dates of the last centuries before Christ.

[illegible] That the [illegible] was [illegible] completed [illegible] August 1895 [illegible]

The apocalypse of Daniel cannot be held to bridge over the gap between Ezra and the time of the Maccabees with any certainty, for it is the [illegible] of these apocalypses to put prophecy of past events only in a form [illegible] as we know otherwise. [illegible] Egypt, and of the [illegible] another [illegible] Book of Daniel [illegible] from the destruction [illegible] the death of Antiochus [illegible] period of 70 year weeks [illegible] the chronological knowledge of the writer was and how much need we have to look around for other help.

16. Supposed Astronomical data.

Astronomy would furnish the surest means for determining the exact year and day of events in the OT, continued and debatable account of solar or lunar eclipses. Unhappily, however, such accounts are lacking. One might be tempted to go so far as to explain a solar eclipse to explain the sign on the sundial of Ahaz given to Hezekiah by Isaiah (Is. 38 7), perhaps also the 'standing still of the sun' at Gibeon (Josh. 10 12-14). Rationalistic as this may seem, Ed. Mahler (see § 38 for title of work) has not been content to stop here, but has discovered many solar eclipses mentioned in the OT: he even finds them in every prophetic passage that speaks of a darkening of the sun. In this way he has been able to determine astronomically a whole series of events. Before we can accept these results, however, we must examine more carefully the foundation on which they are reared.

17. Mahler's system.

For example, Mahler assigns the Exodus to the 27th March 1335 B.C., which was a Thursday, because fourteen days before that day there occurred a central solar eclipse. This calculation rests on Talmudic data[1] that assign the darkness mentioned in Ex. 10 21-23 to the 1st of Nisan, and explain that that day, and therefore also the 15th of Nisan, was a Thursday. In Ex. 10 22, indeed, we read of a darkness of three days; but Mahler argues that this note of duration really belongs not to v. 22 but to v. 23, and is meant simply to explain how 'intense and terrifying was the impression which the darkness produced on the inhabitants of Egypt'. So that no one dared for three days to leave his house. It is just as arbitrary to assume in Gen. 15 5 ff. an eclipse enabling Abraham to count the stars before sunset, and then to use the eclipse for fixing the date of the covenant then concluded (Bĕrîth bên hab-bĕthārîm). The time at which search

is to be made for this eclipse [illegible] Ex. [illegible] 1 Kings [illegible] 2 Kings [illegible] Mahler [illegible] 1 Kings [illegible] 2 Kings [illegible] Jer.

chronological data, we have to inquire whether the foreign nations, which so often come through the events of history into contact with Israel, can help us. In so doing we must consider in the first place the Egyptians. It is to Egypt that the narrative of the origin of the people of Israel points; thither escaped the remnant of the community of Gedaliah; and in the interval between these times, as also later, the fortunes of Palestine were often intertwined with those of Egypt.

18. Help from Egyptian chronology.

The Egyptians themselves possessed no continuous era: for the quite unique mention, on a *stele* from Tanis, of the 400th year of the king Nubti (according to Steindorff probably none other than the god Set of Tanis), is too obscure and uncertain, and would not help us at all even were it more intelligible. Nor yet does the *Sothis-period* help us much. This was a period of 1461 years, at each recurrence of which the first days of the solar year and of the ordinary year of 365 days once again coincided for four years, or, what amounts to the same thing, the Dog-star, from whose rising the solar year was reckoned, again appeared on the 1st of Thoth. The period was never used for chronological purposes.[1] Nor have the monuments fulfilled the expectation, not unreasonable in itself, that by the help of inscriptions giving dates according to two methods it would be possible, by calculation, to reach a more exact chronology for Egyptian history. The most learned Egyptologists, indeed, can themselves determine Egyptian chronology only through combination with data from outside sources. The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in the year 525 B.C. furnishes their cardinal point. From this event, the years of reign of the kings of the 26th dynasty may be fixed with certainty by the help of the data supplied by the monuments, Herodotus, and Manetho. What lies before Psamtik I., the first pharaoh of this dynasty, however, is in the judgment of Egyptologists more or less uncertain, and therefore for other chronological determinations the records of that earlier time are either not to be used at all or to be used with the greatest caution.

19. No fixed era.

20. Period of certainty.

Still, even this short period, from 664/3 (the accession of Psamtik I.) to 525 B.C., is a help to us by supplying points of reference. Through synchronisms of Egyptian and Judean history several events of the time are to a certain extent fixed. Thus Necho II. (middle of 610 B.C. to beginning of 594 B.C.) is admitted to be the king who fought the battle at Megiddo that cost Josiah his life. So mention is made in the OT of Hophra (Apries), who reigned 588-569 B.C., and was even down to 564 nominally joint ruler with Amasis (see EGYPT, § 69). Thus we get fixed points for the contemporaries of Necho II. Josiah, Jehoahaz, and Jehoiakim;—and for the contemporaries of Hophra Jeremiah, and the Jews in Egypt (Jer. 44 10)—although neither for the battle of Megiddo nor for that of Carchemish can the year be determined from Egyptian data. On the other hand, these Egyptian data are sufficient to prove that the astronomical edifice of Mahler is quite impossible.

For the time before Psamtik I. the rulers of the 25th dynasty may be fixed approximately. Tanutamon ruled alone only a short time, and therefore may fall out of account. The data for his three predecessors do not agree (cp EGYPT, § 69 f.).

21. 25th Dynasty.

Taharka reigned, according to the monuments, 26 years; according to Eusebius (Manetho, 18 (var. 20).

Sabaqo reign, according to the monuments, was uncertain; according to Manetho it was 14 (var. 12).

[1] The contention that Mahler (*op. cit.*, p. 56 *ff.*) seeks for 1312 B.C. as the date of the Exodus in the statement that under Menephthah, who he holds to be the pharaoh of the Exodus, was celebrated the beginning of a Sothic period, which may have happened in the year 1318 B.C., is certainly weak, for the pharaoh who according to Ex. 14 was drowned could not have reigned after that for 17 years. See EXODUS.

Sabako reigned, according to the monuments, 12 years; according to Manetho, 8 (var. 12).

If we assign to *Šabataka* Manetho's number of years (fourteen) and take, as our basis for the rest, the numbers of the monuments, we get the following: *Taharka*, 690-664 B.C., *Šabataka*, 704-690 B.C., and *Šabako*, 716-704 B.C. Still, according to the view of Steindorff, to whom we are indebted for these data, Taharka may have reigned even longer than twenty-six years, perhaps along with Šabataka. Since, however, Ed. Meyer gives Šabako 728-716, Šabataka *circ.* 704, and makes Taharka as early as 704 real master, although not till 689 official ruler, of Egypt (cp *Gesch. Aeg.* 343 *ff.*), all sure support is already gone. Besides, although according to Meyer (*op. cit.* 344) the identity of Šabako with the Assyrian Sabi and the Hebrew סוא (So', or, more correctly, Saw' or Sewch) in 2 K. 17 4 is indubitable, Steindorff has grave doubts as to the phonetic equivalence of these names, and finds no Egyptian datum for the battle of Altaku. It is, therefore, very difficult to get from Egyptian chronology any certain light on two OT statements relating to Egypt—viz., that Sennacherib sent messengers to Hezekiah when he heard of the expedition of Taharka (2 K. 19 9; Is. 37 9), and that Hoshea of Israel had dealings with סוא of Egypt, and was therefore bound and put into prison by Shalmaneser (2 K. 17 4).

For the chronology of the OT in still earlier times, there is, unfortunately, nothing at all to be gained from Egyptology. According to 1 K. 11 40 14 25 (cp 2 Ch. 12 2), Shishak (Sheshonk) was a contemporary of Solomon, and in the fifth year of Rehoboam went up against Jerusalem. In spite, however, of the Egyptian monument at Karnak bearing the list of cities conquered by him, his date cannot be determined on Egyptological grounds (on biblical grounds it is usually given as about 930 B.C.). As to 'Zerah the Cushite' (2 Ch. 14 9 *ff.*), we need not expect to find any mention of him in Egyptian sources (ZERAH).

22. Earlier times.

The clay tablets found at *Tell el Amarna* (see ISRAEL, § 6), indeed, make some important contributions to our knowledge of the relations of Palestine to Egypt; but for the chronology they afford nothing certain. We must get help from the chronology of Babylonia before we can, even approximately, determine the date of the correspondence. Then it seems probable that Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. reigned in Egypt either about 1450 B.C. or about 1380 B.C., at which time, therefore, Palestine must have stood under the sceptre of Egypt: the contemporaries of Amen-hotep III.—Burnaburiaš I. and Kurigalzu I. of Babylon—are assigned by Winckler to 1493-1476 and 1475-1457 B.C. respectively, and the contemporary of Amen-hotep IV.—Burnaburiaš II.—to 1456-1422, whilst R. W. Rogers, on the other hand (*Outlines of the History of Early Babylonia*, 1895, p. 56), gives 1397-1373 as the probable date of Burnaburiaš II., and C. Niebuhr (*Chronol. der Gesch. Isr., Aeg., Bab. u. Ass. von 2000-700 untersucht*, 1896) accepts only one Burnaburiaš and places him and his contemporary Amen-hotep IV. in the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. As in these tablet inscriptions the name of the Hebrews has not so far been certainly discovered, so, in the Egyptian monuments generally, we cannot find any reminiscence of a stay of Israel in Egypt or of their departure.[1] Theories about the pharaoh of the oppression and the pharaoh of the Exodus remain, therefore, in the highest degree uncertain. Neither Joseph nor Moses is to be found in Egyptian sources: supposed points of contact—the seven-years famine, and the narrative of Manetho about Osarsiph Moses in Josephus, *c. Ap.* 1 26 28; on this cp Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Aeg.* 276 *f.*) have proved, on

[1] On the inscription of Menephthah discovered in 1896 see EGYPT, § 7, and EXODUS, §§ 1, 3.

nearer examination, untenable.[1] Apart, therefore, from the dates of the rulers of the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth dynasties, there is very little to be gained for OT chronology from Egyptology. On Egyptian Chronology see also EGYPT, § 41.

23. Help from Assyriology. Assyriology offers much more extensive help. It is much better supplied with chronological material, since it possesses, for a series of 228 years, inscriptions containing careful *lists of Eponyms*, lists, that is, giving the name of the officer after whom the year was called, and mentioning single important events falling within the year. These brief notes alone are quite enough to give the lists an extraordinary importance. Their value is further increased, however, by the fact that the office of Eponym had to be held in one of his first years, commonly the second full year of his reign, by each king. Hence the order of succession of the Assyrian kings and the length of their reign can be determined with ease, especially as names of kings are distinguished from those of other Eponyms by the addition of the royal title and of a line separating them from those that precede them (cp ASSYRIA, § 19 *ff.*). The monumental character, too, of these documents, exempting them, as it does, from the risk of alteration attaching to notes in books, gives assurance of their trustworthiness. Nor is the incompleteness of the list supposed by Oppert a fact. In regard to the order of succession no doubt is possible.

24. Method. The establishment of this uninterrupted series of 228 years can be accomplished with absolute certainty (as we shall see below) by the help of an eclipse of the sun assigned by the list to the Eponym year of Pur Šagali of Gozan.[2] In order to be able to determine the eclipse intended, however, and thus to fix the year astronomically, we have first to bring into consideration the so-called Canon of Ptolemy[3]—next to these Assyrian Eponym lists, perhaps the most important chronological monument of antiquity. This Canon is a list giving the names of the rulers of Babylon—Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian from Nabonassar to Alexander the Great (the Egyptian Ptolemies and the Romans are appended at the end), with the number of years each of them reigned, and the eclipses observed by the Babylonians and the Alexandrians - the years being reckoned according to the era of Nabonassar—*i.e.*, from that prince's accession. The trustworthiness of this document is proved, once for all, by the astronomical observations it records,[4] from which we learn that the beginning of the era of Nabonassar falls in the year 747 B.C.[5]

The Canon can be combined with the Assyrian Eponym lists, and the establishment of the latter with certainty effected in the following way. On the one hand, the Ptolemaic Canon assigns to the year 39 of the era of Nabonassar, 709 B.C., the accession of Arkeanos (=Sargina on the fragment of the Babylonian list of kings); and, on the other hand, Assyrian clay tablets identify this year, the first of the rule of Šarrukin (*i.e.*, Sargon or Arkeanos) over Babylon with the

[1] Cp also Wiedemann's review (*TLZ*, 1894, No. 25, p. 633), of Laroche's (*Questions chronologiques* (Angers, 1892), where the Exodus is assigned to 1402. The judgment of this competent reviewer is that 'the book is well-meant, but brings the question of the Exodus no nearer to a solution.'

[2] *KB*, I 210 *f.*

[3] It bears the name 'Ptolemaic Canon' because it was included in his astronomical work by the geographer and mathematician Claudius Ptolemæus, the contemporary of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (therefore *circ.* 150 A.D.).

[4] The proof is strengthened by the fragments of a Babylonian list of kings published by Pinches in *PSBA* 6 193-204 (May, '84), part of which constitute an exact parallel to the beginning of the Greek list, and completely confirming its statements concerning the names and reigns of the rulers.

[5] More exactly (since the dates are reduced to the common Egyptian year) on the first of Thoth (26th Feb.), not (as according to Babylonian official usage might have been expected) on the 1st of Nisan (=21st March) (cp Hommel, *GBA*, 4-5, and see below § 26).

Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Aššur-li' (Schr. *KAT*[2], 491) the thirteenth of Sargon's rule in Assyria.[1] Hence we may identify this Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Aššur li' (the thirteenth year of Sargon's reign in Assyria) likewise with the year 709 B.C.; and, as the series is uninterrupted, all its dates become known. We can, then, obtain astronomical confirmation of the correctness of this combination (and so also of the trustworthiness of the Ptolemaic Canon and the Assyrian Eponym lists) in the way hinted at already. For, if the Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Aššur-li' is the year 709 B.C., the Eponym year of Pur-Šagali, to which, as we saw above, there is assigned a solar eclipse, must be the year 763 B.C.; and astronomers have computed that on the 15th June of that year a solar eclipse occurred that would be almost total for Nineveh and its neighbourhood. Thus the Assyrian Eponym list may safely be used for chronological purposes.

25. Result. On the ground of the statements of this list, then, we have, for the years 893-666 B.C., fixed points not to be called in question by which to date the events of this period in Israel; for the Assyrian inscriptions not only supply direct information concerning certain events in Israel's own history, but also in other cases fix the date of contemporaneous events which the narrative of the OT presupposes. Then the Ptolemaic Canon, which from 747 B.C. onwards accompanies the Assyrian Eponym list, continues when the Eponym list stops (in 666 B.C.), and conducts us with certainty down to Roman times.

We are thus enabled to determine beyond all doubt the background of the history of Israel and Judah from 893 downwards, and obtain down to Alexander the Great the following valuable dates:—

TABLE III.—ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN DATES 893 B.C. TO ALEXANDER THE GREAT

890-885	Tuklat-Adar.
884-860	Aššur-nâsir-pal.
859-825	Shalmaneser II. (Šal-ma-nu-uššir)
824-812	Šamši Rammân.
811-783	Rammân-nirari (III.).
782-773	Shalmaneser III. (Šal-ma-nu-uššir)
772-755	Aššur-dan-ilu (Aššurdân III.)
754-749	Aššur-nirari.
748-727	Tiglat-pileser III. (Taklat-habal-išarra)
726-722	Shalmaneser III.
721-705	Sargon (Arkeanos, 709-705, king of Babylon).
704-681	Sennacherib (Sin-ach-irib).
680-668	Esarhaddon (Aššarhaddon, Aššur-ah-iddin = Asaridinos in Pt. Can.).
667-	first year of the reign of Aššur-bani-pal, who perhaps reigned till 626.
	The continuation is supplied by the Ptolemaic Canon which specifies the rulers of Babylon:—
667-648	Saosduchinos (= Šamaš-šum-ukin).
647-626	Kinilanadanos.
625-605	Nabopolassaros (= Nabû-habal-uṣur).
604-562	Nabokolassaros (= Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, נבוכדראצר and נבוכדנאצר).
561-560	Illoarudamos (= Avil-Marduk, אויל מרדך).
559-556	Nerigasolasaros (= Nirgal šar-uṣur).
555-[illegible]	Nabonadi s (= Nabû-na'id).
[illegible]	Kyrus (= Kurušš, כורש).
[illegible]	Kambyses (= Kambuvija).
521-485	Darcios I. (= Dâraya-vauš, דריוש).
485-465	Xerxes (= Khšayârša, אחשורוש).
464-424	Artaxerxes I. (= Artakhšatrâ, ארתחשׁשׂתא).
423-405	Darcios II.
404-359	Artaxerxes II.
[illegible]-338	Ochos.
[illegible]-336	Arsos (= Arses).
335-[illegible]	Darcios III.
[illegible]	Here follows Alexander the Great, who died in [illegible] B.C.

With regard to this summary [illegible] is a matter of [illegible] in any rational [illegible] years of [illegible] is certain [illegible] case in the Pt. [illegible] the [illegible]

[1] [illegible] the thirteenth year of his [illegible] to his death in the [illegible] (and so, as the Ptolemaic [illegible] states, for five years) Sargon must have reigned over Babylon also.

sidered as the first of any king is the earliest year at the beginning of which he was already really reigning; in the preceding year he had begun to reign on his predecessor's death. Short reigns, accordingly, which did not reach the beginning of the new year, had to remain unnoticed, as that of Laborosarchad (Labaśi-Marduk) in the year 556, which, according to Bērōssus, lasted only nine months. It is further to be noted that the beginning of the year did not fall in the two lists on the same day. The Eponym lists make the year begin on the first of Nisan, the 21st of March, while the Ptolemaic Canon follows the reckoning of the ordinary Egyptian year of 365 days, the beginning of which, as compared with our mode of reckoning, falls one day earlier every four years. Thus, if in the year 747, as was indeed already the case in 748, the beginning of the year fell on the 20th of February, the year 744 would begin on the 25th. For a period of a hundred years this difference would amount to twenty-five days. Thus the beginning of the year 647 B.C. would fall on the 1st of February; and so on. Therefore for the period 747-123 B.C. the beginning of the year would always fall somewhat near the beginning of ours.

26. Beginning of year.

If, then, the chronological data of the OT were trustworthy, as soon as one cardinal point where the two series—that of the OT and that just obtained—came into contact could be established with certainty, the whole chronology of the OT would be at once determined, and the insertion of the history of Israel into the firm network of this general background would become possible. In the uncertainty, however, in which the chronological data of the OT are involved, this simple method can lead to no satisfactory result. All points of coincidence must be separately attended to; and, although we may start out from a fixed point in drawing our line, we must immediately see to it that we keep the next point of contact in view. Unfortunately, in going backwards from the earliest ascertainable date to a remoter antiquity such a check is not available.

27. Care necessary.

The earliest date available, as being certain beyond doubt, for an attempt to set the chronology of the OT on a firm basis is the year 854 B.C., in which Ahab king of Israel was one of the confederates defeated by Shalmaneser II. (859-825) at Karkar (Schr. *KGF*, 356-371 and *KAT*(2), 193-200). Since, however, the OT contains no reference to the event, it is of no use for the purpose of bringing the history of Israel into connection with general history till we take into consideration also the next certain date, 842 B.C., in which year presents were offered to the same Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., by Jehu (*KAT*(2), 208-211). Within these thirteen years (854-842) must fall the death of Ahab, the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, and the accession of Jehu. Of this period the most that need be assigned to Jehu is the last year, which may have been at the same time also the year of Jehoram's death; for it may be regarded as quite probable that it would be immediately after his accession that Jehu would send presents to the Assyrian king to gain his recognition and favour. On the other hand, the traditional values of the reigns require for Ahaziah two years (1 K. 22 52), and for Jehoram alone twelve years (2 K. 3 1): so there appears to be no time left for Ahab after 854. The death of Ahab, however, cannot be assigned to so early a date as 854.[1] The reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, therefore, must be curtailed by more than one year. The course of events from 854 to the death of Ahab in the struggle with the Syrians has, accordingly, been ranged in different ways.

28. Earliest certain OT dates.

Wellhausen (*IJG*(2), 71) supposes that, in consequence of the universal defeat in 854, Ahab abandoned the relation of vassalage to Aram that had lasted till then, and thus provoked a Syrian attack on Israel. Then, by the victory at Aphek in the second year and the capture of Benhadad, he compelled the Syrians to conclude peace and to promise to deliver up the Gileadite cities they had won from Israel (1 K. 20). As the Syrians did not keep their promise, he undertook in the third year of the peace the unfortunate expedition for the conquest of Ramoth-gilead, in which he met his death (1 K. 22). Thus the death of Ahab would fall about the year 851. Schrader, on the other hand, sees in Ahab's taking part in the battle of Karkar a consequence of the conclusion of peace with Aram that followed the battle of Aphek, and finds it thus possible to assign Ahab's death to so early a date as 854. Even if we inclined to follow the representation of Schrader (Wellhausen's is much more attractive), the Assyrian notice of the battle of Karkar in 854 establishes at least one point, that the beginning of Jehu's reign cannot be earlier than 842, and the traditional numbers must be curtailed. On the question just discussed see also AHAB.

The year 842 B.C. may, therefore, be assigned as that of the accession of Jehu. In the same year also perished Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, whilst Athaliah seized the reins of government in Jerusalem. If from this date, equally important for both kingdoms, we try to go back, we can determine with approximate certainty the year of the division of the monarchy. The years of reign of the Israelitish kings down to the death of Jehoram make up the sum of ninety-eight, and those of the kings of Judah down to the death of Ahaziah the sum of ninety-five; whilst the synchronisms of the Books of Kings allow only eighty-eight years. Since the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram of Israel must be curtailed (§ 28), if we assume ninety years as the interval that had elapsed since the partition of the kingdoms this will be too high rather than too low an estimate. The death of Solomon may, accordingly, be assigned to ± 930 B.C. Wellhausen (*IJG*(2) 9 *f.*), indeed, raises an objection against this, on the ground of a statement in the inscription of Mesha; but the expression in the doubtful passage is too awkward and obscure to lead us, on its account, to push back the death of Solomon to 950 B.C., or even farther.[1]

29. Approximate earlier dates.

In this connection it is not unimportant that the statements of Menander of Ephesus in regard to the Tyrian list of kings confirm the assignment of 930 B.C. as the approximate date of the death of Solomon.

30. Menander.

According to the careful discussion that Franz Rühl has devoted to this statement (see below, § 85 end), preserved to us in three forms (first, in Josephus, *c. Ap.* 1 8; second, in the Chron. of Euseb., and third, in Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 100 *f.*), we may, assuming v. Gutschmid's date of 814 B.C. for the foundation of Carthage, fix on 969-936 as the period of reign of Εἴρωμος or Hiram, and on 878-866 B.C. as that of Εἰθώβαλος or Ethba'al. Now, Ahab was son-in-law of Ethba'al (1 K. 16 31) and since Ethba'al at his accession in the year 878 B.C. was thirty-six years old, he could quite well have had a marriageable daughter a few years later, when Ahab, who according to 1 K. 16 29 reigned twenty-two years (about 872-851 B.C.), ascended the throne. Moreover, Menander mentions a one-year famine under Eithobalos, which even Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13 2) identifies with the three-year famine that, according to 1 K. 17, fell in the beginning of the reign of Ahab. Further, Eiromos (969-936) may be identified with Hiram, the friend of Solomon (cp 1 K. 5 18 24 *f.* 32 9 10 *ff.*), and, whether we adopt the opinion that Hiram, the contemporary of David (2 S. 5 11), was the same person as this friend of Solomon's, or suppose that the name of the better-known contemporary of Solomon has simply been transferred to the Tyrian king who had relations with David, the year ± 930 B.C. for the death of Solomon, agrees excellently with this Phoenician synchronism.

[1] Victor Floigl (*GJ*, 1882, pp. 94-96), indeed, supposes that Ahab fell before Karkar (*i.e.*, in 854), and not before Ramoth-Gilead; but to accomplish this he has to treat the narratives of the Syrian wars (1 K. 20 1-34 38-43 22 1-37) as quite untrustworthy.

[1] We, translates lines 7-9 thus:—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaba, and Israel dwelt there during his days and half the days of his son, forty years, and Kamos recovered it in my days.' He thus arrives at an estimate of at least sixty years for Omri's and Ahab's combined reigns, since only by adding the half of Ahab's reign to the part of Omri's reign during which Moab was tributary, is the total of forty years attained. It is to be noted, however, that 'Israel,' which We. (so also Smend and Socin, *Die Inschr. des K. Mesa von Moab*, 1886, p. 11) supplies as the subject to 'dwelt' (ישב), is lacking in the inscription, and that even with this insertion the construction is not beyond criticism. Is it, in the undoubted awkwardness of the passage, not possible to translate thus—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaba, and held it in possession as long as he reigned, and during the half of the years of my reign he held it in all forty years. But yet in my reign Chemosh recovered it'? In that case there is no ground for ascribing so many as sixty years to the reigns of Omri and Ahab. Nay, the possibility is not excluded, that 2 K. 3 5 is right in making the revolt of Moab follow the death of Ahab, and then the futile expedition of Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah against Moab could be taken as marking the end of the forty years.

If it has been difficult to attain sure ground in the early period of the divided monarchy, it is even less possible to determine anything with certainty about the period preceding Solomon's death. If the data of the OT concerning the reigns of Solomon and David (40 years each, 1 K. 2 11 11 42) have any value, David must have attained to power about the year 1000 B.C. Concerning Saul, even 1 S. 13 1 gives us no real information, and regarding the premonarchic period the most that can be said is that, according to the discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna the Hebrews were, about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., not yet settled in Canaan.[1]

31. Before the Schism.

For the time, therefore, from the partition of the kingdom down to the year 842 B.C., we must be content with the following estimate:—

32. Schism to Jehu.

TABLE IV.—ESTIMATE OF REIGNS: DEATH OF SOLOMON TO ACCESSION OF JEHU.

	Kings of Israel.	Kings of Judah.
930 (?) –854	Jeroboam of Israel and his contemporaries	Rehoboam and Abijah in Judah.
	Nadab "	
	Ba'asha "	Asa of Judah certainly contemporary with Ba'asha.
	Elah "	
	Zimri "	
	Omri "	
	Ahab "	
854	Ahab at battle of Karkar	Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.
854-842	Ahab's death	
	Ahaziah, king of Israel	
	Jehoram " "	Jehoram, king of Judah
842	Death of Jehoram of Israel	Death of Ahaziah of Judah.

From 842 B.C. onwards, there is no fixed point till we come to the eighth century. Then we have one in the eighth year of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727) – *i.e.*, 738 B.C. In that year, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, this king of Assyria received the tribute of Menahem of Israel. When the OT tells of this (2 K. 15 19 *ff.*) it calls the Assyrian king Pul: although elsewhere (2 K. 15 29 16 10) it uses the other name, Tiglath-pileser. Of the identity of the two names, however, there can be no doubt (*KAT*[2] 223 *ff.*, *COT*, 1 219), and we are not to think of the reference being to a Babylonian king, or an Assyrian rival king, or to assume that Tiglath-pileser himself, at an earlier period, twenty years or more before he became king over Assyria, while still bearing the name of Pul, made an expedition against the land of Israel (so Klo. *Sam. u. Kö.* ['87] p. 496). If we add that Ahaz of Judah procured for himself through a payment of tribute the help of Tiglath-pileser against the invading kings, Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus; that, accordingly, the Assyrian king took the field against Philistia and Damascus in 734 and 733; and that in 732, after the conquest of Damascus, Ahaz also appeared in Damascus to do homage to Tiglath-pileser, there remains to be mentioned only the equally certain date of the beginning of the year 721 B.C. (Hommel, *GBA* 676) for the conquest of Samaria, to complete the list of assured dates between 842 and 721.

33. Certain dates 842-721.

The attempt to arrange the kings of North Israel during this period is hampered by fewer difficulties in the interval 842-738 than are to be found in that between 738 and 721. If we assume that Menahem died soon after paying tribute, we shall still have in the 113 years reckoned by the traditionary account from the accession of Jehu to the death of Menahem a slight excess, since for the period 842-738 we need only 104 years. Still, we can here give an approximate date for the individual reigns. The latest results of Kautzsch (in substantial agreement with Brandes, Kamphausen, and Riehm) are the following:[1]—Jehu 841-815, Jehoahaz 814-798, Jehoash 797-783, Jeroboam II. 782-743 (or before 745), Zechariah and Shallum perhaps also in 743, Menahem 742-737 (or ± 745 to after 738). For the last period, on the other hand, from the death of Menahem to the conquest of Samaria, the traditional reckoning gives thirty one years, whilst from 737 to 721 we have hardly sixteen. The necessary shortening of the reigns is accomplished by Kautzsch in this way: Pekahiah 736, Pekah 735-730, Hoshea 729-721. Wellhausen has abandoned his former theory that Pekahiah and Pekah are identical, and makes the latter begin to reign in ± 735. To Hoshea, the last king of Israel, he assigns an actual reign of at least ten years, although he assumes that according to 2 K. 17 4 *f.* he came under the power of Assyria before the fall of Samaria.

34. North Israel 842-721.

For the Judean line of kings the starting-point is likewise the year 842 B.C., in which Ahaziah of Judah met his death at the hand of Jehu, and Athaliah assumed the direction of the government. On the other hand, we do not find, for the next hundred years, a single event independently determined with perfect exactness by years of the reigning king of Judah. We must come down as far as 734 B.C. before we attain certainty. We know that at that time Ahaz had already come to power, and we can only suppose (according to 2 K. 15 37 *f.*) that he had not long before this succeeded his father, during whose lifetime Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus were already preparing for war. The presents of King Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser in the year 734 B.C. delivered Judah from the danger that threatened it, and in 732 B.C. in the conquered Damascus the same king did homage to the victorious Assyrian, and offered him his thanks (cp 2 K. 16 7 *ff.* and Schrader, KAT[2] 257 *ff.*). It is still difficult, however, to allot the intervening time to the several kings of Judah; for the traditional values for the reigns require no less than 143 years from the first year of Athaliah to the death of Jotham, whilst between 842 B.C. and 734 B.C. there are only 108 years at our disposal. It is, therefore, necessary to reduce several of the items by a considerable amount, and it is not to be wondered at that different methods of adjustment have been employed. The synchronism of events between the history of Israel and that of Judah is too inadequate to secure unanimity, and the mention (not quite certain) of Azariah of Judah in Assyrian inscriptions for the years 742-740 (cp Schr. KAT[2], 217 *ff.*) does not make up the lack. On one point, however, there is agreement: that it is in the cases of Amaziah, Azariah (Uzziah), and Jotham that the deductions are to be made.

35. Judah 842-734.

The years 841-836 B.C. for Athaliah are rendered tolerably certain by the data concerning Jehoash, the seventh son of Ahaziah (2 K. 11 1 *ff.*, 4 *ff.*). Then we need have no misgivings about giving Jehoash, who was raised to the throne at so young an age, about forty years. If we take these years fully, we obtain

[1] We modify them only to the extent of giving as the first year of a reign the year at the beginning of which the king was already in power, and add in parentheses the figures of We., in so far as they are to be found in his *HJ*.

[1] On early traces of certain elements afterwards forming part of Israel, see [illegible] § 7 *f.*, Judah, § 50 *f.*, Amos, § 1 *f.*

for the reign of Jehoash 835-796 B.C. The date of his death may, indeed, be pushed still farther back; but in any case his time as determined by these data cannot be far wrong, for he must have been a contemporary of Jehoahaz the king of Israel (814-798), and, according to 2 K. 12 18 *ff.*, also of Hazael of Aram (acc. to Winckler 844-about 804 [?]). From 795 to 734 there are left only 61 years, and in this interval room must be found for Amaziah with twenty-nine years, Azariah with fifty-two, and Jotham with sixteen—no less than ninety-seven years. Even if we allow the whole sixteen years of Jotham, who, according to 2 K. 15 5, conducted the government during the last illness of his father, to be merged in the fifty-two years of Azariah, we do not escape the necessity of seeking other ways of shortening the interval. Amaziah's reign is estimated too high at twenty-nine years. The only thing that is certain about him is that he was a contemporary of Jehoash of Israel (797-783; cp 2 K. 14 8 *ff.*). It is pure hypothesis to assign him nine years (We.), or nineteen years (Kamph. and Kau.), instead of twenty-nine. The smaller number has the greater probability, since the defeat that he brought on himself by his wanton challenge of Jehoash of Israel best explains the conspiracy against him (2 K. 14 19 *f.*), and he would therefore hardly survive his conqueror, but much more probably meet his death by assassination at Lachish not long after 790 B.C. (cp also St. *GVI*, 1559). From the death of Amaziah to 734 reigned Azariah and Jotham. To discover the boundary between the two, we must bear in mind the Assyrian inscriptions already mentioned, which apparently represent Azariah as still reigning in the years 742-740, and must keep in view that Isaiah, who cannot be thought of as an old man when Sennacherib marched against Jerusalem in the year 701, received his prophetic call in the year of the death of Uzziah (Isa. 6 1). Accordingly, we cannot be far wrong in assigning the death of Azariah and the accession of Jotham as sole ruler to 740 B.C. More than this cannot be made out with the help of the materials at our disposal up to the present time.

If now the year of the conquest of Samaria (721 B.C.) were fixed with certainty according to the year of the king then reigning in Judah, this would appear the next resting-point after 734 B.C. The data of the OT do not agree, however, and none of them is to be relied upon. This is true even of the datum in 2 K. 18 13, lately much favoured by critics, that Sennacherib's expedition against Palestine in the year 701 B.C. was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (so We. *JDT* [75] p. 635 *ff.*; Kamph. *Die Chronol. der Hebr. Könige* [83 p. 28; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jes.* [85] p. 37, and St. *GVI*, 1606 *f.*). In order to maintain the datum, it is not enough to say, 'The people of Judah are more likely to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which their whole land was laid waste and their capital, Jerusalem, escaped destruction only through enduring the direst distress, than to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which Samaria fell.' The unusual (cp 2 K. 18 9) prefixing of the numeral before שנה (cp Duhm, *Jesaja*, 235) of itself indicates a later origin, and this is confirmed by what we have already found as to these chronological data not belonging to the original narrative. The number fourteen is based, not upon historical facts, but upon an exegetical inference from Is. 38 5, and a consideration of the twenty-nine years traditionally assigned to Hezekiah, and must therefore rank simply with the scribe's note Am. 1 1: 'two years before the earthquake.'[1]

36. 734-586 B.C.

Even when we come to the seventh century, the expectation that at least the death of Josiah in the battle of Megiddo would admit of being dated with complete accuracy by material from inscriptions is not fulfilled. From Egyptian chronology, which does not mention the date of the battle, we gather only that it must have been after 610 B.C., since the conqueror, Necho II., did not begin to reign till that year. There is, therefore, nothing left but to take as our fixed point the conquest of Jerusalem in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar *i.e.*, 586 B.C. (2 K. 25 8). For the intervening time we have to take into consideration, besides the death of Josiah, the data supplied by Assyriology, which place Sennacherib's expedition against Hezekiah in 701 B.C. and imply Manasseh's being king of Judah in the years 681-667 (cp Schr. KAT[3], p. 466).

For the whole time from the death of Jotham to the conquest of Jerusalem, tradition requires 155 years of reign, whilst from 734 B.C., when Ahaz was already seated on the throne of Jerusalem—which year, if not that of his accession, must have been at least the first of his reign—to 586 B.C., we have only 148, or, since we may reckon also the year 734 B.C., 149 years. The smallness of the difference of seven years, however, shows that we have now to do with a better tradition. Where the mistake lies we cannot tell beforehand. All we can say is that it is not to be sought between the death of Josiah and the fall of Jerusalem, since for this interval twenty-two years are required by tradition, and this agrees with our datum that Josiah must have died shortly after 610 B.C.

Let us see whether another cardinal point can be found. In 701 Hezekiah was reigning in Jerusalem. When it was that he came to the throne, whether before or after the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.), is the question. In Is. 14 28 we have an oracle against Philistia, dated from the year of the death of king Ahaz,—a chronological note which, like Is. 6 1, may have importance, if the oracle really belongs to Isaiah. Winckler and Cheyne [but cp *Isaiah*, *SBOT*, *Addenda*] regard it as possible that the oracle may refer to agitation in Syria and Palestine, in which the Philistines shared, on the accession of Sargon (721 B.C.), when Hanun, king of Gaza, induced them to rebel, in reliance on the help of Sib'e, one of the Egyptian petty kings (cp above on Šabaka, Sab'i, So', Seweh, § 21). On this theory the death of Ahaz would have to be set down about the year 720 B.C. As, however, the authenticity of the oracle is not certain,—in fact hardly probable (cp Duhm, who even conjectures that originally there may have stood, instead of Ahaz, the name of the second last Persian king, Arses [=Arogos])—it is not safe to take it as fixing the death-year of Ahaz. Of greater value is the section relating to the embassy of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon to Hezekiah (2 K. 20 = Is. 39). Merodach-Baladan was king of Babylon from 721 to 710. When, later, he attempted to recover his position, he held Babylon for so short a time that an embassy to the west would be impossible. Thus, Merodach-Baladan must have sought relations with Hezekiah between 721 and 709. The beginning of the reign of Merodach-Baladan, when in the year 721 or 720 he obtained possession of Babylon and held it against Sargon, commends itself as the point of time most suitable. After the battle of Dūr-ilu, which both parties regarded as a victory for themselves, it must have seemed natural to hope that the overthrow of the Assyrian kingdom would be possible, if the west joined in the attack. Moreover, Sargon once describes himself (Nimrūd inscr., 18) as 'the subduer of Judah,'[1] which seems to mean that, on the suppression of the revolt in Philistia, Hezekiah resumed the payment of the tribute that had been imposed. In view of this, Winckler seems to be justified in placing the appearance of the embassy of Merodach-Baladan before Hezekiah in the year 720 or 719. Approximately, then, the year 721 may be regarded as assured for the year of the death of Ahaz.

The first year of Hezekiah's reign is thus 720 B.C. rather than 728 (Kau.), or 715 (We. and others). The discrepancy of four years, which is all that now remains

[1] This is forcibly urged by Kau. (cp. Kamph. *op. cit.* 94) and has received the assent of Duhm (*l.c.*) and Cheyne (*Intr. Is.* 218).

[1] For fuller details see ISAIAH, i. § 6, SARGON.

TABLE V.—TABULAR SURVEY: DEATH OF SOLOMON TO HEROD THE GREAT.

Certain Dates.	Probable Dates.	ISRAEL.	JUDAH.
	circ. 930	1st year of **Jeroboam**.	1st year of **Rehoboam**.
	930–854	Reigns of Jeroboam, **Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri**, part of reign of **Ahab**.	Reigns of Rehoboam, **Abijah, Asa**, part of reign of **Jehoshaphat**.
854		Ahab at battle of Karkar.	
	854–842	Rest of reign of Ahab: reigns of **Ahaziah** and **Jehoram**.	Rest of reign of Jehoshaphat: reigns of **Jehoram** and **Ahaziah**.
842		Death of Jehoram (at the hands of Jehu). Tribute of Jehu to Shalmaneser II.	Death of Ahaziah (at the hands of Jehu).
	841	1st year of **Jehu** (841–815).	1st year of **Athaliah** (841–836).
	835		1st year of **Jehoash** (835–796).
	814	1st year of **Jehoahaz** (814–798).	
	797	1st year of **Jehoash** (797–783).	
	795		1st year of **Amaziah** (795–790).
	789		1st year of **Azariah** (789–740).
	782	1st year of **Jeroboam II.** (782–743).	
	743	**Zechariah, Shallum.**	
	742	1st year **Menahem** (742–737).	
	739		1st year **Jotham** (739–734).
738		Tribute of Menahem to **Tiglath-pileser III.**	
	736	**Pekahiah.**	
	735	1st year of **Pekah** (735–730).	
734			Tribute of Ahaz to **Tiglath-pileser.**
	733		1st year of **Ahaz** (733–721).
732			Ahaz does homage to Tiglath-pileser at Damascus.
	729	1st year of **Hoshea** (729–721).	
721		**Fall of Samaria**	
	720	1st year of **Hezekiah** (720–693). Embassy of Merodach-baladan from Babylon.	
701		Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem.	
	692	1st year of **Manasseh** (692–639).	
	638	1st year of **Amon** (638).	
	637	1st year of **Josiah** (637–608).	
	608	Battle of **Megiddo**. **Jehoahaz**, king.	
	607	1st year of **Jehoiakim** (607–597).	
604		1st year of **Nebuchadrezzar** (604–562).	
	597	**Jehoiachin**, king.	
	596	1st year of **Zedekiah** (596–586).	
586		**FALL OF JERUSALEM.**	

Dates.	The more important dates of the succeeding centuries.
561	1st year of **Evil-Merodach** (561–560). Liberator of Jehoiachin from prison.
538	1st year of Cyrus (538–530).
521	1st year of **Darius I.** (521–486).
515	Completion of building of second temple.
464	1st year of **Artaxerxes I.** (464–424).
445	1st **visit of Nehemiah** to Jerusalem. Building of city-wall.
433	Return of Nehemiah.
circ. 432	2nd **visit of Nehemiah** to Jerusalem. On the advent of **Ezra** and the Introduction of the law see above, § 14
332	**End of Persian Power: Alexander the Great.**
320	Beginning of **Ptolemaic** dominion in Palestine, which continued with short interruptions till 198.
312	Beginning of the **Era of the Seleucidæ.**
197	Palestine under **Syrian** dominion.
157–164	**Antiochus IV. Epiphanes.**
167	Insurrection of **Mattathias** the priest, of Modein (†166).
165	Reintroduction of **regular service** in the temple.
160	**Judas Maccabæus** (166–160) falls in battle against Bacchides.
143	Execution of **Jonathan** (leader of Maccabean revolt since 160).
142–135	**Simon**, High-priest and **Prince.**
134–104	**Hyrcanus I.**
103	**Aristobulus I.** king.
102–76	**Jannæus.**
75–67	**Alexandra.**
66–63	**Hyrcanus II.** and **Aristobulus II.**[1]
63	**Taking of Jerusalem by Pompey.** Palestine a part of the Roman Province of Syria.
62–40	**Hyrcanus II.** under Roman sovereignty.
40	Invasion of Parthians. **Antigonus** made king (40–37).
37–4 B.C.	**Herod the Great.**

[1] On the dates of the Maccabees cp We. *IJG*[2], 229, n. 2; 2nd ed. 263, n. 3; 3rd ed. 275, n. 2.

between the sum of the years of reign from the death of Ahaz to the conquest of Jerusalem, and the interval 720-586 B.C. *i.e.*, between 139 years of reign and 135 actual years cannot be removed otherwise than by shortening the reign of one or more of the kings. The account of the closing portion of the line of kings has already been found to merit our confidence. The shortening must therefore be undertaken somewhere near the beginning of the line of kings from Hezekiah to Josiah. The most obvious course is to reduce the long reign of Manasseh from fifty-five years to fifty-one (We., indeed, assigns him only forty-five). This, however, may seem arbitrary, and it will be simpler as well as less violent to divide the shortening among all the four reigns. If, that is to say, in the case of the years of reign of the kings from Hezekiah to Josiah, tradition included (according to popular practice) the year of accession and the year of death, we may reduce the numbers for Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah by one each, and assign them twenty-eight, fifty-four, one, and thirty respectively. Thus we get the following series:—Hezekiah 720-693 (28 years), Manasseh 692-639 (54 years), Amon 638 (1 year), Josiah 637-608 (30 years), Jehoahaz 608 (¼ year), Jehoiakim 607-597 (11 years), Jehoiachin 597 (¼ year), and Zedekiah 596-586 (11 years). The control over the date of the death of Josiah from Egyptian history which is to a certain extent possible turns out to be not unfavourable to our results, since Pharaoh Necho II. began to reign in 610 B.C., and, as early as the end of 606, or the beginning of 605, encountered the crown prince Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish (cp. on the date of this battle which, in Jer. 46 2, is inaccurately assigned to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Winckler, *AT Untersuch.* 81). Hence the year 608 B.C. for the battle of Megiddo possesses the greatest probability. That, among the numerous dates for the last decades of the kingdom of Judah which the OT furnishes, little inaccuracies, such as that in the passage (Jer. 46 2) just cited, appear, is intelligible on the ground (apart from others, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Ezek. 33 21) of their being the result of later calculation. At all events, these variations are not to be accounted for, with Hommel (*GB.* I 755), by the supposition that the Jews reckoned the years of Nebuchadrezzar, as well as those of their own kings, from the day on which they ascended the throne to the corresponding day in the following year. The Jews, in adopting the exact Babylonian chronological system, and applying it to their own past history, did not mutilate it and render it futile.

37. After 586 B.C.

Beyond the points already referred to (§ 13 *f.*), the chronology of the times after the conquest of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. presents no difficulties worth mentioning. The Canon of Ptolemy supplies an assured framework into which the data that have been preserved can be fitted without trouble.

38. Summary of Results.

The tabular survey on the preceding page gathers together the dates we have established. At the end is appended a continuation indicating the most important dates down to the last century B.C. K. M.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

39. NT chronology: importance.

The chronology of the New Testament is of great (subsidiary) importance for the study of the origins of Christianity. From the order of the events in the primitive period it will be possible to draw conclusions with regard to the influence of one event upon another; the rapidity of the historical development will enable us to measure the power of the original impulse; and only when the events have received their place in contemporary history can they be fully understood.

40. Difficulty.

Unfortunately, the task is attended with serious difficulty, the causes of which need to be briefly described. (1) The first Christians themselves had no interest in chronology, whether with reference to events concerning them as Christians, or with reference to events of secular history. This was due not only to their separation from the world and their limited horizon, but also, and still more, to their sense of superiority to the world (Phil. 3 20), which seemed to them already in process of dissolution (1 Cor. 7 31), and to their feeling that they had already begun to live in eternity. (2) The historical traditions of the Christians were formed wholly with the purpose of promoting Christian piety, and were therefore restricted to a small number of events, the choice of which was often, as it were, accidental, and the arrangement according to subject rather than to time. Our chronological interest has, accordingly, to be satisfied with inferences and combinations which often remain, after all, very problematical; and the gaps in the traditions prevent us from constructing anywhere a long chronological sequence. (3) Of at least a part of the traditions the historical trustworthiness is subject to such grave doubt that we can venture to use them only with great reserve, if at all. (4) In the NT, apart from some vague notices in the Fourth Gospel, the only writer who professedly gives chronological data is the author of the Third Gospel and Acts. He gives no account, however, of the means by which he obtained these data. We are, therefore, unable to check his statements, and can treat them only as hypotheses. As far as we know, the old Catholic fathers—Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, and Hippolytus—were the first to make chronological calculations. Whether they based them on any independent tradition or limited themselves to inferences from our Gospels is uncertain; the latter is the more probable view. Their data can receive only occasional mention here.[1] (5) It has not yet been found possible to give exact dates to certain of those events of profane history which come into question. (6) Further difficulty is caused by the complicated nature of the ancient calendar, and by the different usages in reckoning time and in beginning the year. Side by side with the various eras we have various methods of reckoning by the years of reigning monarchs.[2]

In the following article the years are designated by the numbers of our current Dionysian era, on the origin of which see Ideler (*Handb.* 2 365 *ff.*). By this reckoning the year 1 B.C. coincides with the year 753 A.U.C., and the year 1 A.D. with the year 754 A.U.C. The years are treated as beginning on 1st Jan., as was the case according to the Varronian reckoning in the period under consideration.

[1] The facts in detail are to a large extent given by Bratke and Hilgenfeld in articles on the chronological attempts of Hippolytus in *ZWT*, 1892.

[2] An excellent guide through this labyrinth is Ideler's *Hand* abridged and in part improved in his *Lehrb.* (see below, § 88). The most important tables (of the sun and moon, and of eras) are brought together from astronomical works by Gumpach, *Hülfsmittel d. rechnend. Chronol.* 1853. See further Bouché, *Hemerologie*, 1889; E. Müller in Pauly's *Realencyc. d. class. Alt. s.v.* Æra; Matzat, *Röm. Chronol.* two vols. 1883-84. Special service to NT Chronology has also been rendered by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1830, 2 ed. 1851; *Fasti Romani*, 1845-50; and by J. Klein, *Fasti Consulares*, Leipsic, 1881. Further bibliographical notices, and many original contributions to the subject, are to be found in Schurer, *GJV*, i. (1890), where, in an appendix, is given a table (taken from Clinton) of parallel years by Olympiads, and by the Seleucid, Varronian, and Dionysian eras. The third appendix discusses the months of the Jewish Calendar, and on p. 630 *f.* a bibliography of the very large literature of that subject is to be found.—Important for the chronology of the NT are also Wieseler, *Chronol. Syn. der vier Evangelien*, 1843; *Chronol. d. ap. Zeitalters*, 1848; and art. 'Zeitrechnung' in *PRE.*, 1866; *Beitr. zur richtigen Beurtheilung der Evang.* 1869; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, 1865; Lightfoot on 'The Chronology of St. Paul's Life and Epistles' in *Dissertations and Essays* (posthumous), 215 *ff.* See also B. W. Bacon, 'A New Chronology of the Acts,' *Expositor*, Feb. 1898.

41. Parallel Dates. TABLE VI.—NT: PARALLEL DATES FROM SECULAR HISTORY.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, 30 B.C.–19th Aug. 14 A.D., and
TIBERIUS, 19th Aug. 14 A.D.–17th March 37 A.D.
17 B.C.–4 B.C., *Herod the Great.*
20–19 B.C., *Temple* begun (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11 1; see Schürer, I 301).
4 B.C.–6 A.D., *Archelaus* ethnarch of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa (deposed and banished to Vienne in Gaul).
4 B.C.–39 A.D., *Antipas*, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa (banished to Lugdunum). On his relations to Aretas see § 78.
4 B.C.–34 A.D.,[1] *Philip*, tetrarch of the north-eastern districts. (After his death his tetrarchy was governed as part of the province of Syria.)
The territory of Archelaus was governed
6–41 A.D. by *Roman procurators*, with their residence in Cæsarea. Of these the fifth,
26–beginning of 36 A.D., was *Pontius Pilate.*
36, *Pilate* sent to Rome to answer for his conduct.
36, Passover, Vitellius in Jerusalem.
37, Vitellius made war, at the Emperor's command, on Aretas in retaliation for the latter's war against Antipas. At the news of the emperor's death hostilities suspended.
CALIGULA, 16th March 37–24th Jan. 41.
37, *Herod Agrippa I.* receives from Caligula the title of king, with the tetrarchies of Lysanias (see Schürer, I 600–604) and of Philip; in
40, also that of *Antipas;* and in
41, also the provinces of Judæa and Samaria, previously governed by procurators.
CLAUDIUS, 24th Jan. 41–13th Oct. 54.
44, Death of *Herod Agrippa I.* at Cæsarea. The territory of Agrippa after his death governed by procurators.
Expulsion of *Jews from Rome.*
NERO, 13th Oct. 54–9th June 68.
52–56/60,[2] *Antonius Felix* } procurators of Palestine.
56/60–62 [61?], *Porcius Festus*
62[61?]–64, *Albinus*
64, 19th July, *Burning of Rome.*
66, Outbreak of *Jewish war.*
GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIUS, 9th June 68–20th Dec. 69.
VESPASIAN—Proclaimed Emperor 1st July 69 in Egypt while engaged in putting down the Jewish insurrection. Recognised as Emperor in the East at once, throughout the Empire not until after the death of Vitellius. Died 23rd June 79.
70, *Destruction of Jerusalem.*
TITUS, 79–81.
DOMITIAN, 81–96.
93–96, *Persecutions* of Christians, especially in Rome and Asia Minor.
NERVA, 96–98.
TRAJAN, 98–117.
111–113, Correspondence with *Pliny*, governor of Bithynia, on the subject of the Christians in that province.
HADRIAN, 117–138.
Insurrection of the Jews under *Bar-kokheba.*

42. Plan of article. Our investigation will treat the problems of NT chronology in the following order: the chronology of the life of Jesus (§§ 43–63), that of the life of Paul (§§ 64–80), that of the churches in Palestine (§ 81 *f.*), other dates (§ 83 *f.*). The first and second of these divisions are wholly separate from each other.

I. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.—The questions here relate to the year of Jesus' birth[3] (§ 57 *ff.*), the year of his public appearance (§ 47 *ff.*), his age at his entrance upon his ministry (§ 43), the duration of his ministry (§ 44 *ff.*), and the year of his death (§ 50 *ff.*).

43. Baptism of Jesus. 1. *The Age of Jesus at his Baptism.*—It is not surprising that tradition is meagre. In itself, as a mere tale of years, the matter had no interest for the early Christians. That Jesus was a man of mature years was enough: why should they care to inquire how long he

[1] *Ituræa* in Syria who had occasion to interfere in the government of Palestine were:
(1) perhaps at first 3 B.C.–2 B.C., and certainly later 6 A.D.–(at latest) 11 A.D. } *Quirinius.*
7 A.D. *Census* instituted in Judæa and Samaria.
(2) 35–39 A.D., *L. Vitellius.*

[2] That Felix entered on his office in 52 (or possibly 53) and that Albinus arrived in Palestine at latest in the summer of 62 are directly attested facts. That Festus succeeded Felix in 60 or 62 is only inferred. See below, § 65 *f.*

[3] On the day of his birth, for determining which there are no historical data, but for which the church, after much vacillation, finally settled on 25th Dec., see Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, i. 1.

had lived quietly at Nazareth? We have to consider only two passages. (1) Jn 8 57. If the foolish question, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' were authentic, it would only give a superior limit, plainly put as high as possible on the ground of the general impression from Jesus's appearance. From this no inference as to any definite number could be drawn, for among the Jews a man began to be elderly at fifty years, and the remark would merely have meant, 'You are still one of the younger men.' If the question is not authentic, it either testifies to the impression made by the account of Jesus in the tradition, that he was in the best years of life (cp Nu. 4 3 39 8 24 *f.*), or else the half-century, as an age which he had not yet attained, is intended to form an ironical contrast to the many centuries from Abraham to the then present time. In the ancient church, Irenæus (ii. 22 5) is the only writer to make use of this passage for chronology; he remarks that the presbyters in Asia Minor had on the ground of it ascribed to Jesus an age of forty to fifty years.

(2) Lk. 3 23. The text is here not quite certain, and the sense of the most probable reading is obscure. (What does ἀρχόμενος mean? In the Sin. Syr. it is omitted from the translation.) In any case, the presence of ὡσεί ('about') forbids us to use the number as if it were exact. It merely tells us that Jesus stood in the beginning of adult manhood, and leaves undecided the question whether he had just entered on his thirtieth year or was already over thirty.

Moreover, whether the number comes from actual historical recollection at all is made uncertain by the fact that, according to Nu. 4 3 39, from thirty to fifty was the canonical age for certain ritual acts. It is significant that these two gospels, from Asia Minor, in so many points similar, give for the age of Jesus in these two passages the two limits of this canonical term of years.

44. Public Ministry. 2. *The Length of the Public Ministry of Jesus.*—The evidence here points on the whole to one year. The 'three years' in the parable of the fig-tree (Lk. 13 7) are either arbitrarily chosen to designate a short period or are to be connected with the fact that the fig-tree commonly bears fruit in three years (for the opposite view, see Wieseler, *Synopse*, 202 *ff.*). The 'three days' of Lk. 13 32 express by a proverbial number both brief time and fixed limit (for the opposite view, Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen*, 311). From Mark and Matthew we get no light, because of the arrangement of the material by subjects. The plucking of the ears in Mk. 2 23 may indicate the time when the grain was ripe; but that must have been between the middle of April and the middle of June, before which time the harvest in Galilee is not ended. Thus, if the incident was in the early months of Jesus' ministry, it does not imply a duration of more than one year. One year seems to have been the idea of the third evangelist, who, like all the writers of the second century except Irenæus, and like many Fathers of the third century, may very well have understood literally the quotation from Is. 61 1 *f.* which he puts (Lk. 4 19) into the mouth of Jesus.

In any case, a place can be found without difficulty within the limits of one year for the entire contents of the Synoptical gospels, while to fill out several years the material is rather meagre. The feeling, shared (for instance) by Beyschlag (*Leben Jesu*, I 133), that it is a 'violent and unnatural process' to crowd the whole development into the space of one year, is balanced by the feeling of the men of the second and third centuries. Even repeated visits to Jerusalem, if the Synoptical gospels really imply them, are, in view of the nearness of Galilee to Jerusalem and of the many feasts (cp the Gospel of John), easily conceivable within one year. The early Christian Fathers were not disturbed in their assumption of a single year by the Fourth Gospel with its journeys to the feasts.

In the Fourth Gospel, apart from 6 4, if we accept the

most common interpretation of ἑορτή (Jn. 5 1) as meaning Pentecost, the feasts group themselves into the course of a single year: 2 13 Passover; 5 1 Pentecost; 7 2 Tabernacles; 10 22 Dedication; 11 55 Passover. Irenaeus alone (ii. 22 3) finds three passovers mentioned in the public life of Jesus; and, since he takes the second not from 6 4 but from 5 1, he, as well as Origen (on Jn. 4 35 tom 13 9), must have had at 6 4 a different text from any known to us. The Alogi, also, according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* 51 22), found mentioned in Jn. only a passover at the beginning and one at the end of the ministry. Positive ground for assuming the later interpolation of 6 4 (which could well have been suggested by the substance of the following conversation) may be found in the designation of the feast there, which is different from that in 2 13 and 11 55, a designation combining (so to speak) 5 1 and 7 2. So also the introductory formula ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς ('was at hand') is suitable only in 2 13 7 2 11 55, where a journey to the feast, which does not here come in question, is to be mentioned.

45. Fourth Gospel.

Moreover, the meagreness of the narrative in Jn. is much more comprehensible if the writer thought of the whole ministry as included between two passovers. He can hardly have regarded the narrative in chaps. 3-5, and again that in chaps. 7-11, as sufficient to fill out in each case a whole year. Otherwise, if the saying with reference to the harvest (Jn. 4 35) is to be regarded as anything more than a proverbial phrase (used for the purpose of the figure which Jesus is employing) there would be a period of nine months for which nothing would be told but the conversation with Nicodemus and the baptizing work of the disciples, and a stay of six months in Galilee for which we should have nothing but chap. 6. If, on the other hand, only one year elapsed from the purification of the temple to the destruction of the 'temple of his body,' we should have: 2 13-5 1, only fifty days; 5 1-7 2, perhaps 127 days; 7 2-10 22, perhaps fifty-eight days; 10 22-12 1, perhaps 119 days. In reality, however, even this year will have to be shortened somewhat at the beginning; for the purification of the temple, which the Synoptists likewise connect with a passover (but with the last one), cannot have happened twice, and, while it is incomprehensible at the beginning, it cannot be spared at the end of the ministry. Whether, then, the baptism of Jesus was before a passover, or whether the journey to John in the wilderness may have followed a journey to the passover in Jerusalem, it is wholly impossible to decide. In the latter case the complete absence from the narrative of the baptism of all recollection of such a connection would be singular; in the former it would be strange that Jesus stayed away from the passover in Jerusalem. On the other hand, since the forty days of the temptation are surely a round number drawn from OT analogies, they may safely be somewhat reduced; and the walk with the disciples through the ripe cornfields in Galilee on the sabbath is then chronologically quite possible, even if the baptism was not until immediately after the passover.

46. One year.

3. *The Year of the Public Appearance of Jesus.*—(1) In Lk. 3 1 *f.* we have, as the last of Lk.'s several chronological notes (1 5 26 2 1 *f.*), a notice of the date of the public appearance of the Baptist. This notice is clearly the product of careful investigation, and it is extremely unlikely that the evangelist would have taken so much pains about fixing this date if he had not supposed himself to be at the same time fixing the year (for the Christian, the only year of real importance in the history of the world) of at least the beginning of the Messiah's ministry, which last, together with the baptism of Jesus, Lk. regarded, as appears from the whole tenor of his narrative, as the immediate consequence of the appearance of the Baptist. Whether

47. First appearance: Lk. 3 1 *f.*

he was right in this short allowance of time for the preaching of the Baptist we need not decide; if the ministry of the Baptist really did last longer, it is easily comprehensible that the previous time should have escaped his knowledge. What year, then, does Lk mean? Following previous writers on the life of Jesus, B. Weiss and Beyschlag have taken as the starting-point for Lk.'s reckoning the year 12 A.D., in which Tiberius was made co-regent with Augustus. There is no proof, however, that such a method of reckoning was ever used. Neither the coins, to which Wieseler[1] appealed, nor the great dignity of Tiberius, adduced by Schegg,[2] which is in any case to be ascribed to flatterers, can establish this hypothesis; and we shall have to take the death of Augustus as the starting-point. Now, Mommsen[3] has proved that until the time of Nerva the reckoning usually employed was by consuls, but that when for any reason a reckoning by the years of the emperor's reign was desirable, the years were counted from the exact date of the beginning of the reign.[4] Accordingly, Lk. must have reckoned the years of Tiberius as beginning with 19th August, 14 A.D.[5] The fifteenth year ran from 19th August 28 A.D., to 18th August, 29 A.D. Although we cannot control the sources from which Lk. derived his information,[6] it is plain from the table of dates given above that the notices in Lk. 3 1 do not contradict one another, and we have no reason to doubt Lk.'s information. We say this in spite of the fact that in one point he shows himself not perfectly well-versed in Jewish affairs: the Roman custom of having two consuls has perhaps led him to misinterpret the fact that in the time of the high-priest Caiaphas (from about 18 A.D. to Easter 36 A.D.), the latter's father-in-law, Annas, who had been high priest in 6-15 A.D., was the real leader of the Sanhedrim. Lk. has taken this to mean that the two were high priests at the same time (cp the same error in Acts 4 6).

(2) In Jn. 2 20, forty-six years are said to have elapsed from the beginning of the building of the temple to the beginning of Jesus' ministry and the cleansing of the temple. If the forty six years are treated as already past, this brings us to A.D. 28. Everything, however, is here uncertain—the position of the cleansing of the temple at the beginning of the ministry, and the authenticity of the conversation, as well as the evangelist's method of reckoning (on the supposition that the number comes from him).[7]

48. The temple.

(3) The public appearance of Jesus was con-

1 *Beitr.* 190-92.

2 *Todesjahr des Konigs Herodes und Todesjahr Jesu Christi*, 1832, pp. 61-63.

3 'Das römisch-germanische Herrscherjahr' in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fur ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 1876, pp. 545-55.

4 The imperial era introduced by Nerva, which took as a basis the tribunician year beginning with 10th December, the tribunician year in which the emperor ascended the throne counting as the first of his reign, did not actually come into common use until the time of Trajan.

5 The method of reckoning the years of the emperor's reign (namely beginning with 1st Tishri 766 A.U.C.) represented by Gumpach (*l.c.* 93) as having been the universal custom, according to which he makes the fifteenth year of Tiberius begin with 1st Tishri 27 A.D., no one besides himself has ventured to accept.

6 Keim assumed, without any foundation, that Lk. had Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3 3) before him, and that he supposed the two revolutions there mentioned as occurring in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, which began in the twelfth year of Tiberius, to have been in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Tiberius, and so hit on the fifteenth year for the Baptist. This is, however, [illegible] with the fact of the large number of single notices in Lk. 3 1, which implies careful investigation, and is in itself impossible, since Josephus first mentions the Baptist in xviii. 5 2, and has already related the death of Herod, which happened so late as the twentieth year of Tiberius.

7 Has the evangelist perhaps used Nerva's method of reckoning? That yields the year 28 A.D. On the different interpretations of this number, see Sepp, *Jesus und Jesu Zeit*, 1874, pp. 1-13.

temporaneous with the imprisonment of the Baptist

49. The Baptist. (Mk. 1 14 = Mt. 4 12; Mk. 6 17 f. = Mt. 14 3 f.; cp Lk. 3 18-20). Jesus was baptized shortly before that (Mk. 1 12 f. and parallels), and the execution of the Baptist happened in the course of Jesus' public ministry (Lk. 7 18 f. = Mt. 11 2 f.; Mk. 6 19-29 = Mt. 14 5-12; with Mk. 6 14-16 = Lk. 9 7-9 = Mt. 14 1 f.).

The execution is related also by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5 1 f.), who does not give the exact date, but is led to mention the matter in connection with the defeat of Antipas by Aretas (in the summer or autumn of 36 A.D.), which the nation believed to be a judgment of God for the murder of John. Aretas's reasons for making the war are said to have been two: (1) the divorce of his daughter by Antipas in order that the latter might marry Herodias; (2) boundary disputes. From this Keim, Holtzmann, Hausrath, Schenkel, and Sevin have inferred that this divorce, the rebuke of which by John led, according to the Synoptists, to John's death, must have been not long before 36 A.D. A judgment of God, however, may well be delayed for six years, provided the crime which the people believe to be punished by it is not forgotten; whilst a favourable moment for executing human vengeance does not always arrive immediately. Moreover, it appears that boundary disputes were finally needed to bring about the actual conflict.[1]

From this war, therefore, we can draw no inferences about the date of the Baptist's martyrdom. As to the marriage itself, there is, in the first place, no reason to doubt the synoptical tradition that the Baptist's courage occasioned his imprisonment. The account of Josephus neither excludes the assumption that the tetrarch waited for a good pretext before arresting John nor makes it impossible that his arrest and execution should have been separated by a short imprisonment (cp Mk. 6 20; Mt. 11 2). That Herodias's daughter was too old to dance at the feast is shown by A. von Gutschmid (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, p. 522) to be wholly undemonstrable, and a banquet at Machærus is not inconceivable. That, according to Josephus, Machærus should have been at one time in the possession of Aretas and shortly afterwards in that of Antipas, we cannot indeed explain (cp Schürer, 1 365); but since Josephus finds no difficulty in it, it has no force as an argument. Since, however, we cannot fix the date of the marriage, the whole matter does not help us much,[2] and we can only say that there is no sufficient evidence that the journey to Rome, on which Antipas made the acquaintance of his brother's wife, and his return to the tetrarchy, soon after which the marriage occurred, were not between 27 and 30 A.D.

The history of the Baptist presents, therefore, no insuperable obstacle to the view that the fifteenth year of Tiberius = 29 A.D.

4. *The Year of Jesus' Death.*—Since the crucifixion

50. Jesus' death. certainly happened under Pontius Pilate, its earliest possible date is 26 A.D., the latest 35 A.D.

The complete publicity of Jesus' death and its character as a civil event, its well-understood importance as the starting-point of Christianity, its unique impressiveness, and its connection with the Jewish passover, must have made it a chief object of the awakening chronological interest of the early Christians, and at the same time have given ground for believing that the date could be fixed with reasonable certainty.

51. Lk.'s method. (*a*) This suggests that probably the chronological interest of the third Evangelist (Lk. 3 1 f.) was engaged as little for the first public appearance of Jesus as for that of the Baptist: that it was directed towards the date of the Lord's death. He preferred, however, not to interrupt his narrative of the Passion by a chronological notice, and therefore worked back from the date of the crucifixion to the date of the beginning of Jesus' ministry, and so to that of the beginning of the ministry of the Baptist. This is confirmed by the fact that the date in Lk. 3 1 f. is, with the exception of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' in 4 19, the last date that Lk. gives. If, as we have concluded above, Lk. really had a whole year in mind, he must have put the death of Jesus into the next (the sixteenth) year of Tiberius—that is, at the passover of 30 A.D.[3]

[1] See the account, with criticism, of Keim's theory and of Wieseler's objections to it, in Schürer, 1 368 f.

[2] Ciemen, *Chron. der paul. Briefe*, thinks otherwise, and reckons out 33 A.D.; but his argument is wholly inconclusive.

[3] A different view is held by Bratke, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1 [illegible], who holds that Lk. regarded the fifteenth year of Tiberius as

That Lk. had worked back one year from the sixteenth year of Tiberius was the view of Julius Africanus.[1] On the other hand, Clement of Alexandria took Lk.'s fifteenth year of Tiberius as the year of Jesus' death; as did probably Tertullian, whose statement that Christ was crucified in the consulate of the two Gemini (29 A.D.) doubtless rests on Lk. 3 1 f., and was perhaps made on purpose to avoid confusion from the later method of reckoning (cp above, § 47) which would have led him to the year 28 A.D. The statement in the received text of Tertullian that Jesus revealed himself 'anno xvi. Tiberii Caesaris' cannot be harmonised with Tertullian's other notices, and looks like an ancient correction intended to combine the statement in the text that Jesus was crucified in the fifteenth year of Tiberius with the later traditional view of a three-year ministry.

(*b*) The theory explaining the conduct of Pilate at the trial of Jesus by the censure received from Rome

52. Pilate. between 31 and 33 A.D. lacks all foundation; and so does the theory (Sevin, p. 135) that the hostility between Pilate and Herod (Lk. 23 11) was possible only after the complaint against Pilate (as to the date of the complaint, cp Schürer 1 411), in which Antipas had a share. Hostility between the Roman procurator and Herod's heir must have been the rule, not the exception.

(*c*) If, in spite of what has been said above, the fourth Evangelist counted three passovers in the public

53. Temple. life of Jesus (cp above, § 45), and the period of forty-six years from the beginning of the building of the temple is to be taken seriously (cp § 48), his chronology also would yield the year 30 for the death of Jesus.

(*d*) A final decision cannot be reached from the Jewish Calendar. On the one hand, the Synoptists put

54. Day of Crucifixion. the crucifixion on Friday, the 15th Nisan, John on Friday, the 14th (Mk. 15 42, Lk. 23 54, Mt. 27 62, Jn. 19 31).[2] On the other hand, although the astronomical new moons have been computed for the possible years with a difference of but a few minutes between the computation of Wurms and that of Oudemans, and the days of the week can be

55. Jewish Calendar. found,[3] difficulty is caused by various irregularities in the Jewish calendar-system. First, the beginning of the month was determined, not by the astronomical new moon, but by the time when the new moon was first visible, which depends partly on the weather and on the season of the year, and is always at least from twenty-four to thirty hours later than the astronomical new moon. In order to prevent too great divergence of the calendar, it was prescribed, however, that no month should in any case last more than thirty days, and that no years should contain less than four or more than eight such 'full' months. Secondly, the intercalary years create complication.

A thirteenth month was added to the year whenever on the 16th Nisan the barley was not yet ripe; but this was forbidden in the sabbatical years, and two intercalary years in succession were not allowed. The only sabbatical year in our period (computed by the aid of 1 Macc. 6 49 53, and Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 16 2; cp 15 1 2) was, according to Schürer, 33-34 A.D.; according to Sevin and others,[4] 34-35 A.D. Any one of the six preceding years

identical with the 'acceptable year,' and put the death of Jesus into that year, 29 A.D. Arguments similar to Bratke's are to be found in Sanchoniente, *De vulgaris erræ emendatione*, 1703, and in Caspari, *Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu*, 1869.

[1] So also Schürer, 1 369. Cp. Gelzer, *S. Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronologie*, 1880, 1 48.

[2] On the attempts to reconcile this discrepancy see the commentaries and the books there mentioned.

[3] Cp Wurms in Bengel's *Arch. f. d. Theol.*, 1836, vol. ii.; Ideler, *Handb.* 1 477-583; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse der Evv. [illegible]* (1843), and *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der [illegible] evangelischen Gesch.*, 1869; Gumpach, *Ueber den altjud. Kalender*, 1848; Oudemans, *Rev. de Théol.* 1863; Caspari, *Chronol.-geogr. Einl. i. d. Leben Jesu Christi*, 1869; Schwarz, *Der rel. Kal. historisch u. astronomisch untersucht*, 1872; Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwickelung der altjud. Zeitrechn. im Talmud*, 1882.

[4] Cp. besides the above-mentioned work of Gumpach, Caspari, 21-25; Sevin, 58-61; Anger, *De temporum in Actis Apostolorum ratione*, 1833, p. 38; Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Isr.* 2 458 ff.; Zuckermann, *Über Sab. altjahrzehnte und Jobel perioden*, Breslau, 1857; Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.* iii. 1878, p. 630-619; Ronsch, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1870, p. 361 f., 1875, p. 589 ff.;

might have been an intercalary year. At the end of 28-29 A.D., however, there was no need of an intercalated month, because the 15th Nisan fell on 16th April 29 A.D., and on 5th April 30 A.D. (so according to Wurm; according to Gauss and Schwarz one day later). At the end of 30-31 there may have been an intercalary month, for the 14th Nisan would otherwise have fallen on 26th or 27th March, 31 A.D., but with an intercalary month on 24th April. In 32 A.D., the 15th Nisan fell on 12th April; in 33 A.D., on 2nd April. If, however, 33-34 was a sabbatical year, an extra month would have had to be intercalated at the end of 32-33, and then the 15th Nisan would have fallen on 1st May, 33 A.D., and 21st April, 34 A.D.; whereas if 34-35 was the sabbatical year, the extra month would not have been inserted until the end of 33-34. Thus, in 33 A.D. the 15th Nisan would have remained 2nd April. The Jewish empirically determined dates all fell, however, one or two days later than these astronomical dates.

If we take the days of the week into account, in the years 29, 32, and 35 A.D., neither the 14th nor the

56. Days of week. 15th Nisan could possibly have fallen on Friday. On the other hand, if 33-34 was not a sabbatical year (and so 32-33 not an intercalary year), the 14th Nisan may have been celebrated on Friday, 4th April 33, which would correspond to the view of the Fourth Gospel. This year, however, is excluded if Jesus died on the 15th Nisan, and it is impossible in either case if, as is more likely, 33-34 was the sabbatical year, and so 32-33 had thirteen months.[1] There is, therefore, no great probability on the side of 33 A.D. On the other hand, the 15th Nisan may have fallen on Friday, 23rd April 34 A.D. This is hardly possible for the 14th Nisan, as the astronomical new moon occurred at 6.42 p.m., 7th April, so that the 1st Nisan can have been put at the latest on 9th April (so Sevin, 144). No other line of evidence, however, points to the year 34, and this reckoning by the calendar suits just as well the year 30 of Lk. 3 1 *f.*, for in that year the astronomical new moon occurred at 8.08 p.m., 22nd March, so that the 1st Nisan may have been put on Friday, 24th March, and the 15th have fallen on Friday, 7th April.[2]

5. *The Year of Jesus' Birth.*—Dionysius Exiguus, according to the proofs given by Sanclemente (*l.c.* 4 2)

57. Jesus' Birth; Dion. Exiguus. and confirmed by Ideler (*Handbuch*, 2 383 *f.*), started in his reckoning from the incarnation, and followed the common method for the years of reigning monarchs. His view was that Jesus was born on the 25th December, 754 A.U.C., and so he counted the whole year 754 as 1 A.D. The view defended by Noris and Pagi, that he assigned the nativity to 25th December 753, and ignored the five following days, is wrong.

In this reckoning, which gradually came to be universally accepted, Dionysius departed from the dating for which Irenæus (*Adv. haer.* iii. 25) and Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 8) are the oldest witnesses; which dating, based only on the information given in the Gospels, put the nativity in 751 A.U.C. = 3 B.C. Dionysius, perhaps because he had no means of fixing the date of the census under Quirinius in Lk. 2, or the death of Herod in Mt. 2, seems to have reached his result by putting the public appearance of Jesus one year later than that of John (15th year of Tiberius, Lk. 3 1 *f.*), and reckoning back thirty years. Since we have seen that the thirty years of Lk. 3 1 *f.* is a round number, perhaps drawn from the OT, we are thrown back on the narratives of the nativity.

(*a*) Lk. gives two points. (i.) He says (1 36) that Jesus was six months younger than the Baptist, whose

58. The Baptist. conception happened under Herod (1 5). It does not, however, follow that the birth of Jesus fifteen months later was also under Herod, and, even if the evangelist thought so,

Wieseler in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1895, p. 527 *ff.*; Caspari in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1877, pp. 181-190; Riess, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1850, p. 45 *f.* 229-230; and other works mentioned in Schürer, I 29 *f.*

[1] See for the year 33 A.D. the exact reckoning in Schegg, p. 49 *f.*

[2] So also Gumpach, *Hülfsm. d. rechnend. Chronol.* 1853, p. 94.

his view cannot have rested on documentary e
Perhaps Lk. may have drawn his inference f
fact that the Baptist died six months before Jesu
(ii.) Lk. 2 1-5 (21-5) that Jesus was born at
when a census, ordered by Augustus for th

59. The Census. empire, was being taken in Jud
Galilee, and that this w is while
(undoubtedly Publ. Sulpicius Quirinius) was g
in Syria.[1] Such a census, however, was leg
possible in the reign of Herod, and a governo
Quirinius in Syria before Herod's death is chrono
impossible, since at the time of Herod's death
Quinctilius Varus (who put down the insurrection
ing that event) was still governor in Syria, wh
predecessors were Sentius Saturninus (9-6 B.C.
Titius (attested for 10 B.C.). Josephus, who rel
last years of Herod in much detail, has no kno
of such a census, but says that the census of 7 A.
the first, and something altogether novel for the
It may be that Quirinius was governor of Syria
short time (3-2 B.C.) as successor to Varus, as
family was afterwards from 6 A.D. until (at the
11 A.D.; but in his first (problematical) governo
census for Judæa, which had fallen to the sh
Archelaus, is likewise impossible. On the other
the census in Judæa under Quirinius in 6-7 A.D.
the deposition of Archelaus, is well attested (cp Jos
xvii. 12 5 xviii. 1 1 and 2 1 xx. 5 2, *BJ*, xii. 1 1, Acts
5 37), and may have been in fulfilment of a g
imperial command intended to be executed as oc
should arise in the several provinces. This could,
ever, have applied only to imperial provinces (incl
therefore, Judæa), not to senatorial provinces: tha
would not be universal. Further, (1) even this
could not have included the Galileans, who were su
of Antipas; and (2) it must have been taken a
basis for a poll and property tax, at the actual,
the ancestral, home of the subject, for the latter
have been in most cases hard to determine, and s
procedure was in general impracticable. (3) More
Mary could not possibly be affected by it, becaus
was not of the lineage of David (cp GENEALOGIES
and in such cases the authorities dealt with the
representatives of the women.

The account in Lk. rests, therefore, on a seri
mistakes, and the most plausible view is that the eva

60. Lk.'s method. list, or the tradition which he followed
some reason combined the birth of Jesus
the census under Quirinius, and assigne
the latter a wrong date.[2]

Perhaps Lk. simply confused Archelaus with
father, for the former was very probably, like Ant
occasionally called Herod. This confusion of the
Herods would have been all the easier if after He
the Great's death Quirinius really was for a w
governor of Syria. The same confusion may
caused Irenæus and Tertullian to adopt the year 3
for the birth of Jesus. The imperial census of L
perhaps a confusion of the census under Quirinius,
incorrectly into the year 3 B.C., with the remembra
of the census of Roman citizens throughout the em
which was actually ordered by Augustus in 6 B.C.,
the two events lay only two years apart. Lk.,
(cp § 47 above, on the two high priests in Lk.
was none too well informed on Jewish matters,
have inferred from 'the family of David' that Jose
home was really in Bethlehem, and have supposed
fact to be the true means of combining the alr
current tradition of the birth in Bethlehem with
incontestable tradition that Jesus was a Nazarene

[1] See the conclusive investigation by Schürer, I 433 *ff.*

[2] A chronological error is not without analogies in Lk.
case of Theudas (Acts 5 36 *f.*) is well known, and the
for the poor in Acts 11 28 *f.* is perhaps confused with
Acts 21, whilst the combination of the various famines
time of Claudius into one world-wide famine (Acts 11 28)
closely analogous to the case of the census.

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these suppositions are admissible, the kernel of truth in the narrative would be that Jesus was born not far from the end of the Herodian period, and that the Roman rule was set up in his earliest childhood. In both these political occurrences an inner connection with the events which brought in the Kingdom of God was doubtless observed in very early times, and the interest in making the closeness of this connection as clear as possible may have led to the enrichment of the narrative.

(*b*) From Mt. we have astronomical evidence: the star and the slaughter of the innocents. Rationalising attempts, however, to subject this star to astronomical laws do violence to the idea of the narrative. The star moves in its own free paths, appears and disappears, travels and stands still. Even if the evangelist is wrong, and a conjunction or a comet lies at the basis of the story, it is impossible to determine from what phenomena astrologers of 'the East' supposed themselves able to draw such inferences. The star shines only in the legend, and derives its origin from Nu. 24 17, and the apocalyptical imagery (cp Rev. 12 1). It has been matched by similar legendary stars at the birth and at the death of many of the great men of the heathen world.

61. The Star.

As to the murder of the innocents, if it were a historical fact, Jesus must be supposed, since the male children were killed, from two years old and under, to have been not less than a year old, even if the murder was just before Herod's death; and in that case, since Herod died shortly before the Passover of 4 B.C., Jesus must have been born at the latest in 5 B.C. Josephus, however, although he narrates with the most scrupulous exactness all the horrors of Herod's last years, has no knowledge of the murder of the children. On the other hand, he gives almost exactly the same story as relating to Moses (*Ant.* xi 9 2).

62. The Innocents.

All the other suspicious circumstances in the narrative in Mt. 2 cannot be set forth here. In view of the natural tendency of legends to connect important events with one another and to mirror their mutual relations, we cannot infer from Mt. more than that Jesus was probably born shortly before or after the death of Herod—the same result that we reached from Lk.

The only results which have a very high degree of probability are the date 30 A.D. for the death of Jesus, and the period of about one year for the length of his public ministry. Besides this, it is also probable that Jesus was born in the agitated times when death was snatching the sceptre from the hand of Herod the Great, and when with his successors the Roman rule in Judæa was coming again in sight.

63. Conclusions.

TABLE VII.—LIFE OF JESUS, PROBABLE DATES.

circa 4 B.C.?—Birth of Jesus.
circa 28/29 A.D.—Beginning of public work.
30 A.D.—Death of Jesus.

II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF PAUL.—The starting-point for Pauline chronology must be the journey to Rome, for here we can make connection with the dates supplied by Roman history. The events immediately preceding—namely, the arrival of Festus in Palestine, the beginning of the proceedings against Paul (Acts 25 1-6), the hearing and the appeal (25 6-12), and (27 1) the shipment of the prisoner—probably followed one another rapidly; but the actual date of the arrival of Festus is matter of dispute (see the literature in Schürer, *GJV*, I 484 *f.* n. 38, to which must now be added O. Holtzmann, *NT Zeitgesch.*, 1895, p. 125 *ff.* 248; Blass, *Acts Ap.* 1895, p. 21 *f.*; Harnack, *Die Chron. der altchristl. Lit.* I [97]). For the first part the preference is given to the year 60 or 59 A.D., since it was at the latest in the summer of 62 (more probably in that of 61) that

64. Paul's journey to Rome.

65. Festus.

Albinus succeeded Festus, and for the events related of Festus's term of office one year will suffice. The objection to an earlier date is that it might not leave room for the events of the life of Paul, and that according to Acts 24 27 at the imprisonment of Paul Felix had already been in office "many years" (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν). That the courtly Josephus courtfully mentions Poppæa as Nero's wife, which she did not become till several years later, cannot be adduced as a serious argument in the same direction.)

By the side of this commonly received date, however, a much earlier one has been advocated recently.[1]

Thus Keim proposes Nov. 54 A.D.; Weber and O. Holtzmann the summer of 55; Bass and Harnack, 56 (Harnack, 552). Whilst O. Holtzmann takes his start from Tacitus, Harnack starts from the chronology of Eusebius, the claims of which to our confidence his labours have materially enhanced. He shows that there is no ground for the common acceptance of the dates given by Eusebius for the procuratorships preceding and following that of Festus.

Eusebius's date for the year preceding the accession of Felix differs from that of Tacitus by only one year. Nor is the difference any greater in the date of his removal. According to Tacitus, Pallas fell into disfavour a few days before the fourteenth Ides of Britannicus, which fell in the middle of Feb. 55 A.D. According to Josephus, Pallas obtained of Nero an acquittal for his brother Felix from an accusation made by the Jews after his recall. Now, as Nero ascended the throne on the 13th Oct. 54 A.D., the time left under him by these two dates is clearly too short for the events narrated by Josephus. Two solutions are possible. Tacitus may be wrong by a year in the age of Britannicus; it may have been his fourteenth birthday, so that it was not till 56 that Pallas fell into disfavour, or else even after his fall Pallas may still have had access to the Emperor. Now Eusebius in his Chronicle supports the year 56 as that of the accession of Festus, since he assigns it to the second year of Nero (Oct. 55 to Oct. 56), on the textual certainty of this date see Harnack, 236, n. 2). If Felix entered on his office, as according to Eusebius he did, between Jan. 51 and Jan. 52 (according to Tacitus between Jan. 52 and Jan. 53), he could in the summer of 56 be described in case of need, if we compare the average length of procuratorships, as having been in office ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν.

Any objection, in fact, to this number 56 for the accession of Festus, supported by Tacitus and Eusebius, could come only from the requirements of the life of Paul. We shall, therefore, leave the question open for the present.

From the date thus obtained for the relegation of the prisoner to the tribunal at Rome, let us in the first place make our way backwards.

If, as we shall see to be probable, Paul carried out the plan mentioned in Acts 20 16, his arrest must have been at Pentecost under the procurator Felix, who (24 27) prolonged the proceedings for two years until his retirement from office. This mention of Felix and the two-years imprisonment in Cæsarea are, indeed, regarded as unhistorical by Straatman (*Paulus*, 1874), van Manen (*Paulus*, I, *De handelingen der Apostelen*, 1890), and especially by Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 1886, pp. 433-461); but the improbability of certain details, on which they rely, is not conclusive, and, on the other hand, the rise of this circumstantial narrative cannot be explained on the ground that it is a doublet to Acts 25 *f.* That Felix should hold over the prisoner for the chance of a change of sentiment in Jerusalem, and, this change not having come about, should finally leave him in prison in the hope of leaving one popular deed to be remembered by, agrees with his character and the habit of procurators. That Acts tells nothing about these two years is much less surprising than its silence about the year and a half in Corinth and the three years in Ephesus. That a provisional imprisonment of two years could be imposed even on a Roman citizen is

66. Felix.

[1] By Keim (the article 'Felix' in Hergenröther's *Kirchenlex.* [Roman Catholic], 1887; *Z. f. kath. Theol.* 1888), Weber (*Krit. Untersuch. über die Zeit des Wirkens und Leidens des u. Kap. des Römerbriefs*, 1889, p. 177 *ff.*), O. Holtzmann (*l.c.*), Blass (*l.c.*), Harnack (*l.c.*) following such older scholars as Bengel, Süskind, and Rettig.

shown by the two-years imprisonment in Rome. It is likewise obvious that Paul would not have had his case transferred to Rome except in dire necessity. The city notice in Acts 24 27 18, therefore, without doubt trustworthy, and the arrest of Paul is to be put two years earlier than the arrival of Festus that is at Pentecost 54 or 55.

For the events before the arrest in Jerusalem we give the dates in two numbers: one on the assumption that this happened at Pentecost 54, the other, that it was in 58. The journey to Jerusalem from Philippi (Acts 20 4 21 16) which is related, with the exception of the episode at Miletus (20 17-38), from the 'we-source,' was begun after 'the days of unleavened bread,' and there is no reason for supposing that Paul did not carry out his plan (20 16) of arriving at Jerusalem by Pentecost. The itinerary from the beginning of the Passover is given us as follows:—At Philippi (Passover) seven days; to Troas five days; at Troas seven days; to Patara eight days, in all twenty-seven days. This leaves twenty-two days before Pentecost, which was ample for the journey to Jerusalem except in case of a very exceptionally unfavourable passage from Patara to the coast of Syria. Of these twenty-two days twelve were occupied as follows:—At Tyre seven days, to Ptolemais one, to Cæsarea one, to Jerusalem two to three; so that ten days remain for the voyage from Patara to Tyre (which in ordinary weather required four to five days) and for the stay at Cæsarea, the duration of neither of which is stated. From the stops, which in view of the brisk coasting-trade were surely not necessary, we may infer that satisfactory progress was made by the travellers. The departure from Philippi, which was the conclusion of Paul's missionary career, is, therefore, to be put just after the Passover of the year of the arrest.

67. Philippi to Jerusalem.

For the dates earlier than this point, the chronologist would be wholly at sea without Acts; and no good reason appears for not trusting the information which it gives. On the great journey which ended at Jerusalem, Paul had started from Ephesus (1 Cor. 16 8 *f.*; Acts 19), and journeyed by way of Troas, where he carried on his work for a short time (Acts 20 1 does not mention Troas at all), to Macedonia (2 Cor. 2 12 *f.* 7 5). That he stayed there long is not likely; for, if he had done so, the length of his stay would probably have been given as in the case (Acts 20 3) of Greece (Corinth). Moreover, the plans made in Ephesus (1 Cor. 16 5; 2 Cor. 1 15 *f.*) had in view only a short stay in Macedonia, for (1 Cor. 16 8 cp 7 6) Paul expected to leave Ephesus after Pentecost (which fell somewhere between 15th May and 15th June) and to be in Corinth so early that, even if he should not decide to pass the winter there, his visit should, nevertheless, not be too short. This would allow at most three months on the way. Now, he may have waited rather longer in Macedonia, in order to learn the impression made by Titus (the bearer of 2 Cor.); but, even so, we cannot reckon more than from four to five months for the whole journey. In Corinth itself he stayed (Acts 20 3) three months, and then returned to Macedonia, where he surely did not stay long, since he had been there just three months earlier. Moreover, he had, no doubt, formed in Corinth his plan of being in Jerusalem by Pentecost, and the additional time which the unexpectedly long journey (occasioned by Jewish plots, Acts 20 3, which made the direct route impossible) must have cost him would of itself have forbidden an unnecessarily long stay. He probably, therefore, reached Philippi but little before the Passover; and we have for the whole journey from Ephesus through Troas, Macedonia, Greece, and back to Macedonia perhaps eight to ten months—namely, about the space of time from Pentecost 53/57 to Passover 54/58. In the summer[1] of 53/57 in Macedonia

68. Ephesus to Philippi.

[1] Or autumn: see CORINTHIANS, § 5.

Paul wrote 2 Cor., at the end of this year or the beginning of the next in Corinth. Romans, and the letter of introduction for Phœbe to the Christians at Ephesus (Rom. 16 1-20). About this time may belong, too, the undoubtedly authentic note Tit 3 12-14; in which case the Macedonian Nicomedia is meant, and the plan for the winter was not carried out.

The stay in Ephesus had lasted, according to Acts 19 8 10 22, over two years and a quarter (Acts 20 31 speaks of three years), so that Paul must have come to Ephesus at Pentecost or in the summer of 50/54. From there, after he had already sent one letter to Corinth (1 Cor. 5 9), he wrote in the beginning of 53/57 our 1 Cor., and later had occasion to write to Corinth for yet a third time (2 Cor. 7 8 the letter is perhaps preserved in 2 Cor. 10-13).[1]

69. Ephesus.

From this long stay in Ephesus, which doubtless formed the second great epoch in Paul's missionary activity in the Greek world, we go back to the first—namely, the first visit to Corinth (Acts 18 1-18; cp 1 and 2 Cor.). This appears to have lasted about two years, since to the one year and a half of 18 11 must be added, in case 18 11 refers only to the time spent in the house of Titus Justus, the previous time, in which Paul was trying to work from the synagogue as a base, as well as the later ἡμέραι ἱκαναί of 18 18. How much time lay, however, between the departure from Corinth and the arrival at Ephesus in 50/54 we cannot tell, although the very sketchiness of our only authority (Acts 18 18-19 1) makes it easier to believe that the author is drawing here (except for the words, v 19, εἰσελθὼν αὐτὸς 21, θέλοντος) from a written source than that he relies on oral tradition or his own imagination. Oral tradition would either have omitted the journey altogether, or have narrated what happened at Jerusalem in some detail. All suspicion of 'tendency' is excluded by the brevity and obscurity of the passage. For the journey thus barely mentioned in Acts one week would be ample time. In that case Paul would have left Corinth in the summer of 49/53, having arrived there in the summer of 47/51. In the beginning of this period of two years 1 Thess. was written. (The genuineness of 2 Thess. must be left undetermined.)

70. Corinth.

Before the long stay in Corinth falls the Macedonian mission, with the necessary journeys, which, however, occupied but one day each (Acts 16 11-18 1). The whole journey from Troas to Corinth a few months would suffice. It is, therefore, possible that Paul set out at the opening of navigation in March of the same year in the summer of which he arrived for his long stay in Corinth.

Up to this point the probability of the chronology is very considerable. The results may be summarised as follows:

71. Results.

TABLE VIII.—LIFE OF PAUL: ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE TO IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

Spring 47/51. Departure from Troas, followed by mission in Macedonia.
Summer 47/51-Summer 49/53.—Corinth and Achaia. 1 Thess.
Summer 49/53-Summer 50/54.—Visit to Jerusalem and Antioch; journey through Asia Minor to Ephesus.
Summer 50/54-Pentecost 53/57.—Ephesus.
Pentecost 53/57-Passover 54/58.—Journey by way of Troas and Macedonia to Achaia and return to Philippi.
Passover-Pentecost 54/58.—Journey, with the contribution, from Philippi to Jerusalem.
54/58-56/60.—Imprisonment in Cæsarea.
Autumn 56/60-Spring 57/61.—Journey to Rome.
57/61-59/63.—Imprisonment in Rome.

Passing now to the period before 47/51 A.D., we find that Acts supplies us with far less trustworthy accounts and is wholly without dates; nor have we any Pauline epistles written in these years. Highly probable, nevertheless (just because of the peculiar way in which it is given), although not

72. Earlier period.

[1] See, however, CORINTHIANS, § 18.

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without editorial additions, is the representation [illegible] in Acts 15 40-16 6, that Troas was the goal of [illegible] journey from Antioch in Syria through the [illegible] Asia Minor. The seeming restlessness (A[illegible] 16[illegible]) at any rate in the latter part of the inland journey [illegible] suggests that the time occupied was comparatively short. In that case, the start from Antioch might fall in the year 49, 50; but even that is very problematic. We are, therefore, thrown back for the chronology wholly

73. Gal. 1 f. on Gal 1 f. Here, however, it is not perfectly plain whether the fourteen years in 2 1 include or follow the three years in 1 18. For the [illegible] ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν [illegible] (Gr in the [illegible] of, RV^mg); but this can be explained better thus. An ἔπειτα ('then') having been introduced in 1 21 between the two ἔπειτα of 1 18 and 2 1, διά was used, instead of μετά in order not to exclude the space of time between the two ἔπειτα of 1 18 and 21 – namely, the fifteen days in Jerusalem. (Perhaps, also, in 2 1 the three years had completely closed before the first visit, which was the second visit, may have been made in the course of the fourteenth year.) On this view seventeen years would have elapsed from the conversion of Paul to the conference in Jerusalem, of which time he had spent three years in Arabia and fourteen in Syria and Cilicia (1 17 21). The latter period was certainly, the former (at least for Damascus) probably, occupied in the work of an apostle (Gal. 1 21 2 7 f.). After the conference in Jerusalem followed a stay in Antioch (2 11-21). Since 3 1 f. is introduced without any sign of transition, the simplest supposition is that this προγράφειν (3 1; RV 'open setting forth') and its results (that is, the mission in Galatia) come chronologically after, but not too long after, the events narrated previously. This would agree, also, with the most natural interpretation of Gal. 2 6.

If we look now at the parallel narrative in Acts, there is, in the first place, no doubt that in 15 1-18 we have

74. Acts. the same events described as in Gal. 2. In Acts, as in Galatians, Paul and Barnabas come with others in their company to Jerusalem, and return to Antioch after arriving at an understanding with the church in Jerusalem. To Antioch come also, in both cases (although in Acts no mention is made of a visit of Peter), members of the Jerusalem church, who might in Acts also, just as in Galatians, have been said to come from James. In Acts 11 27-30 12 24 f., however, we find, besides, mention of another earlier journey of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem and back again, after the journey from Damascus to Jerusalem (Acts 9 26-30 = Gal. 1 18). Since Gal. 1 20-2 1 makes this impossible as a separate visit to Jerusalem, the two visits from Antioch (Acts 11 f. and Acts 15) must have been really one, and this would explain the further points of resemblance that on both occasions (in one case after, in the other before, the journey of the apostles) prophets come from Jerusalem to Antioch 11 27 15 32), and that both times, although in different ways, a contribution of money plays a part (Acts 11 28 f. Gal. 2 10). Cp also 'to the elders' (Acts 11 30 15 2). Now, although this visit is in general more accurately described by Acts 15, there are many reasons for thinking that it is chronologically placed more correctly by Acts 11 27 ff.

The insertion by mistake at the end of chap. 14 is easy to understand for whilst large parts of chap. 13 f. and the whole of chap. 15 are certainly the work of the final author of Acts (notice that the style is the same as in Acts 1-12), at the same time the 'source' can be detected (as is now more and more widely held) as far back as 13 1, and we can ascribe to it the return to Antioch (14 26a) as well as the later departure for the journey of 16 6 ff. (without the intervening narrative), although we can no longer restore the original connection. Accordingly, since the author had not been able before Acts 13 f. to give a concrete account of any Gentile mission, an undated account (perhaps not perfectly accurate) of a conference in Jerusalem (to which the missionaries came from Antioch) which treated the subject of Gentile missions could be inserted after 13 f. better than earlier. The author may have had some reason to suppose that the contribution of money (the fact but not the date of which he had learned: it was not mentioned in his source as the occasion

of Gal. [illegible] of Paul to Jerusalem. Acts [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Jerusalem. The confusion of the two famine years is the more pardonable because both fell under Claudius; the transformation of the two local famines into one which affected the whole empire is easily explicable. All this, however, is simply a possibility. If the year of the conference was 45 A.D., the two journeys distinguished by Lk. would fall so close together that we can easily understand their being regarded as distinct, on the supposition that Lk. knew nothing of the raising of a collection and its delivery on the occasion of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, but did know of a famine about the time of the conference and of succour given to the primitive church through Paul.

77. Expulsion of Jews.

The second notice is that of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius, which was (Acts 18 1 *f.*), before Paul's arrival at Corinth. The year, however, of this edict, which Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) also mentions, is not certain. Wieseler (*Chronol.* 120-128) conjectures, without conclusive arguments, that it was issued in the year of the expulsion of the mathematici (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52; Dio Cassius 606) – that is, in 52 A.D. – whilst Orosius (7 6, 15 ed. Zangemeister, 1882) gives as the date, on the authority of Josephus (in the existing text of whose writings we find no mention of the matter), the ninth year of Claudius = 49 A.D. – a date not favourable to the earlier alternative reached above for the year of Paul's arrival in Corinth, the summer of 47/51. Orosius's statement, however, cannot be verified.

78. Aretas: Paul's conversion.

Finally, from Acts 9 24 *ff.* and 2 Cor. 11 32 *f.*, it appears that Paul's first visit to Jerusalem was occasioned by a persecution at a time when a viceroy of Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, resided at Damascus. The latest Damascene coins with the head of Tiberius (which form one of the proofs brought together by Schürer, I 615 *f.* n. 14, to prove, against Marquardt and Mommsen, that Damascus was not all the time under Arabian rule) belong to the year 33-34, and it is in itself not probable, though it is possible, that Damascus was given to Aretas by Tiberius, who died in March 37 A.D., while under Caligula such favours are well known. If Caligula's reign had already begun, the flight of Paul would have fallen at least two years later than all but one of the dates assigned for it above. However, the argument is uncertain. Nothing known to us makes the possession of Damascus by Aretas in the last years of Tiberius actually impossible. If that should be excluded by discoveries of coins or other new evidence, we should then (the often assailed genuineness of 2 Cor. 11 32 *f.* being presupposed) have to combine the numbers in Gal. 1 18 2 1 (so that there would be only fourteen years between Paul's conversion and the conference in Jerusalem), or to shorten the time estimated for the mission in Asia Minor and Europe, or else to omit from the life of Paul the two-year imprisonment in Cæsarea under the procurator Felix.

At the same time, the coins of Tiberius for the year 33-34 exclude the year 28 as that of Paul's conversion. If we assign the imprisonment to 54, the data of Gal. 1 *f.* must be explained as referring to the total of fourteen years, so that Paul's conversion would fall in 31. In favour of this is its nearness to the death of Jesus. For 1 Cor. 15 1 *ff.* does not well permit an interval of any length between Jesus' death and Paul's arrival at Damascus. Conversely, the same consideration demands that, if we regard 58 as the date of the imprisonment, we should calculate from the statements in Gal. 1 *f.* a period of seventeen years, so that 32 would be the year of Paul's conversion. Neither series, accordingly, conflicts with what we know of those times; but it may readily be asked: Are we warranted in casting discredit on the statements of Eusebius?

How now stands the case with reference to the close of Paul's life? The travellers set out for

Rome in the autumn of 56 or 60, and arrived in the spring of the subsequent year (Acts 27 *f.*). For the next two years Paul was kept in easy imprisonment, and to this period belong Colossians and Philemon, though some assign them to the Cæsarean imprisonment. After the lapse of the two years began the trial, about which we have some information from a note to Timothy now incorporated in 2 Tim., and from Philippians. Of its duration and issue we know nothing. The prediction that Paul would die without meeting his friends again (Acts 20 25-38), the sudden breaking off of Acts, and the utter absence of all trace of any later activity on the part of the apostle, will always incline one to believe that Paul's presentiment was fulfilled, and that his trial ended in a sentence of death. If so, the great apostle died in the course of the year 59 or 63. In either case his martyrdom was before the persecution of Nero, and had no connection with it. Nor does any of the older narratives conflict with this. When Eusebius in his Chronicle assigns the death of Peter and Paul to the fourteenth or thirteenth year of Nero (the number varies in different texts) – *i.e.*, 68 or 67 A.D. – he is in conflict with himself, for he elsewhere sets this event in the beginning of the persecution of Nero, which beyond all question was in the summer of 64; and moreover, as Harnack insists (*l.c.* 241 *f.*), his date lies under the suspicion of being occasioned by the legendary twenty-five years stay of Peter at Rome, in combination with the story that the apostles left Jerusalem twelve years after the death of Jesus: 30 + 12 + 25 make 67. But neither is the tradition of the contemporaneous death of the two apostolic leaders by any means so well grounded as Harnack assumes (*l.c.*). In Eusebius, the contemporaneousness lies under the same suspicion as the date. Clem. Rom. chap. 5 gives no hint of it, and the summary introduction of other sufferers in chap. 6 gives us no right, in face of the enumeration of the sufferings endured by Peter and Paul during the whole of their apostolic activity, to apply all that is said in chap. 6, and therefore the death of these apostles, to the persecution of Nero. The testimony of Dionysius (Eus. *HE* ii. 25 8), ἄμφω εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν ('After both teaching together as far as to Italy they suffered martyrdom at the same time') is to be taken *cum grano salis*. If the two great apostles died a violent death for their faith in Rome under Nero, it is easy to see how tradition might lose sight of the interval of one year or five years, and bring the two martyrdoms together. The rapidity with which in the popular memory Paul receded behind Peter, a phenomenon already noticeable in Clem. Rom. and Ignat. (*ad Rom.* 4), admits of a peculiarly simple explanation if Paul was withdrawn from the scene so much sooner.

79. Closing period.

Whatever testimony can be found in the literature down to Eusebius for the liberation of Paul from his first imprisonment at Rome has been collected anew by Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Urchrist.* 1). In truth, all that can be taken account of before Eusebius is the apostle's intention intimated in Rom. 15 24 and mentioned in the Muratorian fragment (except that the apostle's plans were so often upset by events), the Pauline fragments of the Pastoral Epistles (if they ought not also to be brought within the period of missionary activity known to us, since otherwise they would present the post-captivity labours as a strange repetition of what preceded the captivity), and the expression τέρμα τῆς δύσεως 'boundary of the west' in Clem. Rom. It is only the last that we can take seriously. Since, however, Ignatius speaks of Rome as δύσις ('west' *ad Rom.* 2 2), and Clement himself has immediately before opposed δύσις to ἀνατολή ('east'), meaning thereby at least Rome among other places, it is not at

80. Was Paul liberated?

difficult, especially keeping in view the Pauline metaphor of the ἀγών (conflict), to suppose that it is this δύσις, (*i.e.*, Rome) that is indicated as τέρμα. If, in spite of this, the hypothesis of the liberation of Paul should be accepted, we should have to add to our chronological table: 59/63.—Liberation of Paul; July Aug. 64 Martyrdom. The apostle's eventful life would thus end with a period completely obscured in the popular memory, a period the events of which have not left a trace behind.

TABLE X.—LIFE OF PAUL: LAST PERIOD.

56/60 (autumn). Paul set out for Rome.
57/61 (spring). Arrival in Rome.
57/61 *f.*—Easy imprisonment; Col. Philem.
59/63.—Death of Paul.
[otherwise]
[59/63.—Liberation of Paul.]
[64 July-Aug.—Martyrdom.]

III. CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHURCHES IN PALESTINE.—1. If the dates so far accepted are correct, the whole Palestinian development described by the author of Acts (almost our only authority for this period) between the death of Jesus and the conversion of Paul, finally culminating in the death of Stephen and the dispersion of the church in Jerusalem, must be crowded into the limits of two years, or possibly even of a single year.

81. Earliest events.

The traditions are, however, very scanty. According to 1 Cor. 15 1-7 there happened in this space of time the appearance of Jesus to Peter and the twelve (as to the time and place of which it is not possible to reach a certain conclusion, but with which the return to Jerusalem is most clearly connected), his appearance to the [illegible] brethren (perhaps to be identified with the occurrence narrated in Acts 2, which in that case was in Jerusalem, and, if Acts 2 is correct, fifty days after the death of Jesus), the conversion of him who afterwards became head of the church of Jerusalem, James the Lord's brother (since this beyond doubt happened at the time of the appearance to him mentioned in 1 Cor. 15 7), and the conversion (by the same means) of many who afterwards became missionaries. The necessity of a representation of the Hellenists (Acts 6 1-6) suggests that from the return of the twelve until that time a considerable period had elapsed, which is, however, very insufficiently filled out by the narratives in chaps. 3-5.

2. As to the later events, in the narratives in Acts 8 4-40 9 1-30 9 31-11 18 11 19-24 illustrating the geographical extension of Christianity, the author plainly does not mean to assert that the events described followed one another in mutually exclusive periods of time. If the accounts are historical, the missionary operations of Philip and Peter were undertaken while Paul was working in Damascus and Antioch (including Syria) in 31/35 or 32/36 *ff.* A.D. The anonymous beginnings of Christianity in Damascus and Antioch belong, of course, to the time before Paul took hold in those places. If the recollections lying at the basis of Acts 11 22-26 are approximately correct, Barnabas must have left Jerusalem finally for Antioch not very long after Paul's first visit to Jerusalem in 34/38 or 35/39 A.D., and Philip may by that time have already removed to Cæsarea (Acts 8 40).

82. Later events.

3. After these events we hear nothing until the death of James the son of Zebedee between 41, the year in which Herod Agrippa I. began to rule over Judæa, and 44, the year of his death (Acts 12 1 *f.*). If the account in Acts is correct, about this same time Peter left Jerusalem permanently (Acts 12 17), and James the Lord's brother must have already become the leader of the church (Acts 12 17). With this agrees excellently the abundantly attested old Christian tradition that the twelve left Jerusalem twelve years after Jesus' death (see Heft. in Harnack, *Chronologie*, 243). It may be in error simply in transferring to the twelve what applied only to their head, Peter. At all events, Acts tells us nothing of the ten left after the death of James. The twelfth year would be 42 A.D. In that case Herod must have sought, immediately after his accession, by his proceedings against the Christians to secure the confidence of the Jews.

4. If the results reached above with reference to what we read in Acts 15 11 27 *ff.* and 13 *f.* are right, our next information relates to the year 45 or 49, when Peter, Paul, and Barnabas gather again at the conference round James, at whose side (Gal. 2 9) appears John, the son of Zebedee. Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch; Peter leaves Jerusalem again very soon, and lives for a while among the Christians at Antioch (Gal. 2 11 *ff.*).

5. In 54/58, when Paul comes to Jerusalem with the contribution, James is master of the situation (Acts 21 18). This is the last information from the NT about the church in Palestine.

6. According to the received text of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9 1), James suffered martyrdom in 62 that is, under the high priest Ananos (son of the high priest of the same name known to us from the Gospels) but before the arrival in Judæa of Albinus, the successor of the procurator Festus. (After Festus's early death Annas had been appointed high priest by Agrippa II.) The passage is not free, however, from the suspicion of Christian interpolation. Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* ii. 23 11-18) seems to have put the death of James somewhat nearer to the destruction of Jerusalem[1].

Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) the Christians removed to Pella in Peræa. The year is not certain, but was probably 67, when, after the downfall of Cestius, Jewish fanaticism overreached itself.

IV. OTHER DATES IN THE HISTORY OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.—Here can be mentioned only those few points on which a ray of light happens to fall. In the nature of the case, detailed discussions can be given only in the special articles.

83. Other dates.

1. *Peter.*—That Peter, the last trace of whom we found in A.D. 45 49, or somewhat later, at Antioch, was later a travelling missionary after the manner of Paul, is to be inferred from the allusions to him in 1 Cor. 1 12 3 22 9 5. 1 Pet. 5 12 *f.*, even if the epistle was not written by Peter, implies his intimate association with Paul's former companions Silvanus and Mark, and 1 Pet 1 1 *f.* his missionary activity in the provinces of Asia Minor. For this latter there was room at any rate after the imprisonment of Paul in 54 58, and for most of the provinces even before that time: namely, from the moment when Paul transferred his chief activity to Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia. In regard to Peter's stay in Rome, for which 1 Pet. 5 13 is an argument (it is certainly to be put later than the end of Paul's trial), and in regard to the question whether it was in the persecution after the fire in Rome (July 64) that he suffered martyrdom (cp Clem. Rom. 5), see PETER. The assumption of a contemporaneous martyrdom of Paul and Peter finds no support in the earliest documents: see above, § 79.

2. *John.*—As to John's residence in Ephesus and his end, see JOHN.

3. Whilst the persecution under Nero was doubtless in the main limited to Rome, the last years of Domitian, especially in Asia Minor, in consequence of the insistence on the worship of the Emperor, may have been a period of many conflicts with Christianity[2].

84. NT writings.

To this time (say 93-96) many scholars assign Hebrews and 1 Peter (while others carry them down to the reign of Trajan), as well as the Apocalypse of John (see the special articles). Not much later, perhaps about the end of the first

[1] For fuller discussion, with references to sources and bibliography, see Schürer, i. 426 *f.*

[2] Cp especially Neumann, *Der römische Staat u. die allgem. Kirche*, 18 *ff.*, 117 *ff.*; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, [illegible] *ff.*

century, were written Ephesians, the Third Gospel, and Acts. Our Gospel of Mark must, apart possibly from some later additions, have been written before this; there is no need to suppose a much later date than 70. The Fourth Gospel, after which, probably, came the Johannine epistles, can well, by reason of its near relation to Lk. and for other reasons, have been written at the same time as, or not long after, the Third Gospel. The first third of the second century best suits the latest books of the NT—Matthew, the Pastoral Epistles, and James, all of them doubtless products of the Roman church. Jude may have been written somewhat earlier, 2 Peter somewhat later. See the Introductions to the NT and Harnack, *Chronologie*, 246-50, 245 *f.*, 451-64, 475-91, 651-81.

TABLE XI.—SOME OTHER DATES (APPROXIMATIONS).

31/35 or 32/36 *ff.*—Work of Philip and Peter in Palestine.
34/38 or 35/39 *ff.*—Barnabas removes to Antioch.
Between 41 and 44.—Death of James, son of Zebedee; Peter leaves Jerusalem; James leader.
45/49.—Conference (Gal. 2 9).—Peter soon resides at Antioch (Gal. 2 11 *ff.*).
54/58.—Paul brings contribution to Jerusalem (Acts 21 18).
Later.—Peter becomes a travelling missionary.
62 or later?—Death of James.
67? Christians remove from Jerusalem to Pella.
70. Destruction of Jerusalem.
Not much after 70.—Our Gospel of Mark written.
93-96 (?)—Heb. and 1 Pet. (acc. to many); Apoc.
About end of century.—Eph., Lk., Acts, Jn., Epp. of Jn.
First third of 2nd century.—Jude, Mt., Past. Epp., Ja., 2 Pet.

H. V. S.

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B. *New Testament.*—See the literature cited in the course of the article, especially § 40 (note) and §§ 51-56 (notes). Cp also C. H. Turner in Hastings' *DB*.

K.M. (§§ 1-38, 85); H.V.S. (§§ 39-84).

CHRYSOLITE (χρυσολιθος), one of the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (Rev. 21 10). It is not improbable that in ancient times the term was applied to a particular shade of BERYL (*q.v.*). See PRECIOUS STONES. In modern usage Chrysolite is the name generally given to the yellow or yellowish-green varieties of olivine, the transparent varieties being known as peridote (cp TOPAZ).

χρυσόλιθος in 𝔊 is used to translate *tarsîš* in Ex. 28 20 39 31 Ezek 28 13 (cp Ezek. 1 16 Aq [BAQ transliterate], Dan. 10 6 Theod. [see Sw.]). In Ezek. 28 13 AVmg. has 'chrysolite,' but elsewhere EV 'beryl,' which more probably represents *lôham*; see BERYL, § 3, TARSHISH, STONE OF.

CHRYSOPRASE, CHRYSOPRASUS (χρυσοπρασος), one of the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (Rev. 21 10†). In ancient times the term was perhaps applied to a shade of BERYL; cp PRECIOUS STONES.

The word does not occur in 𝔊;[1] but AVmg. has 'chrysoprase' for כדכד, *kadhkôdh*, in Ezek. 27 16 where AV has 'agate' and RV 'ruby' (see CHALCEDONY); and has 'chrysoprase' also for נפך, *nôphekh*, in Ezek. 28 13, where EV has 'emerald' and RVmg. 'carbuncle' (see CARBUNCLE, EMERALD). In mod. mineralogy the chrysoprase is an agate coloured apple-green by the presence of oxide of nickel.

CHUB, RV CUB (כוב; Aq., Sym., Theod. χουβαλ), if correct, is the name of a people (Ezek. 30 5†); but 𝔊BAQ has λιβυες, and Cornill is doubtless right in regarding כוב, *Cub*, as a corruption of לוב, *Lub*, which occurs repeatedly in the plural form LUBIM (*q.v.*). See also MINGLED PEOPLE.

CHUN, RV CUN (כון, 1 Ch. 18 8), an Aramæan city identified by Ges.-Buhl (following *ZDPV* 8 34) with the modern Kuna (Rom. *Cunna*) between Laodicea and Hierapolis. The reading *Chun* is, however, certainly corrupt (cp Ki. in *SBOT*). See BEROTHAI, and, for a suggested emendation, MEROM.

CHURCH (εκκλησια). I. *Name and Idea.*—The word *Ecclesia* has an important history behind it when it first appears in Christian literature. It was the regular designation of the assembly of the whole body of citizens in a free Greek state, 'called out' or summoned to the transaction of public business. It had then been employed by the Greek translators of the OT as a natural rendering of the Hebrew קהל (see ASSEMBLY), the whole 'congregation' of Israel, regarded in its entirety as the people of God. A less technical Greek usage, current in the apostolic age, is illustrated by the disorderly assemblage in the theatre at Ephesus (Acts 19 32 41), where we find also by way of contrast a reference to 'the lawful assembly' (*v.* 39, ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ). The Jewish usage is found in Stephen's speech when he speaks of Moses as having been 'in the church in the wilderness' (7 38). Thus the traditions of the word enabled it to appeal alike to Jews and Gentiles as a fitting designation of the new people of God, the Christian society regarded as a corporate whole.

1. History of word.

In this full sense we find it in Jesus' declaration to Peter, 'I will build my church' (οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: Mt. 16 18). Here it is regarded as the divine house that is to be builded, 'the keys' of which are to be placed in the apostle's hands: see BINDING AND LOOSING. It is thus equated with 'the kingdom of heaven' which Christ has come to establish, each of the designations being derived from the past history of the sacred commonwealth. The force of the phrase, as well as the emphasis given by the position of the pronoun in the original, comes out if for a moment we venture to substitute the word 'Israel' for the word 'church' (Hort); and the thought thus finds a parallel in the quotation of Amos 9 11 *f.* in Acts 15 16 *f.*, 'I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen down.'

2. NT usage in Gospels.

The only other passage where the word occurs in the Gospels is Mt. 18 17, where 'the church' is contrasted with the 'one or two more' whom the erring brother has refused to hear. We are here again reminded of the whole congregation of Israel from which offenders were cut off: the delinquent becomes henceforth as one who belongs to the 'nations' outside, and as a traitor

[1] Though ο λίθος ὁ πράσινος represents שֹׁהַם (BERYL) in Gen. 2 12.

to the chosen people (ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης). It is possible indeed that the primary reference in this place may be to the Jewish *ecclesia*; but if so, the principle remains unchanged for the Christian *ecclesia*; and in either case, while some local embodiment of the Church is thought of as the means by which action is taken, the meaning is that the whole weight of the divine society is to be brought to bear upon the offender.

3. In Acts. While the Christian society is still confined within the walls of Jerusalem, 'the church' is the designation of the whole body of the believers, as contrasted with the other residents in the city (Acts 5 11 cp 8 1 3); but it is possible that the appellation is here due to the historian himself, recounting the events many years later. When, as the result of Stephen's testimony and death, believers are to be found in all parts of Palestine, they are still summed up in the same single word: 'the church (RV; not 'the churches,' AV) throughout the whole of Judæa and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being builded' (Acts 9 31; cp Mt. 16 18 as above).

4. In Paul. The same full sense of the word is found in Paul's epistles at a time when Christian communities were established in various cities of Asia Minor and of Greece: apostles, prophets, and teachers are set 'in the church' by God (1 Cor. 12 28); 'the church of God' is contrasted with Jews and Greeks (10 32).

The Church is thus the new chosen people: it is 'the Israel of God' (cp Gal. 6 16). Jews and Gentiles who enter it are merged into unity; the two are made one (Eph. 2 14 16). It is 'the body of Christ,' and as such inseparable from him. Christ and the Church are not two, but one—as it was written of earthly marriage, 'they twain shall be one flesh' (Eph. 5 31 *f.*). The main practical anxiety of Paul's life appears to have been the preservation of the scattered communities of Christians, which had sprung up under his preaching, in a living unity with the earlier communities of Palestine, so as to form with them a single whole, the undivided and indivisible representative of Christ in the world.

5. In Peter. It is noteworthy that Peter never uses the word *ecclesia*. Yet, in spite of the absence both of this word and of the Pauline metaphor of 'the body,' no writer displays such a wealth of imagery in describing the holy society. Once he speaks of it as 'a holy nation' (1 Pet. 2 9), twice as a 'people' (2 9 10), twice as a 'house' (2 5 4 17), twice as a 'flock' (5 2 3), twice as a 'priesthood' (2 5 9), and twice again, in a word wholly his own, as a 'brotherhood' ('Love the brotherhood,' 2 17: 'your brotherhood which is in the world,' 5 9).

6. Of local churches. Side by side with the full sense of the word *ecclesia* we find another and a wholly natural use of it, which seems at first sight to conflict with the conception of unity which is dominant in the passages we have hitherto examined. The new 'Israel of God,' like its predecessor, was scattered over a wide area. Wherever Christians were gathered as such, there was the Church of God. Hence we find such an expression as 'at Antioch, in the church, there were prophets and teachers' (κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν, the participle throwing emphasis upon the noun, 'in what was the church,' Acts 13 1); and again, 'the church of God which is in Corinth'; and even, 'the church that is in their house' (Rom. 16 5). In all these cases the sense of unity may be felt: it is the one Church, thought of as existing in various localities. From this, however, it is an easy passage to speak of 'the church of the Thessalonians' (1 Thess. 1 1 2 Thess. 1 1); and even to use the word in the plural, 'the churches of Galatia' or 'of Asia' (1 Cor. 16 1 19), 'the churches of God' (2 Thess. 1 4). The transition is naturally found on Greek ground, where the use of *ecclesia* in the plural would be helped by its common employment for the *ecclesiæ* of Greek cities; whereas in Palestine, where the Jewish connotation of the word was more sensibly felt, it was more natural to speak of the local representative of the *ecclesia* under the designation of *synagogé* (cp Jas. 2 2).

The churches, then, are the local embodiments of the Church: the distribution of the one into many is purely geographical. The unity remains unaffected: there is no other Church than 'the church of God.'

7. Outside Canon. When we pass outside the canon we find the same conception of the Church both as a living unity and as the divinely preordained successor to the ancient Israel. Thus in the *Shepherd* the Church appears to Hermas as an aged woman, even as Sion had appeared to Esdras as a barren woman (4 Esd. 9 38 10 44). She is aged, 'because she was created first of all things, and for her sake the world was made' (Herm. *Vis.* 2 4). Again, in the ancient homily formerly ascribed to Clement of Rome (chap. 14), we read of the pre-existent, spiritual Church, 'created before sun and moon,' and manifested at length in the flesh. In the Valentinian system, moreover, *Ecclesia* appears as one of the æons. Cp, too, Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 8, *Strom.* iv. 8. The earliest use of the term 'the Catholic Church' (Ignat. *Smyrn.* 8: *circa* 117, Lightf.) emphasises the unity and universality of the whole in contrast with the individual congregations; not, as in the later technical sense, its orthodoxy in contrast with heretical systems: 'Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church' (ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία).

II. *Organisation.*—The primitive conception of the Church thus regards it (*a*) as essentially one, admitting of no plurality except such as is due to local distribution, and (*b*) as succeeding to the peculiar position of privilege hitherto occupied by the sacred Jewish Commonwealth, so that even Paul in writing to Gentiles thinks of it as 'the Israel of God.'

8. Primitive conception. In correspondence with the two parts of this conception it is natural to expect in the development of its organisation (*a*) a general unity in spite of local and temporary variety, and (*b*) a tendency, both at the outset and from time to time afterwards, to look back to the more prominent features of Jewish religious institutions. Weekly gatherings for liturgical worship, the recognition of holy seasons and holy books, are examples of elements of religious life which passed over naturally and at once from the Jewish to the Christian Church; and these were elements which the experience of the scattered Judaism of the Dispersion had proved and warranted as amongst the strongest bonds of practical unity.

9. Earliest period. Had the apostles separated immediately after Pentecost for the evangelisation of the world, it might easily have happened that, while the general needs of the societies founded by their labours were, to a large extent, the same in various districts, the institutions developed to meet those needs might have presented a most astonishing variety. As a matter of fact such a mode of procedure on their part was impossible. The direct command of Christ had indicated Jerusalem as the first scene of their work; but, even apart from this, the very clearness with which from the first they recognised the new society to be the divinely appointed issue and climax of the old, must have hindered them from perceiving at once all that was involved in the complementary truth of its universality. As a matter of fact they clung to the sacred centre of the old national life until the development of events gradually forced them into a wider sphere. Hence a period of years was passed within Jerusalem itself, and in the most intimate relation with the religious institutions of the Jewish people, of whom, at that time, all the believers formed an integral part. Accordingly the new society had time to grow into a consciousness of its own corporate life within a limited area; the pressure of practical difficulties led to the experiment of institu-

tions specially designed to meet them; and, when the earlier limitations began gradually to disappear in consequence of Stephen's wider conceptions and the crisis which they brought upon his fellow-believers, and the society was now scattered like seed over the countries, this corporate life had already given signs of an organised growth, and the home church at Jerusalem had become in some sense a pattern which could not fail to influence all subsequent foundations. These first years in Jerusalem, then, demand careful study, if the development of Christian institutions is to be securely traced.

10. A Jewish guild. The brotherhood which was formed by the baptism of the earliest converts was, at the outset, practically a guild of Judaism, faithful to the ancient creed and worship, and with no thought of a severance from the religious life of the nation. Its distinctive mark was not the neglect of Jewish ordinances, but the adherence to new duties and privileges of its own. 'They were continuing steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers' (Acts 2 42). The temple worship was not forsaken (3 1); but it was supplemented (2 46) by the 'breaking of bread at home.' The first note of this brotherhood was its unity: 'they had *one* heart and soul' (4 32); they claimed nothing that they possessed as their private right, but held all as a trust for the good of the whole; they would even on occasion sell their property and bring the proceeds to the apostles for distribution to the needy (4 32-35). As the numbers increased, these simple and extemporaneous methods were found to be inadequate. Thus the common tables, at which the poorer depend' its received their daily provision, proved an occasion of friction between the two elements of Hebrew and Greek-speaking Jews, of which the brotherhood, from the outset, was composed. Organisation was necessitated, if the unity of the body was to remain unimpaired, and seven men were accordingly appointed to 'serve tables' (6 1-6). [On the criticism of these narratives cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS.]

11. The 'seven.'

Thus was made the first essay in providing for the discharge of the functions of the whole body through representative members. No distinctive title is given by the historian to these seven men. Their office was to serve (διακονεῖν); in respect of it, therefore, they could be[1] termed servants (διάκονοι); but it is probable that the word 'deacon' remained for some time a mere description of function, rather than a title such as it afterwards became. The naturalness of this institution—the response to a new need which was certain in some form or other to recur, wherever the society was planted—is a most important feature of it. There is no reason to suppose that it was suggested by any Jewish institution. The number of the persons chosen was a natural number in a community consisting of Jews; but the institution itself was a purely spontaneous development, designed to meet a necessity which was wholly new.

12. The apostles. Thus far we find but two kinds of distinction which in any way mark off individual members of the society from the general mass. The apostles are the natural leaders: to them all look, both for religious teaching and for practical guidance; through them discipline on one memorable occasion is enforced; it is they who suggest a remedy for the first difficulty which was occasioned by increasing numbers; and their hands are laid on the seven men whom, at their bidding, the whole brotherhood has selected to serve on its behalf. The seven, on the other hand, are ordained to humble duties, their function is not to rule, but to serve; through them the society fulfils its common responsibility of providing for the needs of its poorer members.

The dispersion after Stephen's death distracts our

[1] On the fact that they are nowhere styled διάκονοι, see also COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5.

attention from the Church in Jerusalem for a while.

13. The 'elders.' Some years later, when the apostles had begun to evangelise other parts of Palestine, we get another glimpse of it at a time of threatened famine. Contributions are sent from the disciples at Antioch to aid the poorer brethren in Judæa; it is not to the apostles, however, that the gifts are brought, but to 'the elders' (Acts 11 30), a class of which we now hear for the first time in the Christian Church. Thus it would seem that the necessity of leaving the apostles free for wider work had issued in a further development of organisation in Jerusalem; but it is only incidentally that we learn that a new step has been taken. We have no indication in Acts of the relation of 'the seven' to these 'elders.'

Peter's imprisonment, which immediately follows, is the occasion of a further notice bearing on the practical government of the church in Jerusalem.

14. James. 'Tell these things to James and to the brethren,' says the apostle after his release (12 17). The position of prominence thus indicated for 'the brother of the Lord' prepares us for the leading part which he subsequently takes in the conference of the apostles and elders, when a question of vital importance has been referred from Antioch to Jerusalem (15 1-4). Many years later, when Paul arrives on an important errand, his first act is thus described by an eye-witness: 'On the morrow Paul entered in with us unto James, and all the elders came together' (21 18). It is clear, then, that James had come to occupy a unique position in the church at Jerusalem—a position gained, it may be, by no formal accession to power, resulting rather from his relationship to Jesus and his well-known sanctity of life; yet a position clearly recognised by the apostles, and foreshadowing the climax of a series of developments in the universally established rule of the monarchical episcopate.

15. Summary. We have thus, in the early history of the church in Jerusalem, notices, for the most part merely incidental, of the gradual development of organisation in response to the growing necessities of a corporate life. The humblest offices of the daily service (ἡ καθημερινὴ διακονία) by which the bodily needs of the poorer members were supplied, are discharged by the church through seven representatives. The guidance of the whole body is found to have devolved upon men whose title of 'elders' reminds us of the elders of the Jewish people; and in this case there is no reason for doubting that the new institution was directly suggested by the old. These elders are the medium by which the church in Jerusalem holds formal intercourse with the church elsewhere. Lastly, at the head of all, but acting in close concert with the elders, we see James holding an undefined but unmistakable position of authority.

16. Teachers, etc. We must be careful to avoid a confusion between this development of administrative organs of the body and that other form of service, rendered to it by those who discharged the various functions of evangelisation, exhortation, and instruction (ἡ διακονία τοῦ λόγου, Acts 6 4). The two kinds of service might often meet in the same persons: thus, at the outset, the apostles themselves were, necessarily, at once the instructors and the administrators of the society—at their feet, for example, gifts for the community were laid, as at a later time they were brought to the elders—and, on the other hand, we read of 'Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven' (21 8). Quite apart from these, however, we have a mention of 'prophets,' of whom Agabus is one, as coming from Jerusalem (11 27).

The incidental nature of the references to those who discharged these functions of administration and instruction prevents us from knowing to what extent the church in Antioch resembled in its organisation the church in Jerusalem. We only learn that it contained

'prophets and teachers' (13 1); we hear nothing of its elders or other officers. When, however, Paul and Barnabas, going forth from the church in Antioch, founded communities in various cities of Asia Minor, they appointed, we are expressly told, elders to administer them (14 23). In this they probably reproduced an institution already known at Antioch, with which both of them had together been brought into contact in Jerusalem (11 30).

17. Paul's churches.

As Paul travelled farther west, and Christian societies sprang up in a more purely Greek soil, the Church's independence of Judaism became continually clearer; and we might reasonably expect to find elements of Greek social life exerting an influence upon the development of Christian organisation. At the same time we must bear in mind that Paul himself was a Jew, that to the Jews in every place he made his first appeal, that his epistles indicate that there was a considerable Jewish element among those to whom he wrote, and that we have clear evidence that, at first, at any rate, his organisation of administration was based upon a Jewish precedent. In his earliest letters to a European church Paul urges the recognition and esteem of 'those who labour among you and preside over you in the Lord, and admonish you,' thus implying a local administration, though not further defining it (1 Thess. 5 12); but at the same time he demands absolute obedience to the injunctions which he sends them in the joint names of himself and Silvanus and Timotheus (2 Thess. 3 14).

If we try to draw from the study of Paul's epistles a picture of a Christian society in a Greek city, we may start by observing that the members of it are distinguished one from another mainly by their spiritual 'gifts' (χαρίσματα). Of these the highest is prophecy, which is freely and sometimes distractingly exercised, by any who possess it, in the ordinary meetings of the society. Other gifts too, such as those of healing, give a certain natural pre-eminence to their possessors. Over all we recognise the undefined but overshadowing authority of the apostolic founder. Such is the most elementary stage, and we cannot sharply distinguish it from that which immediately follows. Leading men fall into classes, with obvious divisions (not in any sense stereotyped orders) separating them from the general mass: apostles, prophets, teachers clear grades of spiritual prestige, though by no means marked off as a hierarchy. The teachers are mainly local in the exercise of their functions; the prophets are local to some extent, but moving from church to church, and recognised everywhere in virtue of their gift; the apostles are not local, but essentially itinerant, belonging to the whole Church.

This ministry expresses the more distinctly spiritual side of the Church's activities. But the community needs, besides, to be governed; and discipline must be exercised in the case of unworthy members. It must have representatives who can formally act on its behalf, either in dealing with individuals or in carrying on communications with sister communities.

Again, there are other functions of the Church's life which call for executive officers. The care of the sick and the poor was a primary duty; so, too, was the exercise of the Church's hospitality to travelling brethren. These duties involved an administration of the common funds collected for such purposes, and generally of corporate property. Servants of the Church were thus called for to perform these humble but necessary functions, and responsible superintendents to see that they were duly performed. This class of executive ministers we find in the 'bishops and deacons' (ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι) whom Paul greets in the opening words of his epistle to the Philippians; and the qualifications demanded of them in the Pastoral Epistles afford valuable indications of the nature of their service.

All these elements of moral or formal authority would be more or less distinctly present in every community, expressing the activity and life of the community itself in various forms. In different localities development would proceed at different rates of progress; but in all, the same general needs would have to be met, and intercommunication would help towards a comparatively uniform result. The earlier and the more rapidly developing societies would serve as a natural model to the rest.

In speaking thus we do not lose sight of the controlling inspiration of the divine Spirit promised by Jesus to be the Church's guide. We rather recognise the presence of a continuous inspiration, developing from within the growth of a living organism, not promulgating a code of rules to be imposed from without upon each community at its foundation.

The scanty and scattered notices of church organisation in the NT need, for their interpretation, all the light that can be thrown upon them by the practice of Christian communities, so far as it can be ascertained from the remains of their earliest literature. Here again, however, the evidence is still sparse and incidental, though of late years it has been increased, especially by the recovery (1883) of the *Teaching of the Apostles*. The date of this book is quite uncertain. It is of a composite nature and preserves very early documents in a modified form. There is no agreement among scholars as to the locality to which it belongs. It may represent a community lying outside the general stream of development and preserving, even to the middle of the second century, a primitive condition which had elsewhere, for the most part, passed away. This view does not materially lessen its value as an illustration of an early stage of Christian life; but we must be careful not to generalise hastily from its statements when they lack confirmation from other quarters.

18. The 'Didaché.'

In the *Teaching* (chaps. 7 *ff.*), then, we have instructions relating to BAPTISM (*q.v.*, § 3), fasting, and the EUCHARIST (*q.v.*). The following chapters introduce us to apostles and prophets; they provide tests for their genuineness, and instructions as to the honour to be paid to them. The apostles travel from place to place, making but the briefest stay; the prophets appear to be the most prominent persons in the community in which they reside (see PROPHET). In comparison with them, bishops and deacons seem to hold but a secondary place. The community is charged to appoint fit persons to these offices, and not to despise them; 'for they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.' There is no mention whatever of presbyters. In all this we seem to be on the verge of a transition. The ministry of extraordinary gifts is still dominant; but the abuses to which it is liable are keenly felt; the humbler local ministry, though despised by comparison, has the future before it.[1]

Other illustrations from the early literature will be found under BISHOP (§ 14 *f.*). It must suffice here to say in conclusion that, before the close of the second century, the long process of development had issued in a threefold ministry—a bishop, presbyters, and deacons—being at length generally recognised in all Christian churches. In point of time as well as of method, we have an exact parallel to this development both in the settlement of the canon and in the formulation of the Apostolic Creed. The more abundant literature of the end of the second century shows us a generally accepted standard of ministry, of canon, and of creed. In each case the need of definiteness and of general uniformity had gradually made itself felt, and the Christian consciousness, guided and expressed by eminent leaders, had slowly solved the problem presented to it. In each case we have evidence of that growth which is the

19. End of 2nd cent.

[1] Cp Harnack on 3 Jn., *St. Kr.* 1[illegible].

prerogative and proof of life in the social as in the individual organism. J. A. R.

CHURNING (מיין), Prov. 30 33; see MILK.

CHUSHAN RISHATHAIM (כּוּשָׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם), Judg. 3 8; RV CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.

CHUSI (χουϲι [BN], -ϲει [A], ܟܘܫܝ), a locality mentioned in Judith 7 18 to define the position of Ekrebel (see AKRABATTINE). It may possibly be the mod. *Ḳusah*, 5 m. W. of Akrabeh.

CHUZA (χουζα [Ti. WH]; Amer. RV prefers CHUZAS), the house-steward of Herod (Lk. 8 3), husband of JOANNA. The name is probably identical with the Nabatæan כוזא. The steward may well have been of foreign origin as were the Herods themselves. See Burkitt, *Expos.* Feb. 1899, 118-122.

CIELING. See CEILING.

CILICIA (κιλικια [Ti. WH]). From southern Cappadocia the range of Taurus descends in a SW.

1. Physical. direction to the sea, reaching it in a complex of mountains constituting that projection of coast which divides the bay of Issus (Skanderūn) from that of Pamphylia. The Cilicians extended partly over the Taurus itself, and partly between it and the sea (Strabo, 668), thus bordering upon Pamphylia in the W., and Lycaonia and Cappadocia in the N.; in the E. the lofty range of Amanus separated them from Syria. The country within these boundaries falls into two strongly marked sections.

'Of Cilicia beyond Taurus a part [W.] is called Tracheia (rugged), and the rest [E.] Pedias (plain). The former has a narrow seaboard, and little or no level country: that part of it which lies under Taurus is equally mountainous, and is thinly inhabited as far as the northern flanks of the range—as far, that is, as Isaura and Pisidia. This district bears the name Tracheiotis. Cilicia Pedias extends from Soli and Tarsus as far as Issus, and as far N. as the Cappadocians on the N. flank of Taurus. This section consists for the most part of plains and fertile land' (*l.c.*).

Four considerable streams—Pyramus, Sarus, Cydnus, and Calycadnus—descend from Taurus to the bay of Issus. For a long time the rude W. district remained practically outside the pale of civilisation: we are here concerned only with the eastern part, Cilicia Pedias or Campestris. Difficult passes, of which there are only a few, lead through the mountains into the neighbouring districts. The famous Pylæ Ciliciæ, some 30 miles N. of Tarsus, gave access to Cappadocia and W. Asia Minor; in the other direction the Syrian Gates and the pass of *Beilam* communicated with Syria; through these two passes ran the E. trade route from Ephesus. The military importance of the Cilician plain thus included within the angle of the Taurus and Amanus ranges is finely expressed by Herodian (3 4).

Owing to the barriers of Mount Taurus, the geographical affinity of Cilicia is with Syria rather than with Asia

2. In OT. Minor. It would be only natural, therefore, that there should be references to it in OT (cp also AŠUR-BANI-PAL, § 4, end). Nor are these wanting. Archæological criticism indicates three OT names[1] as more or less certainly meaning Cilicia.[2] The first is CAPHTOR (*q.v.*, § 4), which, however, probably had a more extended application, and referred to coast-regions of Asia Minor besides Cilicia. Caphtor was the first home of the Philistines; it probably represents the Egyptian Keftô. The second is Kuë or Kuah (קוה)—*i.e.*, E. Cilicia[3]—from which Solomon imported horses, as we learn from the emended text of 1 K. 10 28 (see HORSE, § 3, n.). The third is Helak, the Hilakku of the Assyrians, which has been restored by Halévy (*Mélanges*, '74, p. 69), Geiger (*Jud. Zt.* 11 242), and Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 1 211) in Ezek. 27 11 (MT has the impossible חֵילֶךָ 'thine army'; read 'the sons of Arvad and of Helak'). The same name probably occurs in Egyptian inscriptions under the form Ka-ra-ki-ša, originally Ḳilakk(u).[1] It follows from Halévy's restoration that there was, according to Ezekiel, a Cilician as well as a Phœnician and a Syrian element in the garrison of Tyre in 586 B.C.

The close physical relation of Cilicia and Syria explains their political connection during the early

3. Later. Roman Empire. Cilicia was usually under the legatus of Syria (Dio Cass. 53 12 where Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Cyprus are ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι; cp Tac. *Ann.* 2 78). Cilicia is found under a separate governor, however, in 57 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 13 33), perhaps as a temporary measure after the disturbances of 52 A.D. (*Ann.* 12 55). Vespasian is credited with its reconstruction as a distinct province, in 74 A.D.; but his action was apparently confined to the reduction of part of Cilicia Tracheia to the form of a province, which was united with that of eastern Cilicia (Suet. *Vesp.* 8). In 117-138 A.D. Cilicia, including Tracheia, was certainly an imperial province, under a prætorian *legatus Augusti*; but in what year this state of things began is not known. No inference can be drawn from the use of the word 'province' (ἐπαρχεία) in the question of Felix (Acts 23 34). The connection between Cilicia and Syria is illustrated in the NT by such passages as Acts 15 23 41 Gal. 1 21, where 'Syria and Cilicia' are almost a single term; and conversely the omission of Cilicia from the superscription of 1 Pet. 1 1, where the enumeration of provinces sums up all Asia Minor N. of the Taurus, is based upon the close connection between the churches in Cilicia and the church of Antioch in Syria.

The presence of Jews in Cilicia must date principally from the time when it became part of the Syrian kingdom (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 4). It must have been the hillmen of Cilicia Tracheia that served in the guard of Alexander Jannæus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 5, *BJ* i. 4 3). In apostolic times the Jewish settlers were many and influential (Acts 6 9).

Paul visited his native province soon after his conversion (Acts 9 30 Gal. 1 21), and possibly founded then the churches of which we hear in Acts 15 23 41. It is probable that in his 'second missionary journey' he followed the usual commercial route across the Taurus to Derbe (Acts 15 41; cp Str. 537).

One article of Cilician export is interesting to the student of the NT. The goats'-hair cloth called *Cilicium* was exported to be used in tent-making (cp Varro, *R.R.* 2 11). Paul was taught this trade, and supported himself by means of it in the house of Aquila at Corinth (Acts 18 3 and elsewhere; cp Acts 20 34 (See Sterrett, 'Routes in Cilicia,' in *Arch. Inst. Amer* 36.) W. J. W.

CINNAMON (קִנָּמוֹן; κινναμωμον [-ος] [BNAM Ti. WH]; Ex. 30 23 Pr. 7 17 Cant. 4 14 Rev. 18 13†) bears the same name in Hebrew as in Greek and English, and this is almost certainly a word borrowed from the farther East.[2] Lagarde (*Uebers.* 199) maintains that Hebrew borrowed the name from Greek; but against this there is the statement of Herodotus (3 111) that the Greeks learned the word from the Phœnicians.

Ḳinnāmōn is the fragrant inner bark of *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* Nees that is now called cinnamon. As is correctly stated by Flück. and Hanb. (520), however, 'none of the cinnamon of the ancients was obtained from Ceylon,'[3] and 'the early notices of cinnamon as a product of Ceylon are not prior to the thirteenth century' (*ib.* 468). Accordingly, it is probable that as these writers suggest, the cinnamon of the ancients w.

[1] Josephus identified with Cilicia the Tarshish of Gen. 10 4, Jon. 1 3 (*Ant.* i. 6 1).

[2] The land of Muṣri also, which adjoined Kuë (Wi. *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* 175), must have included a part of Cilicia (cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *a*).

[3] According to Maspero (*Recueil*, 10 210), Cilicia is the Keti (cp Κῆτις) which is often mentioned with Naharin in the Egyptian inscriptions. Is this name connected with Kuë?

[1] W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 352.

[2] The derivation from קָנֶה is most unlikely.

[3] Cp Tennent, *Ceylon* 1 575.

Cassia lignea, which was obtained, as it is still, from S. China.[1] The source of this is *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Bl., as has been shown by Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer in *Journ. Linn. Soc.* 20 1 *ff.* The name *cinnamomifera regio*, given to the district W. of Cape Guardafui, must be taken in a loose sense as referring to the commerce of the Erythrean Sea. Like lign-aloes, cinnamon was thus brought along the regular trade-route from E. Asia. See ALOES, § 3.

From whatever source cinnamon was obtained, it appears thrice in the OT among aromatic spices, and in Rev. 18 13 among the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon. Thus the Jews must have been tolerably familiar with it. See CASSIA, INCENSE, § 6.

N. M. — W. T. T.-D.

CINNEROTH (כִּנְרוֹת), 1 K. 15 20, RV CHINNEROTH.

CIRAMA (κιραμα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 20 AV = Ezra 2 26 RAMAH.

CIRCLE OF JORDAN (כִּכַּר הַיַּרְדֵּן), Gen. 13 10. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUIT (הַכִּכָּר), Neh. 3 22, RV^mg^. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUMCISION (מוּלָה, περιτομη), the cutting away of the foreskin (עָרְלָה, ακροβυστια). For surgical and other details of the operation as practised in later Judaism, reference may be made to the Mishna (*Shabb.* 19 2 *Yōre dē'āh*, § 264) and to the literature cited at the end of this article. It was performed not only on the (male) children of the Israelites, but also upon all slaves (as being members of the household and sharers in its worship), whether born within the house or brought in from abroad (Gen 17 22 *ff.*)—a usage which plainly points to a great antiquity. In P it is enjoined that all aliens (גֵּרִים) who desire to join in the Passover shall be circumcised (Ex. 12). ; in the Græco-Roman period it was also the condition for the admission of proselytes.

1. Administration of rite.

The age for receiving the rite is fixed by the Law for the eighth day after birth (Lev. 12 3, cp Gen. 21 4 [P], etc.); even on the sabbath the sacred ordinance had to be observed (Jn. 7 22 *Shabb.* 19 2 *ff.*), although in case of sickness of the child a short delay was permitted (cp *ZDMG* 20 529 ['66]). For the performance of the office all adult male Israelites were fully qualified; but customarily the duty fell to the head of the house (Gen. 17 23 *ff.*). That in the earlier times it could be performed (of course only in exceptional cases) by women appears from Ex. 4 25; but this was not allowed by later custom. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2 4) it was not unusual to employ the physician; at the present day it is the business of a specially-appointed official, the *mōhēl*.

At the close of the first century B.C. the naming of the child accompanied his circumcision (cp Lk. 1 59 2 21); but there is no indication of any such usage in the OT; indeed, in the older times, the two things were wholly dissociated, the child receiving its name as soon as it was born (cp, for example, Gen. 21 3 29 31 *ff.* 30 6 *ff.* 35 18 38 23 *ff.*, etc.).

The origin of the rite among the Hebrews is obscure. One of the views represented in the OT is that it was introduced by Joshua (Josh. 5 2 *ff.*), who, at the 'Hill of the Foreskins,'[2] by divine command circumcised the people with knives of flint, and thereby rolled away 'the reproach of Egypt,' 'wherefore the name of that place was called Gilgal (*i.e.* "rolling") unto this day.' Verses 4-7 are an interpolation designed to bring the narrative into conformity with the view of P that circumcision had merely been in abeyance during the years of wandering; cp Hollenberg in *St Kr.*, '74, 493 *ff.*, St. in *ZATW* 6 132 *ff.* ('86), and see JOSHUA, § 7. The 'reproach of Egypt,' unless we are to do violence to the narrative, can only be interpreted as meaning that in that country the children of Israel had been uncircumcised, and therefore objects of contempt and scorn. It is impossible, however, to regard the narrative in Joshua as strictly historical; it belongs rather to the category of etymologizing legend, being designed to explain the name and origin of the sanctuary of Gilgal. Possibly Stade is right in his conjecture (see above) that the legend arose from the circumstance that in ancient times the young men of Benjamin or of certain Benjamite families were circumcised on the Hill of the Foreskins at Gilgal. See GILGAL.

2. Hebrew legends.

Another view of the origin of the rite is given in the account of the circumcision of the son of Moses (Ex. 4 25 *ff.* [JJ]), for here also the intention manifestly is to describe its first introduction among the Israelites; there is no suggestion of any idea that it had been a long-standing Hebrew custom. The general meaning of the story is that Moses had incurred the anger of Yahwè, and made himself liable to the penalty of death, because he was not 'a bridegroom of blood'—*i.e.*, because he had not, before his marriage, submitted himself to this rite. Zipporah accordingly takes a flint, circumcises the son instead of her husband, and thereby symbolically makes the latter a 'bridegroom of blood,' whereby the wrath of Yahwè is appeased (see We. *Prol.*[4] 345).

Both narratives notwithstanding, it is necessary to carry back the origin of this rite among the Hebrews to a much earlier date. True, it is no sufficient proof of this that P (Gen. 17) carries it back to Abraham, and that everywhere in the Law the custom is assumed to be of extreme antiquity. More to the point are the facts that Gen. 34 also represents it as pre-Mosaic, while the use of knives of flint (which was long kept up; see Ex. 4 25 Josh. 5 2 *ff.*) also indicates a high antiquity. What most of all compels us to this conclusion, however, is the well-ascertained fact that circumcision was in no way a practice peculiar to the Israelites. It was common to a number of Semitic peoples in antiquity: Edom, Ammon, Moab all were circumcised (Jer. 9 25 [26]); of the nations of Palestine the Philistines alone were not (cp, for example, Herod. 2 36 *f.* 104); the Arabs also practised this rite, which, in the Koran, is taken for granted as a firmly-established custom. Nor is it less widely diffused among non-Semitic races.[1] Of special interest for us here is its existence among the Egyptians; for from a very early period we meet with the view that, within the lands of the ancient civilisations, circumcision had its native home in Egypt, from which it had spread not only to the other peoples of Africa, but also to the Semites of Asia (so Herod. 2 36 104 Diod. Sic. 3 31 Strabo 17 824). It certainly was known in Egypt from the earliest times (Ebers, *Egypt u. d. Bb. Mos.* 1 283), and we have the express testimony of Herodotus (2 36) and Philo (2 210, ed. Mangey) that all Egyptians were circumcised (cp Josh. 5 2 *ff.*, where the same thing is presupposed; Erman, *Egypt*, 32 *f.*, 539; Ebers, *op. cit.* 278 *ff.*), although, it is true, their testimony has not been allowed to pass wholly unquestioned. One piece of evidence for the Egyptian origin of the rite would be the fact that to the Semites of the Euphrates, who had no direct contact with Egypt, circumcision was unknown. In any case, however, it would be illegitimate to suppose that it was borrowed from Egypt directly by the Hebrews—say, for example, at the time of the sojourn in Egypt; for the nomads of the Sinaitic peninsula appear to have practised it from a very remote period.

3. Early origin.

As to the original meaning of the rite equally divergent views have been held. The explanations offered fall in the main into two groups—(1) The sanitary: Herodotus asserts that the Egyptians had adopted it simply for the sake of cleanliness, whilst other ancient writers regard it

4. Views of meaning.

[1] Hence in Persian and Arabic it is called Darçini (Chinese wood).

[2] So EV, EVmg. *Gibeath ha-araloth*; βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν [BAF]. According to ⊕BAL in Josh. 24 30a the knives of flint referred to were buried with Joshua in Timnath-serah.

[1] The facts of its present diffusion have been collected most fully by Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte der Völker*[2], 1 342 *f.* [...].

as a prophylactic against certain forms of disease (Phil *de Circumcis.* 2210, ed. Mangey; Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 13). A similar theory is still put forward here and there by various nations (cp Ploss, *op. cit.*), and it was in great favour with the rationalists of last century (see, *e.g.*, Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, 4 186; also Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*, 1 246). Recent anthropologists, such as Ploss, give greater prominence to the fact that with many peoples (if not with most) circumcision stands, or originally stood, closely connected with marriage, and regard it as an operation preparatory to the exercise of the marital functions, suggested by the belief that fruitfulness is thereby promoted (so already Philo, *loc. cit.*; cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 4). (2) The religious: It is impossible to decide the question by mere reference to the present conditions, or to the explanation which ancient or modern peoples themselves give. On the one hand, it is not to be expected that the original meaning of the act should be permanently remembered; on the other hand, evidence can be adduced in support of either theory. There are broad general considerations, however, which lead inevitably to the conclusion that, in the last resort, the explanation is to be sought in the sphere of religion. All the world over, in every uncivilised people, whether of ancient or of modern times, practices such as this are called into existence, not by medical knowledge, but by religious ideas. It is to the belief about the gods and to the worship of the gods that all primitive ethics must be traced. In this there is nothing to prevent practices, grown unintelligible through the religious motives having gradually faded into the background, being supplied with other reasons, in this case, sanitary. On the other hand, inasmuch as, to judge by its wide diffusion, circumcision must have arisen spontaneously and independently in more places than one, there is nothing to exclude the possibility of diverse origins.

The primarily religious nature of circumcision being granted, we must nevertheless be careful not to carry back to the earlier times the interpretation put upon it by later Judaism. According to P the rite is a symbolical act of purification (in the ritual sense); the foreskin represents the unclean. This conception of circumcision is presupposed in the symbolical applications of the expression to be met with in the discourses of the prophets (see below, § 7). For the earlier period, however, we have no evidence of the presence of any such idea, nor is there any analogous conception to make its existence probable. The notion so frequently brought forward in explanation of the idea,—that the sexual life, as such, was regarded as sinful,—is in truth nowhere to be met with in the OT. The ancient conceptions of clean and unclean are all of them of a wholly different nature; see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

5. A tribal badge. In general, circumcision is to be regarded as a ritual tribal mark. This view is favoured by several considerations. Not only among the Jews, but also among the Egyptians and most other peoples by whom circumcision is practised, the uncircumcised are regarded as unclean—*i.e.*, as aliens from the tribe and its worship—and as such are looked upon by the circumcised with contempt. Among peoples who do not practise circumcision we find analogous tribal marks; filing or removal of teeth, special tattooings, in some cases still more drastic mutilations of the sexual organs (semi-castration and the like). Finally, with most peoples, circumcision used to be performed at the age of puberty. By its means the grown-up youth was formally admitted among the men, received all the rights due to this position, and, in particular, the permission to marry (hence the frequent connection already alluded to between circumcision and marriage). The full-grown man becomes for the first time the fully-invested member of the tribe, and, in particular, capable of taking part in its religious functions. It is fitting then that he should wear the badge of his tribe.

Such a badge has always a religious significance, since membership of a clan carries with it the right to participate in the tribal worship (see GOVERNMENT, § 8), and, for early times, to be outside the tribe and outside its worship meant the same thing. Thus the act of circumcision had, in the earliest times, a sacral meaning. Like all other initiation ceremonies of the kind in the Semitic religions, circumcision had attributed to it also the effect of accomplishing a sacramental communion, bringing about a union with the godhead. To this extent the explanation of circumcision as of the nature of a sacrifice (Ewald) is just; originally circumcision and sacrifice served the same end.

6. In early Israel. For the old Israelite, in particular, the view just stated is confirmed by the identification of the two conceptions 'uncircumcised' and 'unclean'; see especially, in this connection, Ezek. 31 18 32 19-32, where in the under-world the uncircumcised have assigned to them a place by themselves, away from the members of the circumcised people. The receiving of the tribal mark is a condition of connubium (Gen. 34). Among the Israelites also it was the marriageable young men who were circumcised (Josh. 5 2 *ff.*, see above, § 2). In like manner, as already noticed, in Ex. 4 25 circumcision, as a token of marriageability, is brought into connection with marriage itself; cp the expression 'bridegroom of blood.' The same narrative also explains the circumcision of young boys as a surrogate for that of men (cp We. *Prol.*[14] 345 *f.*). This custom—of circumcising boys when quite young—may have arisen very early, as soon as the political aspects of the rite fell into the background. 'When the rite loses political significance, and becomes purely religious, it is not necessary that it should be deferred to the age of full manhood; indeed the natural tendency of pious parents will be to dedicate their child as early as possible to the god who is to be his protector through life' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 328). This last general statement is particularly apposite in the case of circumcision.

7. Later. No mention of circumcision is made either in the decalogue or in any other of the old laws. This silence cannot be explained on the ground merely that as a firmly established custom the rite did not require to be specially enjoined; rather does it prove that, for the religion of Yahwè in the pre-exilic period, circumcision had ceased to possess the great importance which we are compelled to assume for it in the old Semitic religion; nor was the same weight assigned to it which it subsequently acquired in Judaism. In particular the prophets took up towards it the same attitude as they held towards sacrifice, that is to say, they looked upon it as of no consequence so far as the worship of Yahwè was concerned. Such a prophet as Jeremiah, for example, sets himself in the most marked manner against the high appreciation of circumcision still prevalent among the masses in his day, when he places the circumcision of the Israelites exactly on the same level with that of the Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites, and threatens all alike with the divine judgment as being 'circumcised in uncircumcision' or as 'uncircumcised'—that is, as not having the circumcision of the heart (Jer. 9 25 [24] *f.*, cp 4 4 6 10 ..., 26 41). By this very fact—that they contrast with the circumcision of the flesh that of the heart, the ears, the lips—the prophets gave the first impulse to the later symbolical interpretation of the rite as an act of purification.

This last, as already stated, is dominant in Judaism. In the post-exilic period the rite acquired a quite different position from that which it previously held. As substitutes for the sacrificial worship, no longer possible, the sabbath and circumcision became the cardinal con-

8. In Judaism.

mands of Judaism, and the chief symbols of the religion of Yahwè and of membership of the religious commonwealth. For this reason neither Greek nor Roman culture was able to suppress this relic of barbarism. Antiochus Epiphanes indeed prohibited circumcision, but with no great effect (1 Macc. 1 48 60 246). On the other hand, however, the spread of Grecian culture so wrought among those Jews who had yielded to its influence, that they became ashamed of their circumcision, as in the exercises and games of the arena it exposed them to pagan ridicule; they accordingly took steps by means of a special operation to obliterate the signs of it ἐποιεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίαν, 1 Macc. 1 15, ἐπισπᾶσθαι, 1 Cor. 7 18). In order to remove the possibility of this in future the Talmudists and Bar Cochba ordered that after the ordinary cut had been made the flesh should also be torn with the thumb nail.

9. Literature. Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, §§ 184-186; Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*, 1 240; the commentaries on Gen. 17; the handbooks of biblical archæology; Hamburger's *R.w.b.* s.v. 'Beschneidung'; Schultz, *AT Theol.*, 174 *ff*; Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.*, 37 *f.*; Marti, *Gesch. d. Isr. Rel.* 43, 163 *f.*, etc.; Glassberg, *Die Beschneidung*, Berlin, 1896. On the later customs connected with the rite, see Buxtorf, *Syn. Iud.* and Otto, *Lex. Kabb.* For the practice of Judaism, Schürer, *GJV* 2 564 *ff*, 3(3) 122 *ff.*, etc. On the present diffusion of the rite, Ploss, *Das Kind*(2), 360 *ff.*; on circumcision among the Arabs, We. *Ar. Heid.*(1), 154. I. B.

CIS (κεις [Ti. WH]), Acts 13 21, RV Kish (*q.v.*).

CISAI (κ[ε]ισαιου [BNALaB]), Esth. 11 2, RV Kiseus. See Kish.

CISTERN (בור, באר), Jer. 2 13 etc. See Conduits, § 1 (1).

CITHERN (κιθαρα [ANV]), 1 Macc. 4 54. See Music, § 7 *ff*.

CITIMS (κιτιεων [N*]), 1 Macc. 8 5, AV. See Kittim.

CITRON. See Apple, § 2 (3).

CITY (עיר; קִרְיָה, almost confined to poetry and place-names; קִרְיָת, frequent in Phœnician, but only five times in OT; cp also Kartah, Kartan; πολις).

1. Names. A synonym of עיר *'ir* = Ass. *uru dlu* 'settlement, city'; cp Cain, § 1; for Heb. *kiryah* and *kereth*, cp Aram. *ḳeritha*, Ar. *ḳarytun*.

The influence of the old Babylonian culture is manifest. We note, too, that *'ir*, in virtue of its origin, is an elastic term including the settlements of those who were once nomads (see Hazor, Village), and thus we can account for the 'cities (read עָרֵי with $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$, Klo.) of Amalek' in 1 S. 15 5, and the description in 2 K. 17 9, 'in all their cities, from the tower of the watchmen (see Tower) to the fortified city.' Dillmann, too, thus explains the phrase 'the wilderness and its *cities*' in Is. 42 11,[1] and some have supposed that the 'city' built by Cain was but a settlement such as we have just referred to—a most uncritical supposition![2] We may safely assume that the Israelites acquired the word *'ir* in Canaan. There they encountered highly civilised peoples and strongly fortified cities. The Deuteronomist remarks (Josh. 11 13; cp Jer. 30 18) that places which stood upon *tillim*[3]—*i.e.*, on artificially heightened mounds or hills—the Israelitish immigrants did not burn down, with the single exception of Hazor. Of course, mountain cities were still more difficult to take (see Fortress).

2. Various details. (*a*) *Citadels.*—In Gen. 11 4 the builders of Babylon say, 'Let us make a city and a tower'; the *migdal* or tower here represents the citadel. Elsewhere it is the *'ir* (עיר) that is the citadel—*e.g.*, the 'city of David,' 'city of Milcom'[1] (see Rabbath Ammon); but observe that in Jer. 48 41 קריות appears to be used of the lower cities as opposed to the מצדות or citadels.

(*b*) *Gates.*—At the gates[2] of the town (see Fortress) there were 'broad places,'[3] expressly distinguished from the 'street' in Prov. 7 12, devoted in turn to judicial business, traffic, popular assemblies, and gossip. See 2 K. 7 1 2 Ch. 32 6 Neh. 8 1 16 Job 29 7; also Ps. 55 11, where we might render, 'Extortion and deceit depart not from its *market-place*.'

(*c*) *Streets.*—Except in Graeco-Roman cities like Cæsarea and Sebaste—cities the importance of which is shown by the continuance of their names in an almost unmodified form—the *streets*[4] were presumably as narrow as those in a modern Oriental city. That the houses before the Greek period were for the most part poor and perishable is remarked elsewhere (see House, § 1). Still, the increase of wealth must have had some effect on the architecture (cp Jer. 22 14) at any rate, in the merchants' quarters, the existence of which may be inferred from Zeph. 1 11 Neh. 3 31 *f.* Jer. 37 21 (the 'bakers' street'). Whether the Aramæan merchants in Samaria had whole streets (MT of 1 K. 20 34) or simply caravanserais (חצרות, Klo., for חוצות) may be left undecided. On the question whether the streets were paved it may be said that the soil was so often rocky that paving would frequently be uncalled for. We have no evidence of paving in Jerusalem before the Roman period (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9 7). Herod the Great is said to have laid an open road in Antioch with polished stone (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5 3). On the 'street called Straight,' see Damascus.

(*d*) *Watchmen.*—Watchmen, apart from the keepers of the gates, are mentioned only in two almost identical passages of Canticles (3 3 5 7), a work possibly of the Greek period; it is, of course, the capital that is referred to.

(*e*) *Water-supply.*—The excellent water-supply of ancient Jerusalem is treated elsewhere (see Conduits); smaller places had to be content with the fountains which were the original cause of the settlements.

The student will now be able to judge how far the Hebrew and the Greek conception of a city differed. Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.) thus presents the Greek conception (Paus. x. 4 1, Frazer, 1 503): 'It is twenty furlongs from Chæronea to Panopeus, a city of Phocis, if city it can be called that has no government-offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water conducted to a fountain, and where the people live in hovels, just like highland shanties, perched on the edge of a ravine. Yet its territory is marked off by boundaries from that of its neighbours, and it even sends members to the Phocian parliament.' Jerusalem, at any rate, had its conduits and a substitute for a market-place, nor were large and high houses (אחוזות) altogether unknown (see House, § 1). The gymnasium spoken of

[1] The text, however, is corrupt. For וערי 'and its cities' we should read ותרבה 'and the desert' (see *SBOT ad loc.*).

[2] It was not a dweller in the land of Nod ('wandering') who built (or whose son built) a city, and obtained the first place in the Hebrew legend of culture. Cain was originally a divine being, or semi-divine hero. See Cainites, § 3.

[3] Read תֵּלִים (*l'g.*); cp De Dieu, *Critica Sacra* (1693), 49. The תל (see *BDB s.v.*) or *tēl* (*tell*) on which Lachish (*q.v.*) was built is a good specimen of these hills. *Tell* abounds in the Arabic geographical nomenclature of Syria and the Euphrates Valley.

[1] 'City of the house of Baal' (2 K. 10 25) is not a correct phrase. For 'city' (*'ir*) read 'sanctuary' (*dĕbir*). See Jehu.

[2] In EV 1 K. 8 37 2 Ch. 6 28 Ruth 3 11 שַׁעַר is actually rendered 'city' (and in this sense is characteristic of D), but practically is equivalent to 'jurisdiction.' Cp 'The Sublime Porte' and the Japanese 'Mikado,' literally 'exalted gate.' So in $\mathfrak{G}$ πολις and πυλη are often confused. See Gate.

[3] So RV for רחבות in Prov. *l.c.*; in Cant. 3 2 EV has 'broad ways'; cp רחב שער בעיר, 2 Ch. 32 6; see Neh. 8 1. $\mathfrak{G}$ always πλατεια, except Is. 15 3 (ῥυμη) because of πλατεια preceding.

[4] חוץ. $\mathfrak{G}$ has πλατεια five times, ὁδος five or six times, ἐισοδος once or twice, ἔξοδος more than twelve times, but most frequently renders, with reference to the etymology, simply ἔξωθεν, ἐξώτερος, or ἔξω. שוק, Prov. 7 8 Eccl. 12 4 5 Cant. 3 2 †; $\mathfrak{G}$ ἀγορά. In NT the words are πλατεια and ῥυμη (in Lk. 14 21, 'lane'); cp Tobit 13 18 Ecclus. 9 7.

in 1 Macc. 1 14 2 Macc. 4 9 12 was only a temporary innovation

(*f*) *Store-cities.*—This phrase[1] means cities in which grain (2 Ch. 32 28) or other royal provisions valuable for war or for peace, were stored (1 K. 9 19 etc.). It is implied that such cities were fortified. In Ex. 1 11 ⊕ gives πόλεις ὀχυράς; cp PITHOM, RAAMSES

On citizenship, cp GOVERNMENT, § 4; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12; and DISPERSION, § 18.

For the **cities of the Plain** (עָרֵי הַכִּכָּר) see ADMAH, etc.; on the **cities of refuge** (עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט), see ASYLUM, § 3

CITY OF MOAB (עִיר מוֹאָב), Nu 22 36. See AR OF MOAB.

CITY OF SALT. See SALT, CITY OF.

CLASPS (קְרָסִים), Ex. 26 6 RV; AV 'taches.' See TABERNACLE.

CLAUDA, RV CAUDA (κλαυδα [Ti. with ℵ* 13, etc.], καυδα [WH with ℵ*B], *Cauda*), Acts 27 16), is described as a small island (νησίον) under the lee of which Paul's ship ran for shelter (ὑποδραμόντες) when blown off the Cretan shore. She was driving before an ENE. wind (v. 14), which caught her between Cape Lithinos (called also Cape Matala) and Lutro harbour (see PHOENIX, 2). Hence Clauda must be the small island now called *Gavdhonisi* (Γαυδονῆσι) or *Gozzo*, lying about 20 m. due S. of Lutro. Ptolemy (iii. 17 11) has Κλαῦδος νῆσος ἐν ᾗ πόλις, and remains of a small town are found on the island. There is some variety in the ancient appellation (Κλαυδία, *Stad. m. m.*, § 328; Gaudos, Pomp. Mela, 2 114; Pliny, *H.N* iv. 12 61). It became the seat of a bishop (cp Hier. Syn. p. 14, Νῆσος Κλαῦδος, and *Notit. Episc.* 8 240, etc.).

W. J. W.

CLAUDIA (κλαυδια [Ti. WH]) unites with Paul at Rome in sending greeting to Timothy at Ephesus (2 Tim. 4 21). Nothing further is known concerning her.

For the ingenious but unconvincing argument by which it has been sought to identify her with the Claudia who marries Pudens in Martial's epigram (4 13), and to prove her the daughter of the British king Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, see Alford, *NT*, vol. iii., Prol. to 2 Tim.

CLAUDIUS, the fourth emperor of Rome (41-54), was the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and the successor of Caius Caligula. His advancement to this position came chiefly through the energies of Herod Agrippa I., whom he rewarded with consular honours and the enlargement of his territories by the addition of Judæa, Samaria, and certain districts in Lebanon. For the history of the Jews during his reign, see ISRAEL. Claudius is twice mentioned in the NT. In Acts 11 28 the famine foretold by AGABUS is said to have been in the time of Claudius Cæsar (ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου [Ti. WH]; AV after TR, *i. e.* Κ. Καίσαρος; but see CÆSAR), and in 18 1 *f.* reference is made to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome which he was induced to order (as Suet. *Claud.* 25 tells us) on account of their tumults: 'Judæos *impulsore Chresto*[2] assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.' The precise dates of both famine and expulsion have been disputed; see CHRONOLOGY, § 76 *f.*

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (κλαυδιος λυσιας [Ti. WH], Acts 23 26), 'chief captain' (military tribune, or chiliarch) in command of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem in the governorship of Felix (Acts 21 31 *ff.*).

CLAY is derived mostly from the decomposition of felspathic rocks (especially granite and gneiss) and of

[1] The Heb. phrase is עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת; cp Ex. 1 11 (AV 'treasure cities'), 2 Ch. 8 4 6 (L adds τῶν φορμῶν), 17 12 (EV 'cities of store'). עָרֵי is omitted in 2 Ch. 32 28 (EV 'storehouses,' πόλεις [BAL]). In 1 K. 9 19 (עָרֵי הַרֶּכֶב) ⊕A renders πόλεις τῶν σκηνωμάτων, apparently בְּסֻכּוֹת. BL (*vide* 10 21) omit. מִסְכְּנוֹת in 2 Ch. 16 4 is corrupt; see ‖ 1 K. 15 20, and cp CHINNERETH.

[2] For the question of the identity of Chrestus, see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 6, iii.

the crystalline; but the materials are so varying that there is clay of several kinds suitable for several uses. The term 'clay' is often applied loosely to 'loam'; of such, for example, is the clay of Egypt and of Palestine, although a bituminous shale, easily convertible into clay, is said to occur at the source of the Jordan and near the Dead Sea; see BITUMEN.

In Palestine, and indeed throughout the E., clay is used chiefly (1) in building, either retained in its natural state (for ceilings and floors) or manufactured into bricks (see BABYLONIA, § 15, BRICK, CHAMBER, HOUSE); (2) in the manufacture of utensils (see POTTERY); (3) in providing a material for documents public and private and a means of safely preserving them. Very many deeds and other records have been found in the form of inscribed clay tablets in Assyria and Babylonia. 'The deed or record was first written on a small tablet, or brick, of clay, with the names of the principals, witnesses, etc., appended. This tablet was then enclosed in an envelope of clay, on which was written, apparently from memory, the contents of the document, the names of the witnesses,' etc. (Peters). In Palestine, where, so far as we know, clay tablets were not customary in the historic Israelitish period, clay, instead of wax, was used for sealing. See, besides, Job 38 14 41 17*b*, where AV's 'sewest up' should rather be 'smearest (clay) over'—parallel to 'sealed up' in v. 17. In Egypt jars, mummy-pits, etc., were frequently sealed with clay.

The Heb. and Gr. words which are rendered 'clay' are (1) חֹמֶר *hōmer*, Gen. 11 3, etc.; (2) טִיט *ṭīṭ*, used of the mire of streets, also of brick (Nah. 3 14) and potter's clay (Is. 41 25); (3) the biblical Aram. representative חַסְפָּא *ḥaspā* (Dan. 2 33); and (4) πηλός, Rom. 9 21: see further POTTERY. מֶלֶט *melet*, Jer. 43 9 AV (RV 'mortar') is uncertain (ἐν προθύροις [BA()] ἐν τῷ πρόθυρῳ [Qmg]). A possible meaning is 'earth' (Gieseler); but it may be a corruption for בְּלָט 'secretly'; see Ges. *Lex.*[13].

CLEAN and UNCLEAN, HOLY and PROFANE. Of the Heb. terms which convey the idea of cleanliness or holiness the most prominent is (1)

1. Meaning of the Terms. קדש (קָדוֹשׁ, קֹדֶשׁ, etc.), the original meaning of which is not clear. Smend in AT *Rel.-gesch.*[1] 334 (cp. however, 2nd ed. 150, 223, 325), expresses the common uncertainty of the moment. The older view of Ges. (*Thes.*), defended now only in a much modified form, is that the root means 'clear,' 'brilliant.' Baudissin,[1] writing in 1878, finds the fundamental idea in 'separation,' a view which is still widely held.

[Baudissin says, 'A comparison with חדש makes it natural to conjecture that קדש meant from the first "to be separate," "to be pure" *i.e.*, (1) קָדוֹשׁ was from the beginning synonymous with בָּרוּר; cp בָּר, "pure," from ברר, "to cut" or "cut out." It is certain, too, that Yahwè's holiness and his glory are correlative ideas (as, in the *Avesta*, Ahura Mazda's). In Is. 6 3 this is very clearly indicated, and in v. 5 the thought of Yahwè's holiness suggests to Isaiah that of his own (moral) uncleanness (cp Ps. 15 1 *f.* 24 3 *f.*). May there not have been a time when קדש suggested the idea of purity without any moral reference?' Zimmern, followed by Whitehouse (*Thinker*, July 1892, p. 52), connects קָדוֹשׁ with Ass. *ḳudduśu* (*Busspsalmen*, 37, n.; *Beitr. zur Assyr.* 1 105; *Tiele, Sohn, Fürsprecher*, 11, n. 3) which means 'bright,' 'pure,' or, more precisely ('[illegible]' 'bright,' 'pure' (very frequently), 'illustrious,' 'holy' (so Sayce in a private letter). According to Abel (in Baudissin, [illegible]) words which originally denoted 'purity' are used in Coptic [illegible] the divine or the consecrated. This is quite in accordance with the spirit of the old Egyptian religions and with that of the Semitic religions. If, however, this tempting comparison is accepted, we must frankly admit that the original meaning has become forgotten, or was but obscurely felt, by the OT writers. Only once is 'the Holy One' distinctly parallel to 'light' (Is. 10 17); but the ideas are, at any rate, implicitly synonymous in Is. 31 9*b* 33 14 *f.* In usage, as Davidson (*Ezek.* xxv) remarks, the term 'holy' expresses, not any particular attr[illegible]

[1] Possibly, however, ἐν προθύροις represents בְּמִלְבָּן, and בְּמֶלֶט is omitted by ⊕BAQ.

[2] *Studien zur semit. Rel.-gesch.* 2 20 (in his important dissertation, 'Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament.')

but rather the general notion, of godhead. In a secondary though still early sense, it is applied to that 'which belongs to the sphere of deity, which lies near God's presence or has come into it (Ex. 3 5 Nu. 16 17 f. [17 2 f.]), or which belongs to him, whether as part of himself or as his property.' Davidson also remarks that the root 'probably expressed some physical idea, though the idea is not now reasonable.' See also WRS *Prophets* 424, who points out (after Nöldeke) that the Arabic evidence for the supposed root-idea of purity will not hold. In *RS* [2], 150, the same scholar finds 'some probability' that the original meaning was 'separation' or 'withdrawal.'

Other less prominent terms are *bar* (בר), *zakh* (זך), and *tahôr* (טהור), all of which are rendered indifferently by 'clean' and 'pure.' (2) Of these the most definitely religious in its application is *tahôr*. No doubt gold may be *tahôr*, *i.e.*, refined (Ex. 25 11 Job 28 19); so also a turban (Zech. 3 5), vessels (Ex. 24 6), etc.; but the levitical sense is specially prominent (Lev. 7 19 Nu. 9 13, etc.). The eyes of God also can be *tahôr* (Hab. 1 13); therefore he cannot tolerate wickedness. Similarly innocence to man; Job 17 9 Ps. 51 12 [10]. God's promises are *tahôr*—*i.e.*, perfectly veracious (Ps. 12 7 [6]).

(3) זַךְ *zak*, also means refined (as oil, Ex. 27 20); incense (Ex. 30 34), morally pure, 'upright' (Job 8 6 [יָשָׁר], Prov. 20 11 21 8). It is used of a prayer (Job 16 17), of the heart (it has to be made or kept 'pure' or 'clean,' Ps. 73 13 Prov. 20 9 [בר]), or the conduct (Ps. 119 9).

(4) בַּר, *bar*, 'separated'—*i.e.*, 'pure' (cp [1] above). Some Rabbins interpret בַּר in Ps. 2 12, 'selected' = בחיר; but it would be easier (though not the best solution) to read [ב]חיל. In a physical sense *bar* = spotlessly beautiful (Cant. 6 9 f.). Spotless purity belongs to God's commandments (Ps. 19 9). It is used of moral purity (Job 11 4 Ps. 24 4 73 1).

The NT terms which have to be noticed are (5) ἁγνός 'pure' (= *tahôr*), in a physical sense of modesty or chastity (2 Cor. 11 2 Tit 2 5 1 Pet. 3 2); sacred, for ceremonial use (2 Macc. 13 8); pure—ethically—of men (2 Cor. 7 11 Phil. 4 8 1 Tim. 5 22), of God (1 Jn. 3 3), and of his wisdom (Ja. 3 17).

(6) ἅγιος, worthy of veneration, whether of things connected with God (Lk. 1 4 Heb. 9 1 24), or of persons (*e.g.*, John the Baptist, Mk. 6 21; Christian disciples, Acts 9 13, etc.). Thus the church—like Israel (Tit. 2 14, see PECULIAR PEOPLE) is called ἔθνος ἅγιον (cp Ex. 19 6, גוי קדוש). ἅγιος stands in the same relation δίκαιος as צַדִּיק (see LOVINGKINDNESS and cp ASSIDEANS) to חָסִיד (see Thayer, *Lex. NT*, *s.v.* ἅγιος).

(7) ὅσιος corresponds chiefly with חָסִיד: see (6) above: (so also in (8)). It is used of men (Tit. 1 8 Heb. 7 26), of the Messiah (Acts 2 27 13 35), of Messianic blessings (Acts 13 34 τὰ ὅσια Δαυίδ), and of God (Rev. 15 4 16 5 cp Dt. 32 4 Heb. צוּר).

(8) ἱερός, consecrated to the deity, belonging to God, used of the 'sacred' writings (2 Tim. 3 15 RV, AV 'holy'). In 1 Cor. 9 13 τὰ ἱερά means all the sacred objects pertaining to the worship of God in the temple. For the negatives of these qualities, see COMMON, PROFANE.]

Baudissin's view (above [1]) suits many passages: the holiness of the *Ḳedêshim* and the *Ḳedêshôth*[1] (see IDOLATRY, § 6), who were certainly found in Israel very early, can have consisted only in their separation either they were dedicated to foreign gods, or perhaps they were set apart at puberty from the households in which they grew up, according to a custom which ranges from the Gold Coast to Tahiti (see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 2 225 f.), and never returned to them or entered others. The hire of the 'harlot' Tyre (Is. 23 18) is to be 'holiness unto Yahwè,' not because the reviving trade of Tyre is to be conducted in a better spirit than before, but because it is to be taxed at the new Jerusalem (which is presumably to be a staple town of the wool and spice trade) in a way to absorb all its profits. Again (Zech. 14 20 f.), everything in the new Jerusalem after its last great trial is to be so holy, so perfectly the property of God, that the very horse-bells will bear the same motto as the High Priest's mitre; the pots in which the sacrificial flesh is boiled for priests are to be as holy as the bowls which hold the sacrificial blood reserved for God; the common cooking pots of Jerusalem are to be holy enough for pilgrims to boil their sacrifices in. Jerusalem (Joel 3 [4] 17) is to be 'holy'; no stranger is to pass through. There is to be through the wilderness of Judah a 'holy' way (Is. 35 8) in which no unclean shall walk.

So far it seems as if holiness might be expressed as a relation rather than a quality. The shekel and [illegible] the [illegible] are holy because the vessels [illegible] pots and bowls have to be holy that they may hold the flesh and blood. So too, the vessels, the bodies, or the wallets (?) of David's followers (1 S. 21 5 [4]) have to be holy that they may receive the shewbread which is holy because it is set before God. David (whom all the writers who speak of him regard, from their several points of view, as a model of wisdom and piety) vouches for the negative holiness of his men, and any accidental defilement which he does not know will have had time to wear off: he appears to think that the shewbread will sanctify their 'vessels,'[2] and implies that if they had been specially sanctified, as for a holy war or a pilgrimage, they might have eaten the shewbread though they were not priests.

The 'sanctification' of persons and things falls under the same notion. 'Holiness,' as Robertson Smith observed (*RS* [2] 450 f.), is contagious: whatever a 'holy' thing or a 'holy' person touches becomes holy. When Elijah cast his mantle over Elisha, the latter has to follow till Elijah releases him; the worshippers of Baal, whose ordinary dress might 'profane' the house, are provided with special vestments from the stores of the house of Baal; otherwise, when they came outside, their ordinary dress would make whatever it touched 'holy to Baal,' and unavailable to the former owners. The priest on the great Day of Atonement (the rule is older than the day) is to take off the holy linen garments and leave them in the holy place, and to wash his flesh in water lest any of the contagion of holiness should cling to him. In a text which, though belonging to the main stock of P, seems to represent a later state of the law, the consecration of Aaron and his successors seems to consist in their investiture with the (hereditary?) state dress of Ex. 28; cp Nu. 20 25-28. According to another view, which is older than Zech. 4 14, the consecration consists in the anointing (cp ANOINTING, § 3, *c*). The doctrine of the contagion of holiness is at its height in Ezek. (46 24), who provides special kitchens where the priests are to cook the most holy things, and special chambers in which they are to eat them, without bringing them forth into the outer court to sanctify the people (who are eating their own sacrifices). Otherwise, they might become the property of the sanctuary, or at least would be subject to the same obligations as the priests. For the same reason, it is expressly stated, they are to leave the holy garments in the holy place, though all the top of the mountain is most holy. So, to [illegible] a little [illegible], the profane sacrificers[2] of Is. 65 5 either threaten to sanctify the poor who approach them, or claim to be too holy to be approached. In Hag. 2 12 f. we find a distinct change. The contagion of uncleanness is stronger than the contagion of holiness. A garment in which holy flesh is carried does not sanctify; a garment which has touched the dead pollutes (cp EGYPT, § 19, and see DRESS, § 8). The stricter view is still presupposed, at least for the 'most holy' things; any garment sprinkled with blood has to be washed in the holy place (Lev. 6 27 [20]);[3] otherwise it would sanctify. For the same reason the earthen pots used in cooking are to be broken; brass pots (too valuable to break) may be used, but only after having been rinsed and scoured—obviously to remove the last vestige of the

[1] [See Dr. *Dt.* 264 f.; St. *GVI* 1 479 f.; Movers, *Die Phön.* 1 679 ff. Benzinger (*HA*, § 61) remarks, 'It may safely be affirmed that this form of consecration to the deity, and especially the violation of nature combined with it, was unknown to the Israelitish nomads; but also, that with so many other details of Baal-worship, it penetrated into the service of Yahwè, and there spread to a considerable extent.]

[1] Everybody dedicated a new house (Dt. 20 5 [illegible]) over a custom to dedicate vessels?

[2] They wish to forsake God's holy mountain and set up a temple of their own; they are [illegible] to such that no temple exists or is needed (cp Is. 66 1 ff. and see ISAIAH, iii., § 21).

[3] Is this the reason why holy garments are of linen? Woollen garments would naturally be sent to the fuller at long intervals.

holy food. The rank of the priests is determined by their right to eat of both the holy and the most holy, which are often cited as if they were known, and never described, though we are told that the 'sin' and the 'trespass' offering are most holy and must be eaten in the holy place, and hence could not be eaten by the households of the priests. Why these special offerings are specially holy is discussed elsewhere (see SACRIFICE). The scribes, to whom we owe this law, are the fathers of those who decided that a book was or was not canonical according as it did or did not 'defile the hands'. After touching a really holy book, a man had to wash before touching common food lest his hands should sanctify it (cp CANON, § 4). In the oldest practice, it would seem, it is the contact with the holy flesh that is the essence of the consecration of priests; the sacrificer who wishes to institute a priest 'fills his hand.'[1] As sacrifice and slaughter are nearly synonymous (as late as Is. 34 6; ISAIAH, II., § 14), we seem to find in one of the stories of the golden calf that the share of the Levites in the slaughter of the worshippers is virtually their consecration. 'They have filled your hand for Yahwè' (*i.e.*, 'Ye have been to-day appointed priests'), 'for every man was against his son and his brother' (Ex. 32 29).[2] In 1 K. 13 33 Jeroboam fills the hand for the priests of the high places: in 2 Ch. 13 9 each candidate brings a bullock and seven rams to fill his hand.[3] This seems an echo of old tradition; for in Ex. 29 (P), Moses takes only *two* rams and a bullock when he fills the hand of Aaron and his sons: the blood of the ram of the 'fill offering' is put on the right ear, the right thumb, the right great toe, of each priest; the pieces, which as a rule are burnt, and one of those which in ordinary sacrifices fell to the priest as his fee, are both laid with cake on the hand of each priest and waved before God (to assert the priest's right to the 'wave-breast' and the 'heave shoulder') and then burnt. There seems to be an afterthought (*v.* 26) in which Moses as the officiating priest takes the wave breast to himself; the priests eat the rest of the sacrifice (which in ordinary cases the worshipper would eat) in the holy place. The idea seems to be that just as the worshipper in the old profession (Dt. 26 13) declares 'I have put away the holy out of my house,' so the sacrificer passes on the dangerous holy food to a priest who will take the risk and the privilege of sharing the table of God, and bear the iniquity of the people in their holy things. Possibly the Levites in Ex. 32 26 *ff.* may point to a time when the priest was not chosen by the sacrificer, but handselled his office by laying hands on the holy flesh.

3. Holiness of priests.

The question whether 'holiness' to begin with is nothing more than 'separateness' bears very directly on the 'holiness' of God. If holiness is originally a relation rather than a quality, if things and persons are holy to God as persons and acts are righteous before him, then God himself is holy simply as the centre of the circle of sanctity: if all that belongs to the sanctuary is holy, how much more he who dwelleth between the cherubim, who inhabiteth the praises of Israel (Ps. 22 3 [4])? He is the object of worship whom his worshippers 'sanctify.' He is the 'Holy One': 'I am God and not man, the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee' (Hos. 11 9 cited Is. 12 6). Rejoice and shout, O inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee'). Yahwè is the God, the Holy One of the prophet (Hab. 1 12). So Jacob (Gen. 31 53, cp v. 42 [41]) swears by the fear of his father Isaac—*i.e.*, the God whom his father feared.

4. Of God.

There are other texts however, in which holiness seems to be absolute. The men of Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. 6 20) ask, 'Who can stand before Yahwè, this holy god?'[1] In Am. 4 2 Yahwè swears by his holiness. Does that mean his character? or the reverence due to him? The answer will govern the sense in which his name is holy in 2 7. In Is. 5 16 (authoritative enough by whomsoever written) God's being exalted through judgment and sanctified through righteousness are closely parallel. The song ascribed to the mother of Samuel (1 S. 2) is an unambiguous echo of the song of the seraphim (Is. 6 3)—'Holy, holy, holy is Yahwè Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of his glory.'—where holiness and glory are clearly parallel. So, too, in Jer. 17 12, 'a high throne is the place of our sanctuary,' and in Ex. 15 11, 'Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' the holiness, the praises, the wonders, seem to belong to God's external majesty. Throughout the OT God's worshippers rehearse his acts much oftener than his attributes. We find his 'righteous acts' as early as the song of Deborah (Judg. 5 11); but not till Jer. 12 1 do we read, 'righteous art thou, Yahwè, when I plead with thee'; where the sense is still half forensic, as in Ex. 9 27 (JE) Ps. 51 4 [6]. In Ps. 11 7 we have 'The righteous Yahwè loveth righteousness.' The parallel between holiness and glory is reinforced by the contrast between holy and profane, for profane certainly seems to mean what is cast down to be trodden under foot (Ezek. 28 16, 'Cast thee as profane out of the holy mount'; Ps. 89 39 [40] 'Thou hast profaned his crown to the ground'; cp 44 [45]). Israel, again (Dt. 26 19), is made high above all people, that it may be a holy people.

The demand that Israel shall be holy is common to every stage and aspect of the Law. In Ex. 22 31 [30] (JE) and Dt. 14 21, it is the ground on which Israel is to abstain from all meat not killed by men for human food; in Dt. 14 1 *f.* Israel as a holy people is forbidden to make to the dead blood- or hair-offerings, intended, doubtless, to keep up a physical communion with them (cp ESCHATOLOGY). The spiritual tie between God and his peculiar people who are his children is not to be impaired by a rite the sense of which was still clear when the book which Hilkiah found was written, though in Jer. 16 6 the rite seems harmless and unmeaning. Again, the tithe of the third year is profane if any of it has been 'eaten in mourning' or 'given for the dead' (Dt. 26 14). Are we to think of the mere unluckiness of any thing connected with the dead (Hos. 9 4)? or of some form of worship, as in Is. 8 19? Consecration for one mode of worship would be a defilement for another. In Lev. 19 27 (cp 21 5) we have the law against cuttings for the dead preceded by a law against an Arab tonsure, which probably marked consecration to an Arab god. This might go back to Hezekiah, who, according to Sennacherib (*KB* 2 94), entertained Arab mercenaries. Gratian adopted the dress of his Alan guard. If we suspect with Robertson Smith[2] an invasion of Arab totemism in the

5. Of Israel.

[1] If Micah (Judg. 17 5) had begun with the Levite we might suppose that the filling of his hand consisted in his salary. He is not likely to have given his son a salary; yet he 'filled his hands.'

[2] [So Bacon (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 137), who remarks, 'In the story before us the consecration of the bene Levi to the priesthood is explained ætiologically by their having filled their hand with the blood of their brethren.' It is doubtful whether 'they have filled your hand' is the meaning of the Heb. The expression, 'Fill your hands' (if this be the meaning), is admitted, however, by Baudissin (*Gesch. des AT Priesterth.* 60) to be 'very suspicious.' It is always another who fills the new priest's hands. Perhaps in an interpolation (see Kue. *Hex.* 247) the phrase may be conceivable.]

[3] Can we suppose that if anybody was allowed to qualify Jeroboam found the qualification for all comers?

[1] Holiness in the same sense is ascribed to other gods: Hammurabi of Babylon on his sarcophagus (*circa* 400 B.C.) speaks of the holy gods in the same way as do Nebuchadrezzar and the queen-mother in the Book of Daniel.

[2] ['Here, therefore, we have a clear case of the re-emergence into the light of day of a cult of the most primitive totemism which had been banished for centuries from public religion and must have been kept alive in obscure circles of private or popular superstition, and sprang up again on the rising of the national faith, like some noxious weed in the courts of a deserted temple' (*R.S.*[2], 357). See the context, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 368 *ff.*]

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time of Ezek. (8 7-12), Lev. 19 28 will forbid the tattooing of totem marks.

In the Book of the Covenant and in Deuteronomy the holiness of the covenant people is demanded, so to speak, incidentally, and without express reference to the holiness of the covenant God. If one were to try to find a keynote for the older book it would be 'Justice': for Deuteronomy perhaps 'Loving-kindness, *hesed*, the dutiful love of the worshipper to his God, which includes kindness for God's sake to men (see also LOVING-KINDNESS). 'Holiness' is certainly the keynote of the oldest stratum of the Levitical law (see LEVITICUS).

6. In the Codes.

Deuteronomy is clearly a development, as compared with the Book of the Covenant: a deeper insight into the vocation of the chosen people has been gained. Is the Law of Holiness a development in the same sense, compared with Deuteronomy? The interval between Ezekiel and Jeremiah is shorter than that between Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant; yet Ezekiel is almost as full of the ideas of H (*i.e.*, the Law of Holiness) as Jeremiah of those of D. Has he inherited a relatively old tradition? Short as H is, it is full of variations and repetitions. Would not an elder or a younger contemporary of Ezekiel, giving expression to a new religious movement that had grown out of Josiah's covenant, have imparted more unity to his work? Again, in more than one way H seems to be older. No reader of Frazer (see especially *Golden Bough*, I 270 n. 2) would think the law which forbids the reaping of corners later than the law against gleaning (Lev. 19 9 *f.*). Nor is the holiness required of priests yet extended to the whole people; thus if a Levitan eats נבלה he is defiled for the day and must wash his clothes; but for priests the prohibition is absolute. There seems, too, to be a recognition of other gods (Dt. 24 15 *f.*): if a man curses his own god he shall bear his iniquity (*i.e.*, he must not come to the priest of the God of Israel to make atonement for him). Certainly in D the demand for 'holiness' is based on the more characteristic demand for monolatry, whilst in H, though the demand for monolatry is not superfluous—Israel, we are told, went after the Shēdim (see DEMONS, § 4) in the wilderness (Lev. 17 7)—it is not fundamental. The giving of the seed to Moloch is treated as analogous to the moral abominations of the nations, for which the land spewed them out, rather than to turning away to idols or making molten gods. It was a profanation of God's holy name just because those under his wrath (Ezek. 20 25 *f.*) regarded it as part of his service. Upon the whole, the demand for holiness in H seems to be an intensification of the demand that worshippers shall sanctify themselves, which we may suppose the better priests to have insisted upon as long as there were feasts in Israel. In many ways the holiness is still external: 'ye shall be holy, for I Yahwè am holy,' appears (Lev. 20 26) as a sanction for the law against abominable food (cp 11 44 *f.*); in 19 2 21 8 the context takes off nothing from the text. These passages mark the culmination, not the starting point, of a line of teaching. Generally the sanction of the precept is, 'I am Yahwè,' 'I am Yahwè your god,' 'I am Yahwè your god who brought you out of Egypt,' 'I am Yahwè who sanctify you.' Logically and theologically God's holiness is the source of all others; he is holy in himself and therefore what he takes for his must be holy too; but possibly, as Robertson Smith held, holiness may in the beginning have been regarded as a mysterious virtue inherent in things external to the worshipper—in trees, in waters, in stones, in the mysterious animal life of well-wooded and well-watered spots,—each of which may have served to suggest a higher power beyond the phenomena in which it was first recognised. Historically, however, the evidence that holiness is an attribute of the object of worship is neither so early nor so copious as the evidence that holiness is a relation bringing the worshipper and his holy things into a new sphere with some thing was lapped at the centre.

Observance of holy and profane [illegible] and unclean [illegible] holy things and persons are or may be [illegible] unavailable for common life as if they were unclean, though, on the other hand, holiness necessarily presupposes and includes cleanness. Again, uncleanness often seems, like holiness, to have something supernatural about it: unclean animals often seem to be 'abominable,' like 'idols': the uncleanness of the dead, and of women at certain times, is as likely to savour of awe as of disgust.

7. Clean and unclean animals.

In historical times clean and unclean beasts are those which are fit or unfit for food rather than for sacrifice[1] (see however below, § 11); but the law [illegible] unclean animals is puzzling.[2] The [illegible] quadrupeds to the [illegible] ruminant [illegible] the exception of the can[illegible] the hygienic point [illegible] the law, it must [illegible] on observation [illegible] may have [illegible] pastures of [illegible] as fit for food [illegible] patriarchs hav[illegible] the teraphim [illegible] more histori[illegible] (cp CAMEL, § 2 7 [illegible] of the story of Gideon (Judg. [illegible]) [illegible] the necks of the camels [illegible] oldest stratum of the story [illegible] of the Amalekites escaped on ca[illegible] camel riders have always killed [illegible] their camels, though the meat is [illegible] to be [illegible] and mutton. Possibly the camel was unclean because it was the domestic animal of alien nomads. If so, the rule 'whatever divideth the hoof and cheweth the cud shall be clean' may have been settled before the question of eating camels became practical. This question was decided by the observation that the camel does not strictly divide the hoof, or at least rests part of its weight on an undivided pad.

8. Quadrupeds.

The express prohibition of eating hares, rock-badgers, and swine, as food, is curious. No reason except a possible connection with totemism has yet been suggested why the rock-badger was forbidden; and for the prohibition of the hare we have only guesses—perhaps it is worth while to mention the idea that hares' flesh is unhealthy. The uncleanness of swine is at its height when they are kept in sties and left dirty; but in OT and NT times they seem to have fed in herds out of doors. Compared with sheep and goats, they are fond of mud—but so are buffaloes in modern Palestine, which are not regarded with the same horror as swine. On the other hand, tribes of herdsmen and shepherds have much more in common with each other than with swineherds, and if we are to look for a natural explanation of the abhorrence of swine we may look for it here: the droves of swine of the alien were abominable to the flocks and herds of the Hebrew. As for the actual feeling, whatever its cause, it is significant that in Harrân, traditionally the last station of Abraham on his way to Canaan and the land to which Jacob returned, the land where he won his wives and his wealth, swine were sacrificed once a year and eat n only then. A sacrifice which is, for whatever

[1] With regard to sacrifices it is men that are clean or unclean. When men sacrifice of the flock and the herd, only the clean may eat (when Saul misses David at table the first thought that occurs to him is 'he is unclean'): that was the common law till slaughter without sacrifice was allowed in D in the interest of the one sanctuary. Of game, on the other hand, of the roebuck and the hart the clean and the unclean may eat alike—though possibly there is a trace of a blood-offering by hunters in the rule in H (Lev. 17 13) that the blood is to be not simply poured out but covered with earth—a prescription which might be either a survival or a development.

[2] [Cp Dr. *Dt.* 164 WRS *OTJC*[2] 366; Now. *HA* I 116 *f.*]

reason, rare, is also mysterious, awful, and potent. Dogs too were sacred in Harran; and both swine and dogs seem to figure in the profane sacrifices of Is. 65 and 66.[1] See DOG, § 4.

Whatever the reason for the express prohibition of camels, hares, rock-badgers, and swine, the prohibition is as old as any part of the law which we can trace; but the list of prohibited animals in Lev. 11 29 *ff.* (P) has integral relation to the rest of the law; the weasel, the mouse, and different kinds of lizards are 'the uncleanest with you of swarming things'; except dry sowing seed, everything that comes into contact with their carcase is unclean.

The rule is meant to work: one of these abominations does not defile a whole cistern or fountain; every earthenware vessel which they touch is to be broken; other vessels are to be washed in water and to be unclean until even; the water which washes the vessels pollutes all meat on which it falls; any drink in the polluted vessels is of course unclean.

Two questions arise: Why should people wish to eat weasels, mice, and different kinds of lizards? and why are these charged with special uncleanness? The traditional answer to the second is that they are in a sense domestic vermin which haunt houses and are always getting into whatever is stored there, and so are worse than vermin out of doors; but, as most commentators think that one of the lizards enumerated is an iguana or a land crocodile 3 or 4 ft. long (see LIZARD [1]), the explanation has to bear a heavy strain. If Robertson Smith's theory of totemism is established, much will become clear.[2] The elders of Israel who worshipped 'creeping things' in 'chambers of imagery' (Ezek. 8 10 *ff.*) made it necessary to cultivate a special religious horror of their low-class totems: they were at the same stage as the Harranians, who are said to have worshipped field-mice. Indications of high class totems, however, are not wanting; see LEOPARD, WOLF.

9. Birds. There is neither a category nor a list of clean birds: of the unclean, as enumerated, most are uneatable either birds of prey or feeders on carrion. The lapwing is especially forbidden: the only possible reason yet discovered is that it haunts marshy places and that its flesh has sometimes a bad smell. Nothing is said one way or other of doves or pigeons, which is remarkable, as they do not appear at Solomon's table, and, though they are the only birds which, as far as we know, were sacrificed, they were used for sacrifices of which the worshipper at least did not eat. In Syria, at any rate, they were always associated with the worship of Astarte, and, wherever that worship spread to the West, they went with it, and according to Lucian (*Dea Syra*, 14, 54) none of the worshippers at Hierapolis ventured to eat or touch them—they were too holy,—and whoever touched them was ἐναγής or 'unclean' for a day, and it was a question whether swine were 'holy' or 'abominable.' Probably the question of clean or unclean birds was only of secondary importance: it was not easy to keep ducks or geese; there were no cocks (see COCK) or hens; the 'fowls of heaven' generally appear as feeding on sacrifices or corpses; the 'fowler' (who appears as early as Hos. 9 8) probably caught small birds for the rich.[3]

10. Insects. The prohibition of 'flying swarming things that go on all fours' looks as if at first it included locusts, the only insects which anybody could wish to eat; if so, subsequent scribes discovered that, as they leap on their hind legs and do not strictly go on all fours, they might be eaten in all stages of their growth.

11. Fish. The law of aquatic food is clear: 'whatever hath fins and scales' is clean; this limits the dietary to true fishes, and, among these, excludes eels and shads,—popular and common articles of food in Egypt, Greece, and Italy. According to Pliny (*H.N.* xxxii. 101), Numa thought fish without scales unfit for funeral banquets; Piankhi Meri-Amen thought well of a king of Lower Egypt who ate no fish; according to Lucian (*Dea Syra*, 54), fish in general is forbidden food. The Law knows nothing of sacrificial fish. Perhaps the prohibition of fish was general, and the permission of what had fins and scales an exception; see FISH, § 8 *ff.* There is certainly a tendency to identify what is clean and what is fit for sacrifice. Thus Hosea (9 3) regards food eaten

12. Plants. out of the land of Israel as unclean, because it cannot be purified by acceptable sacrifice to the God of Israel; in Amos 7 17 a foreign land is polluted for the same reason, and in H the fruit of all trees is to be uncircumcised the first three years (*i.e.*, the fruit is to be picked off as fast as it forms while the trees are establishing themselves?); for the fourth year the whole crop is to be holy to praise Yahwe withal (*i.e.*, to be used for sacrificial feasts). There is no distinction anywhere between clean and unclean herbs; the first fruits of all are to be offered, though only corn and wine and oil figure in sacrifice. In P (Gen. 1 29) every herb

13. Different periods. and tree that yieldeth seed is given for meat from the first; so after the flood is all animal food;[1] as sacrifice was instituted (according to P) for the first time at Sinai, the distinction between clean and unclean animals was still in abeyance. The distinction between clean and sacrificial animals which is presupposed throughout D is perhaps to be explained by the transition from the nomadic state. If Levi the sacred tribe be a metronymic formed from Leah the wild cow, wild animals must have been sacred once (see LEAH).

The law of clean and unclean meats obtained special prominence in the Greek period: the first proof of the religious fidelity of Daniel and his companions is their resolution not to defile themselves with the king's meat; when Antiochus Epiphanes resolved to abolish 'Jewish particularism' eating swine's flesh was the test of conformity. If we go back fifty or seventy years, Joseph, the enterprising revenue farmer, whom his namesake idealised (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 10) as Machiavelli did Cæsar Borgia, had clearly no scruple of the kind;[2] yet even he, though his kindred in the next generation (*ib.* 5 1) were prominent on the heathen side and he himself fell in love with a pagan (*ib.* 8), was heartily thankful when his own niece was substituted for her in order to save him from polluting his seed among the heathen. A psalmist (see Ps. 141), who still instinctively draws his imagery from a time before the institution or revival of the evening burnt sacrifice, may be an older witness for the view (hardly to be traced in Ezra or Nehemiah) that the law of clean and unclean meats is given to separate Israel from the heathen; he appears to be thinking simply of fellowship at the table, not, like the author of Is. 65, of sacrificial communion. If so, a Maccabean editor may have revived a psalm which suited the time. Probably older psalms from 18 onwards lay the stress rather on cleanness of hands and innocency; in Is. 6 5 the unclean lips of prophets and people are generally explained as relating to sins of speech, after the analogy of Zeph. 3 9 13. After the destruction of the temple and still more after Palestine ceased to be the centre of Jewish life, the law of clean and unclean was less zealously observed, though portions of it prove still

[1] [See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 200 *ff.* Were these sacrificial rites practised by the early Samaritans? Cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 167.]

[2] [Cp Stade, *Th. LZG* 1896, n. 1, col 10, who remarks against Nowack that 'W. R. Smith's hypothesis has the special merit of explaining why certain animals are sacred, and why certain kinds of flesh may not be eaten. The theory that these animals were regarded as the property of the Godhead only throws the question back. For how came people to embrace such a remarkable theory?' For Nowack's view see his *HA* I 118.]

[3] See FOWL, § 1. In 1 S. 24 20, if the text is right, partridge-hunting seems to be beneath the dignity of a king. See PAR. [illegible]

[1] Observe that in P's account of the deluge there is no distinction between clean and unclean beasts (DELUGE, § 12 *b*).

[2] His son Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 9) is the first person we know of whom they tell the story of the wise man whose place at the king's board is piled with bones by envious detractors

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to be of considerable sanitary value. See FOOD, § 10 *ff.*

14. Human uncleanness. Human uncleanness[1] is of two kinds. It may arise from external contact, or from something in the man or woman who is unclean. The uncleanness of death falls under both; the dead is unclean and makes others unclean. Diseases like leprosy or issue, natural processes like menstruation and probably copulation, cause uncleanness too. If, as Wellhausen holds (*CH* 151; but cp *HG* 108), Lev. 12 2 implies Lev. 15 19, the law of uncleanness after childbearing might be an extension by analogy of the older law of the uncleanness of menstruation.[2] If so, as the Vendidad has much to say respecting the uncleanness of childbed, we might suspect Persian influence—the rather that there is no hint of it in the older Hebrew literature, while the 'menstruous cloth' appears (Is. 30 22) in a passage still generally assigned to the Assyrian period. Cp FAMILY, § 11.

Perhaps a common element in all cases of uncleanness not caused by external contact is that the unclean in some way is disgusting or alarming. The law of leprosy is not to be explained from the risk of contagion: ordinary sickness, even pestilence, does not occasion uncleanness; the leper is 'unclean' because he is smitten of God, just as the madman in Moslem countries is 'holy,' and epilepsy was the *ἱερὰ νόσος* in Greece. In general, persons who are in a state to make ordinary people shrink from them, because their neighbourhood is uncomfortable or terrifying, are unclean.

Casual uncleanness, according to P in its final state, does not require an offering for its removal. It is

15. Purification. enough to observe the prescribed term of seclusion, generally 'until the even,' and the prescribed washing; if either be neglected and the unclean negligently or ignorantly intrude among the clean, a 'sin-offering' is necessary. This is Dillmann's inference from Lev. 5 2. According to Nu. 5 2, the unclean is excluded not only from 'the congregation,' but also from 'the camp,'—*i.e.*, not only from the temple, but also from, at any rate, walled towns. No offering is prescribed for the menstruous woman; but after childbed and after issues a 'sin offering' is prescribed, whilst the leper has also

16. Case of leper. to bring a 'trespass' offering before he can come into 'the congregation,' though he is admitted to 'the camp' after the performance of an (older?) rite with two birds, running water, cedar, hyssop, and scarlet. After he comes into the camp he must still wait several days before he comes to his 'tent.' Here it is hard to doubt that the Law has a sanitary purpose: it imposes a short quarantine to make sure that the cure is complete, and not improbably to guard against the hereditary transmission of the disease. The 'trespass' offering of the leper looks like a 'development'; it is necessary to assert expressly that it belongs to the priest (Lev. 14 13); the leper is anointed with the blood and oil of the trespass offering, exactly as Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8 23) are anointed with the blood of the ram of consecration, whose flesh is boiled for Aaron and his sons to eat, while the 'wave breast' falls to Moses as the sacrificer's fee. Possibly the reconsecration of the leper as one of the holy people by sacrificial blood is older than the theory that he was not to eat of the sacrifice. The sin and the burnt-offering prescribed after all the graver kinds of uncleanness are to 'make an atonement,' which may imply that the uncleanness was a penal infliction, though this is nowhere stated. The (older?) rite, which readmits the leper to the camp, is the only one prescribed for the cleansing of a house from the plague of leprosy, whilst leprosy in a garment, if it ceases to spread, is sufficiently purged by two washings.[1] Much of the rite is still transparent. One of the birds is to be held over an earthen vessel full of living water into which the blood of the dead bird falls; the living bird, the cedar, the scarlet, and the hyssop are to be dipped in the water and blood; the leper who is to be cleansed is to be sprinkled with both; and then the living bird is to fly away with the plague of leprosy, as the women with the wind in their wings (Zech. 5 9) fly away with the wickedness of the land of Israel, or as the goat for Azazel (see AZAZEL) carries away the sin of the congregation into the wilderness. Probably the living bird is dipped in the blood and water to establish a kind of blood brotherhood between it and the leper. If the blood and water were on the leper alone, the release of the living bird might symbolise that he who was hitherto shut up in Israel was now free as the fowls of the air. Living water is, of course, a natural element of all purifications; HYSSOP (*q.v.*), certainly a popular means of purification (Ps. 51 7 [9]), according to Pliny (*HN* xvi. 76) is good for the complexion, and according to others is a saponaceous herb. What are the cedar and the scarlet for? Cedar wood is aromatic; the bright colour of scarlet may betoken strength and splendour. In the ancient domestic rites of India (*SBE* 30 251) children are made to touch gold and *ghee*, that when they grow up they may have riches and food. Remote as the analogy is, we may ask, Is the leper, in virtue of the rite, to dwell in cedar and be clothed with scarlet? See CEDAR.

The cedar, hyssop, and scarlet appear again in the mysterious rite of the Red Heifer whose ashes are used

17. Red Heifer, etc. for the water of separation. It had a whole treatise to itself in the Mishna, where its qualifications were elaborated to such a point that at last R. Nisin said that no one since the days of Moses had been able to find one fit to be slain. There is an analogous rite in D (Dt. 21 1 *f.*) When the land is defiled with blood the ordinary way of putting away bloodguiltiness is to shed the blood of the slayer. If he cannot be found the land is made clean again with the blood of an unyoked heifer killed, either by beheading or by breaking the neck (the meaning of the verb *'ārap* is not clear), in a barren valley with a running stream in it, where the elders of the city nearest the place where the dead man is found wash their hands of bloodguiltiness over the heifer. A barren valley is chosen, according to Dillmann, Ewald, and Keil, in order that the purifying blood may not be uncovered and lose its virtue; according to Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 371), to avoid all risk of contact with sacrosanct flesh. We might ask, Would running water in a fertile valley used for such a rite pollute the fields of offerings? The goat for Azāzel is sent into the wilderness. If the heifer is beheaded, her blood is almost certainly intended to 'cover' the blood of the slain. If not, are we to think of Saul's first muster (1 S. 14 32 *ff.*)? Do the elders by implication invoke on themselves the doom of the heifer if their protestation is false? What is the meaning of the obviously popular rite (see COVENANT, § 5) of dividing victims when a covenant is made (Gen. 15 10 Jer. 34 18 *f.*)? The rite of the Red Heifer is more general in its intention. Its principal use is not to do away bloodguiltiness, but to cleanse those who are defiled by contact with the dead. Incidentally we learn that it was required for the purification of the vessels of all spoil which will not abide the fire (Nu. 31 23); and the Levites on their consecration are to be purified by what is probably the same, 'the water of sin' (*ib.* 8 7). [Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29 4 and parallels) are washed at their consecration with common

[1] [Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 428, 447 *f.*]

[2] According to surviving folklore, many things will not 'keep' if made or handled by a person in a state of Levitical 'uncleanness.'

[1] Neither of these laws belongs to the main stock of P, though, if they were later developments, we should expect that the cleansing of a house, at any rate, would have required an offering. In D the dedication of a house includes all the sacrifices of sacrifice, and was probably accomplished at one time by sacrifice.

water.] Both texts are late, and represent the views of antiquaries rather than the claims of legists with practical interests to satisfy. The tendency to ascribe the whole law to Moses naturally brought with it an increasing zeal for the oldest rites that could be recollected; it does not follow that the water of separation was invented in or after the Exile, because the occasions for its application were prescribed then. Possibly, as the Persians removed the uncleanness of the dead by elaborate ceremonies with *gōmēz*, the priests thought that in similar cases water hallowed with the ashes of a cow would be specially efficacious. The law of a purification on the third and the seventh day (Nu. 19 11-13 or 14-16?) looks older than the original law of the Red Heifer, which seems to end at *v.* 10; in *vv.* 17 *ff.* we have the rule for its application.

The rite itself is as obscure as its history. For one thing, at every stage its ministers must be clean, and they become unclean by their ministry; the priest who superintends the burning is unclean till the even; so is he who burns; he who collects the ashes (though they must be laid up in a clean place) is unclean; so is he who sprinkles or even touches the water, which is the one means which can make those defiled by contact with the dead clean. Naturally, we suppose that those who were 'unclean' at the stage of the law implied in our records were 'sanctified' at an earlier stage. Twice the heifer (*vv.* 9 17) is called a sin-offering. The ritual has interesting analogies with, and differences from, that of other sin-offerings. Like the sin-offering for the priest's own sin, and that for the sin of the congregation, it is to be burnt outside the camp—hide, dung, and all. Unlike them it is to be killed, not in the place of the burnt offering, but without the camp. There is another contrast. The blood and fat of all sin-offerings, including the sin-offerings for priest and congregation and the bullock offered at the consecration of Aaron, is presented in the sanctuary; the blood seems specially used there, as in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, to rehallow the altar profaned by sin. The heifer's blood is not brought into the sanctuary; it is sprinkled towards it seven times. But for this we might suppose that the uncleanness of death was driven away from the camp or the city and burnt with the heifer; but her blood is hallowing—else why is it sprinkled toward the holy place? Are all these rites compromises between the old custom of worshipping outside the city, which maintained itself as late as David (2 Sam. 15 32), and the new custom of hallowing the city by a sanctuary? As late as the Assyrian period (Is. 33 14, if this be Isaiah's), the close neighbourhood of an ever-burning altar made many uncomfortable.[1] For this reason, among others, the rarer and more solemn sacrifices were still performed outside. Then perhaps the old rite in the old place took on a new meaning. Kings were, as a rule, buried in the city, and it was customary (Jer. 34 5) to make a burning for them.[2] In 2 Ch. 16 14 we read of a very great burning for Asa: the Chronicler, who may be quoting a relatively old authority, thinks of perfumes, at which Jeremiah does not hint. Were valuables burnt in honour of kings? Have the cedar, the hyssop, and the scarlet burnt with the heifer any analogy to such burnings? Is the putting away of the heifer with something of a royal funeral an almost unconscious reminiscence of a well-nigh forgotten cultus of sacred animals? Is the red heifer the last trace of a cow goddess (see CALF, GOLDEN)? There are, of course, many instances of mortal representations of the Godhead, honoured for a time, and then ceremoniously put away. In any case, the efficacy of the heifer's ashes seems to lie in the fact that they reconsecrate rather than purge the unclean. All Israel were originally hallowed (Ex. 24 8 JE) by the blood of the covenant; so the priests are hallowed by the blood of the 'fill offering'; so the blood of the atonement rehallows the holy place and the altar that has been profaned; so the leper is rehallowed after his uncleanness with blood, and the ashes of a peculiar sin offering serve the same end. On the other hand, water and fire (except in Is. 6 5 *ff.*) seem simply to remove external pollutions, not to renew communion with a holy life.

Robertson Smith (*Kinship* ['85], *Rel. Sem.*[2] ['94]), and Wellhausen (*Reste Arab. Heid.*[2] ['97]) are the best authorities for the Semitic world. The subject is best studied from a comparative point of view, for which Frazer's *Golden Bough* ('90) is indispensable.

18. Literature. The critical treatment of the subject is of recent growth and is capable of further development. Cp J. C. Matthes, 'De begrippen rein en onrein in het OT,' *Th. T.* 33 293-318 [1899]. The only earlier work of importance is Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (Cambridge 1727)—see Robertson Smith's estimate in *Rel. Sem.*[2] p. vi. G. A. S.

[1] Have we a trace of the same feeling in Is. 32 19? Is not a fenced city on God's Holy Hill at once superfluous when God delivers his people, and also in some sense profane?

[2] Cp *Abodah Zarah*, 1 3 and the Gemara.

CLEMENT (ΚΛΗΜΗΣ [Ti. WH]), a Philippian Christian who had taken an active part in building up the church at Philippi, in which he had the co-operation of Euodia and Syntyche (Phil. 4 3). In the allusion to him there is nothing to imply that he was a companion of Paul in his journeyings, or to justify his traditional identification (in the Western Church) with the Roman Clement.

In the list of the 'seventy disciples' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus he is spoken of as having been the first of the Gentiles and Greeks to believe in Christ, and as having afterwards become bishop of Sardica. The Pseudo-Hippolytus has Sardinia, for which, however, we should probably read Sardica.

CLEOPAS (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΣ [Ti. WH], abbrev. from ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ), according to Lk. 24 18 the name of one of the two disciples who accompanied the risen Jesus to Emmaus. The narrative in question, however, is one of the latest of those which attached themselves to the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus. Paul, who had spent fifteen days in the society of Peter (Gal. 1 18) and was strongly interested in establishing the fact of the resurrection, knows nothing of it. By *εἶτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . εἶτα . . . ἔσχατον*[1] of 1 Cor. 15 5-8 he unquestionably intends to enumerate exhaustively all the appearances of the risen Lord which were known to him; and he had the most urgent occasion to do so for the resurrection of Jesus had been brought in question at Corinth. The narrative of the third evangelist conveys in a highly concrete form the thought that it is from Jesus himself we receive the knowledge that his Passion and Resurrection had been foretold by Moses and all the prophets (24 25-27). In reality however, this conviction must have been gradually reached as the result of a prolonged and ever-deepening study of the OT by the whole church. That it is in the Eucharist that his presence is made known to the church is, in like manner, an experience still repeated in every renewal of the act. Here too, accordingly, the thought, that in the presence of Christ as experienced in the sacrament which commemorates his death we have our most convincing assurance that he truly lives, finds concrete expression.

After what has been said, it becomes a question whether Cleopas is a historical person at all, though there is nothing in the mere name to suggest that he is not. There is no sufficient ground, philological or other, for regarding him as a veiled representation of the apostle Paul.

Several MSS of the Itala and Vg., as also the Copt. and the Armenian versions, read Κλεοπᾶς or Κλεοπᾶ in Jn. 19 25 also; but if this were the original reading the substitution of the more difficult form Κλωπᾶς would be incomprehensible. For the evidence that different persons are intended in Jn. and in Lk. that the confusion of the two is due to later writers see CLOPAS, § 5 *f.* P. S.

CLEOPATRA (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ [ANV]), 1. sister wife of Ptolemy Philometor, Est. 11 1.

[1] RV 'then . . . then . . . then . . . then . . . then . . . after that . . . after that . . .'

2. Daughter of no. 1 (1 Macc. 10 57); see PTOLEMIES.

CLEOPHAS (κλωπας [Ti.WH]). Jn. 19 25 AV†, AV^mg. and RV CLOPAS (*q.v.*).

CLOAK (CLOKE).

For מְעִיל, *me'il*, in 1s. 59 17 see TUNIC. In this passage the *me'il* was a military over-garment, and cloak well expresses this.

For ἱμάτιον (see especially Mt. 5 40; in Jn. 19 2 5, AV 'robe,' RV 'garment'), the outside mantle (*pallium*, as distinguished from the χιτών or *tunica*), representing the Hebrew *kuttōneth*, see MANTLE.

Other garments rendered cloak are the Macedonian χλαμύς, or military cloak of 2 Macc. 12 35 RV ('coat' AV), and the φελόνης, or travelling cloak of 2 Tim. 4 13. See MANTLE.

CLOPAS (κλωπας [Ti.WH]). This name cannot be derived from the same Hebrew (Aramaic) word as αλφαιος.

In the first place, the vocalisation is not the same: Clopas would require some such form as חֲלָפָי, while Alphæus presupposes חֲלָפָי or חֵלָפָי (see ALPHÆUS). In the second place, as regards ח, all that is certainly known is that it becomes K at the end and in the middle of certain words (2 Ch. 30 1 Neh. 3 6 [φαστεκ], Gen. 22 23 [ραβεκ], Josh. 16 6 [ιανωκα]). True, it has been conjectured that the same holds good at the beginning of words (H. Lewy, *Die Sem. Fremdwörter im Griech.*, 1895, pp. 17 27 51 110 119 137; add, conversely, חרשבריא as transliteration of κλεψύδρα). This hardly comes into consideration, however, in the present case, for a Hebrew (or Aramaic) derivation is never probable in the case of a word beginning with two consonants. In Greek transliteration of Hebrew names, initial *χλ-* is always represented by a full vowel (*e.g.*, שְׁמוּאֵל, Σαμουήλ): the opposite instances given by Lewy (11 *f.*, 34, 45, 54, 59, 69, 98, 105, 118, 122 *f.*, 129, 206, 211, 246 *f.*) are more or less doubtful, and relate to words which were susceptible of such a modification in the transference as was hardly possible in the case of biblical proper names. Further, the Syriac versions of the NT betray no consciousness that both names are derived from a common Semitic source: with them the initial letter of 'αλφαιος is always ח (or ܚ), of κλωπας invariably ק.

1. Name perhaps Greek.

It is not likely that κλωπᾶς is derived by metathesis from קִיפָא ('club'); nor is there the least certainty that κλωπας is a contraction from κλεόπας.

On purely Greek soil, at any rate, κλεο- when contracted would become either κλευ- (*e.g.*, κλευκράτης, especially in Doric) or κλου- (as θεόδωρος becomes θουδωρος; see Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. attischen Inschrr.* § 19, and cp THEUDAS). At the same time, the contraction of κλεόπας into κλωπας must be admitted to be at least possible, inasmuch as we know of no Greek word from which the syllable κλω- can come. In this case the original form of the name will be κλεόπατρος. For this reason, the accentuation κλώπας is preferable to κλωπᾶς, especially as the accent is allowed to retain its original place in κλεόπας.[1]

In Jn. 19 25, the only place where the name occurs in NT, Clopas is mentioned as somehow related to a certain Mary. Hegesippus (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 11 32 1-6 iv. 22 4) informs us that Clopas was the brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Whether this is the Clopas referred to in Jn. 19 25 depends, in the first instance, on the answer to the question, who is intended by the 'Mary of Clopas' there. As there is no 'and' before her name, she would seem to be identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus who has been referred to immediately before; but it is quite improbable that two sisters alive at the same time should have borne the same name, at least in a plebeian family.

2. Mary of Clopas probably not = Jesus' mother's sister.

With a royal house the case is somewhat different. Of the sons of Herod the Great, two who never attained royal dignity bore the name of their father: one by his marriage with the second Mariamme, and one by his marriage with Cleopatra of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1 3 *BJ* 1 28 4, § 562). There was, besides, his second son by Malthakē, who, however, as far as we know, took the name only as a reigning prince (see Lk. 3 1 and frequently), whilst before his accession he is in Josephus invariably designated by his other name, Antipas. His first son by Malthakē, too, whom Josephus always names Archelaus, is called Herod on coins and in Cassius Dio (55 27; cp Schürer, *G.J.V.*[4] i. 375, E.T. i. 2 39). Thus the name Herod seems already, to some extent, to have acquired the character of a family name.

If φιλιππου be the correct reading in Mk. 6 17 (so also in Mt. 14 3, though not according to the western group), the son of Mariamme just mentioned, who, in point of fact, was the first husband of Herodias, must have borne the name Philip also, in addition to that of Herod, while at the same time this name, Philip, was borne by his brother, who is known to us from Lk. 3 1 as the tetrarch of NE. Palestine. As we are without evidence that the former Herod was called Philip, doubtless we must here conclude that Mk. and Mt. have fallen into an error, which, however, has been avoided by Lk. (3 19).

Again, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 5 1 xv. 3 1 xix. 6 2), not only Onias III (high priest till 174 B.C., died 171 B.C.) and Jesus (Jason) his successor (high priest 174-171 B.C.), but also Onias (usually known as Menelaus) who came after Jason, were sons of the high priest Simon II.[2] 2 Macc. (3 4 2 3), however, which is here very detailed, expressly speaks of Menelaus as brother of a Benjamite named Simon, whilst the high priest Simon II. was of the tribe of Levi.

II. accordingly, one is determined to hold by the identity of Mary of Clopas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, this must be on the assumption not only that she and the mother of Jesus were not children of the same marriage, but also that they had neither father nor mother in common—that, in fact, each spouse had brought into the new household a daughter by a former marriage, named Mary. It is no argument against the identity of the two to allege that we are not at liberty to find more women mentioned in Jn. 19 25 than in Mt. 27 56 Mk. 15 40 (16 1) and Lk. 24 10;[3] for John mentions the mother of Jesus, though she does not appear in any of the synoptists. In other words, he did not hold himself bound by what they said, though, according to all scholars, their narratives lay before him. The only point on which he is distinctly in agreement with them is as to the presence of Mary Magdalene. If we will have it that he enumerates also the Salomē of Mark (whose identity with the mother of James and John the sons of Zebedee cannot seriously be doubted), we can find her only in the sister of the mother of Jesus. Mary of Clopas must in that case be distinct from the latter, and may possibly be identified with the Mary who in Mt. is called the mother of James and Joses (or Joseph), in Mk. the mother of James the Less and Joses, or, more briefly, Mary [the mother] of Joses (so 15 47) or Mary of James (so 16 1 and Lk. 24 10). In this case, however, not only is it remarkable that the great ship of the apostles, James the Greater and John, with Jesus—as children of sisters—is nowhere mentioned

[1] [The name is possibly the same as the Palm. קליוא (Cha'at, no. 19). In MH the name 'Cleopatra' usually appears under the form קליפטרא[ס].]

[2] [Is somewhat different about the relations, see ONIAS.]

[3]

Mt. 27 56.	Mk. 15 40.	Mk. 16 1	Lk. 23 49.	Lk. 24 10.	Jn. 19 25.
At the cross.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)
Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene.	[illegible]	Mary Magdalene.	Mary the mother of Jesus.
Mary, the mother of James and Joseph).	Mary, the mother of James the Less and of Joses.	Mary of James.	[illegible]	Joanna.	The sister of the mother of Jesus. Mary of Clopas.
The mother of the sons of Zebedee.	Salome.	Salome.		Mary of James.	Mary Magdalene.

or in any way alluded to; but also it is almost unthinkable that the fourth evangelist presupposes the presence of the mother of John when in 19 26 he proceeds 'when Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith, etc.' As far as the fourth evangelist is concerned, this scene furnishes a clear motive for thinking not only of the mother of Jesus as present, but also of the mother of John as absent. Lk. 24 10 (at the sepulchre) puts in the place of the mother of John a certain Joanna. If, as he often does, the fourth evangelist is here taking Lk. rather than Mt. or Mk. for his guide, it would be impossible to identify Mary of Clopas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, whose name on this assumption must be taken to be Joanna. It is certain, however, that in Lk. this Joanna is identical with the Joanna who is mentioned in 8 3 as the wife of a certain Chuza and not stated to have been related to the mother of Jesus. Thus we may take it that it was not she, any more than any of the others, that was intended by the fourth evangelist, and that most probably his reason for mentioning the sister of the mother of Jesus is that, according to Lk. 23 49, 'all his acquaintance' (γνωστοι) are standing by the cross. There is no evidence of any allegorising intention that he could have had in the enumeration of these four (or three) women. Apart from the mother of Jesus and her sister, therefore, the names of the women seem simply to have been taken over from the Synoptists.

3. Clopas = Alphæus?

Who was the mother of James and Joses, with whom according to this view, Mary of Clopas would have to be identified? The James in question is often supposed to be the second James in the list of the apostles. With this it seems to agree that Mk. calls him James the Less. Now, this James was a son of Alphæus. Thus Alphæus would appear to be the husband of the Mary mentioned by the Synoptists as present at the cross. From this it is not unusual to proceed to the further combination that in Jn. Clopas is named as the husband of Mary and that he is identical with Alphæus. Philologically the names are distinct (see above, § 1); but the identification is possible if, according to a not uncommon Jewish custom (Acts 1 23 12 25 13 9 Col. 4 11), Clopas had two names. A further step is to bring in at this point the statement of Hegesippus that Clopas was a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Over and above this, many proceed to the assumption—shown above (§ 2) to be untenable—that his wife Mary was identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus.

In this case two brothers would have married two sisters, and the second James in the list of apostles would be a cousin of Jesus, and that both on the fathers and on the mothers side. Even, however, if we regard Mary of Clopas as a different person from the sister of the mother of Jesus, her son, the second James, as long as he is regarded as the son of Clopas the uncle of Jesus, remains a cousin of Jesus, whilst, according to the identification of the sister of the mother of Jesus with the wife of Zebedee (spoken of above, § 2), this honour would belong rather to the first James and John the sons of Zebedee as being sons of the aunt of Jesus.

The next question that arises is, Who was Joses, the second son of Mary, according to the Synoptists?

4. The sons of Mary = Brothers of Jesus?

In Mk. 6 3 a Joses is named along with James, Judas and Simon, amongst the brethren of Jesus. This has given occasion for crowning the structure of conjectures which has been already exhibited, and completing it with a hypothesis whereby it becomes possible to deny the existence of literal brethren of Jesus, and to affirm the perpetual virginity of the mother of Jesus. It is admitted that James and Joses were sons of Clopas (= Alphæus) and of Mary his wife, the same seems to hold good of all the 'brethren of Jesus.' In that case they would be 'brethren' in the sense in which 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) is used instead of ἀνεψιοί (children of two brothers or [illegible] 17).

Finally, to this is added, not as a necessary but as a welcome completion of the hypothesis, the suggestion that of the 'brethren of Jesus' not only James but also Simon and Judas were among the apostles.

Both names, in point of fact, occur, at least in Lk. 6 15 f. Acts 1 13 (Simon alone in Mk. 3 18 Mt. 10 3 f.). With regard to Joses, the fourth of the 'brethren of Jesus,' somebody (carrying out the same hypothesis) that it was he who, according to Acts 1 23-26, was nominated (though not chosen) as successor to the vacant place of Judas Iscariot. It is true that all the better authorities here read Joseph, not Joses (see BARSABAS); but, on the other hand, this reading being accepted, it can be pointed out that according to the better MSS (at least in Mt. 13 55) Joseph, not as in Mk. 6 3 Joses, is the name of the fourth 'brother' of Jesus.

This whole identification of the 'brethren of Jesus' with apostles or aspirants to the apostleship, however, is quite untenable. According to Mk. 3 21 31 Mt. 12 46 f. Lk. 8 19 Jn. 7 5, the brethren of Jesus disbelieved his Messiahship while he was alive, and in Acts 1 14 1 Cor. 9 5 they are distinctly separated from the apostles.

Even if we give up the identification with apostles, Mary cannot be the mother of the cousins of Jesus.

Had she been so related to Jesus, Mt. and Mk., in seeking to indicate her with precision, would have named not two sons but four; or rather they would have mentioned no names at all, but simply said 'the mother of the cousins of Jesus.' Moreover, it is only of Symeon, the second 'bishop' of Jerusalem that Hegesippus says he was son of Clopas and cousin of Jesus. If Hegesippus had regarded the four 'brethren of Jesus' as his cousins, he would surely have designated Symeon's predecessor also (James the 'brother' of Jesus) as son of Clopas, and Symeon himself, by whom in this case the Simon of Mk. 6 3 Mt. 13 55 would be meant, he would have designated as brother of James. This, however, is what he does not do: he calls James simply 'the Just' (ὁ δίκαιος), and says (Eus. *HE* iii. 32 6) that men 'of the race of the Lord' (ἀπο γένους τοῦ κυρίου) had presided over the church (in Palestine) in peace until Symeon the son of Clopas, the uncle of Jesus, was arraigned and crucified; cp iii. 20 6.[1]

Lastly, it is idle to deny the existence of actual 'brethren of Jesus': that is distinctly vouched for by the πρωτοτοκον of Lk. 2 7—an expression all the weightier because it has been already suppressed in Mt. 1 25.

If James and Joses, the sons of Mary according to the synoptists, are thus no cousins of Jesus, we could all the more readily believe that they were really apostles or at least constant companions (Acts 1 21) of Jesus.

5. Conclusion.

Such an assumption, however, is not borne out by a single hint, and at the stage of the discussion we have now reached it has no more interest than the other which makes Clopas identical with Alphæus and regards him as the husband of Mary. The Mary in question, we are forced to conclude, was simply a woman not known otherwise than as the mother of a James and a Joses. Why is it, then, that the fourth evangelist designates her, not by reference to these sons of hers, but by calling her 'of Clopas'? That he here intends the Cleopas of Lk. 24 18 is quite improbable (see CLEOPAS); but neither is it likely that he can have meant a man named Clopas who was wholly unknown to his readers. His allusion must rather have been to the Clopas whom we know from Hegesippus as the brother of Joseph. There is no trace of any allegorising intention in this: we may take it that the evangelist is following tradition. It is possible, therefore, that Clopas was the husband of Mary, in which case James and Joses are cousins of Jesus, but not to be identified with his brothers of the same name, nor yet with the apostle James and the Joseph (or Joses) Barsabas of Acts 1 23. It is more probable, however, if the prevailing

[1] In Eus. *HE* iii. 20 1 Hegesippus speaks of οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου υἱωνοὶ Ἰούδα, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ; and in iv. 22 4 he says that ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ [Jesu] Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ was ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ κυρίου δευτερος. Inasmuch as he does not regard James as ἀνεψιὸς πρωτος, as has been shown, the words δευτερος and λεγομενου can mean only that he regarded Symeon as 'cousin' and Jude as 'brother' of Jesus in a different sense. He appears, then, to favour the assumption of the παρθενία of Mary at Jesus' birth. All the more remarkable is it that he does not seem to have drawn the further consequence of denying other sons to her. His statement that Clopas was the uncle of Jesus, therefore, does not proceed upon any such theory as that in favour of which it has (as we have seen) been applied, and therefore in respect of trustworthiness is open to [illegible]

usus loquendi is to be taken as a guide, that Clopas is designated as the *father* of Mary. In this case it is Mary herself who is the cousin of Jesus. In either case it is remarkable that in the synoptists she should be characterised not by her relationship to Jesus, but simply by mention of her sons; and this on the assumption that it is the uncle of [illegible] who [illegible], suggests a doubt as to whether the mention of Clopas in this connection is correct.

The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, following the combination mentioned above (§ 4), [illegible] most part [illegible] son of Clopas [illegible] spoken of by Hegesippus, which [illegible] Simeon the Canaanite (AV [illegible] the Zealot [illegible] give him [illegible] some make the name [illegible] in the form Cleopas [illegible] the disciple mentioned in Lk 24 18. He is at [illegible] enumerated among the Seventy [illegible] *Apostelgesch* ii. 2 142 f.) According to the [illegible] *Apostle*, ed. Bensly, [illegible] p. [illegible] Payne Smith, col. [illegible] a Syriac [illegible] sixth century [illegible] the [illegible] of NT [illegible] must state [illegible] in Lipsius [illegible] text of [illegible] Mary [illegible]

CLOTH, CLOTHING. [illegible] generally, [illegible] § 1.

The word is are used [illegible] interchange with [illegible] (and 'clothes') occasionally [illegible] (MANTLE), [illegible] AV [illegible] for σινδών, Mt 27 59; [illegible] or fabric is found only in [illegible] (Ex. [illegible] AV; [illegible]) [illegible] § 1 n. For 'striped cloths' (Ps 7 [illegible] RV, [illegible] RV prefers 'of this [illegible] where AV has 'clothes' [illegible] 49 15 AV (כִּיס, RV 'vestures') [illegible] AV (גְּלִים, RV 'wrappings' [illegible] § 1). [illegible] is used to render the [illegible] 22 30), כְּבָד (Is. 23 19), תַּלְבֹּשֶׁת [illegible] שִׂלְמָה, Is 3 (MANTLE).

CLOUD, PILLAR OF (עַמּוּד הָעָנָן) Exod 13 21; see PILLAR OF CLOUD.

CLUB (תּוֹתָח, *tôthâh*; σφῦρα Job 41 27 [21] RV, AV 'dart'). Read *tartah* 'javelin' and see WEAPONS.

CNIDUS (κνίδος [AN]V, L WH], a city on Cape Crio (anc. Triopium) in the extreme SW of Asia Minor between Cos and Rhodes. It was originally built upon the rocky island (νῆσος ἰσθμὴ θεατροειδής, Strabo, 656) forming the cape, united to the mainland by a causeway—thus making two harbours, one on the N. and the other on the S. of the isthmus (cp Mitylene and Myndus).

The inhabitants soon spread eastwards over the neighbouring part of the peninsula. The moles of the large southern port are still in existence, as well as much of the ancient city. The situation of Cnidus was eminently favourable to its development as a commercial and naval power; but, unlike Cos in this respect, it played no part as a naval state (probably owing to the repressive influence of Rhodes).

The commercial importance of the city was inevitable. It lies upon the maritime highway (cp Thuc. 8 35, περὶ Τριόπιον τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁλκάδας προσβαλούσας ἐνλαμβάνειν). Very early it had trade with Egypt and shared in the Hellenic at Naucratis (Herod 2 178). At least as early as the second century [illegible] had attracted Jewish settlers (1 Macc 15 [illegible]) and appears in the list of places to which the circular letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (139 [illegible]) is said to have been addressed. Paul must have passed the city on his way to Caesarea (Acts 21 1 f.); but it is [illegible] (Acts 27 [illegible] διαδιαπλεύσαντες καὶ μόλις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον) after Myra had been passed, on the voyage to Rome. The continuous NW. (Etesian) winds had made the voyage over the 130 m. between Myra and Cnidus tedious; and rendered the direct course from Cnidus, by the N. side of Crete, impossible (μὴ προσείωντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου).

The wines of Cnidus, especially the [illegible] excelled any produced in Asia (Str. [illegible]). The best [illegible] city to [illegible] at the [illegible] and their encouragement of art. They possessed, at the [illegible] at Delphi, two pictures by Polygnōtus (made at both [illegible] Paus. x. 25 1 f.). They bought the Aphrodite of Praxiteles (his masterpiece), *quam ut viderunt multi navigaverunt Cnidum*, [illegible] Aphrodite [illegible] and Sappho, [illegible] the play [illegible] Agatharchides [illegible] Cnidus (cp Strabo, [illegible]).

[illegible] the remains [illegible] *and* [illegible] W. J. W.

COACH (עֵב) [illegible] See [illegible]

COAL. The coal of OT and NT is undoubtedly charcoal. A piece of black charcoal was termed פֶּחָם (*pêhâm*, [illegible]).

1 Terms. [illegible] 26 [illegible] Is. 44 12, 54 16] [ἄνθραξ; *carbo*]); pieces in process of combustion, [illegible] (cp Ass [illegible] *pîtu* [illegible] of fire). Lev [illegible] אֵשׁ [illegible] of fire) [illegible] which [illegible] not uniformly [illegible] 44 [illegible] Pes the [illegible] of the [illegible] 26 [illegible] as [illegible]

Often [illegible] say that [illegible] *pêhâm* also [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] by the Revisers with [illegible] *pêhâm* [illegible] AV, Hab 3 [illegible] AV, RV [illegible] RV), [illegible] *pêhâm*).

The Hebrews doubtless used [illegible] varieties of wood [illegible] in the modern Syria [illegible] pp 115 [illegible]

2 Fuel. [illegible] 44 [illegible] Is 12 [illegible] mentions [illegible] of broom [illegible] when [illegible] throws [illegible] The reference [illegible] as fuel (רְתָמִים, רְתָמִים) are made [illegible] of the buckthorn or perhaps broom [illegible] אֶשֶׁר Ps. 58 [illegible] of chaff [illegible] straw (תֶּבֶן), [illegible] of the threshing floor [illegible] end of [illegible] (Mt. 6 [illegible] Lk 12 28). At the present [illegible] the [illegible] fuel of the Bedouin is the dung [illegible] cows [illegible] Lk [illegible] which, [illegible] carefully collected and after being [illegible] or chopped straw, [illegible] into [illegible] cakes, which [illegible] stored for the winter's use. We may assume that [illegible] was so much [illegible] before the compilation [illegible] relation of the [illegible] Luke 12 28 certainly suggests that it was not altogether [illegible]

The charcoal was burned in a [illegible] 36 [illegible] AV 'hearth' RV [illegible] 'chafing dish' [illegible] אֵשׁ.

3. The hearth. Zech 12 [illegible] RV [illegible] at least in the houses [illegible] The [illegible] at which Peter [illegible] was [illegible] RV [illegible] 21 [illegible]

[illegible] AV [illegible] רִצְפָה, pavement [illegible] where [illegible] AV [illegible] *pêhâm* [illegible] hearth see Landberg [illegible] *Dialectus*, 73 [illegible] Arabic [illegible]

[illegible]

1 For כבנרי רפים Gra. reads כבר רפים, but we [illegible] more probably emend to בנרי ברזלים 'with iron shears' (cp HOUSE, MECHANIM, § 3 *a* end); בני became בנ and from the transposition and confusion of letters ברזלים arose (Che.).

In the houses of the humbler classes, the hearth (מוקדה, only of altar-hearth Lev. 6 2 [9]; mod. Ar. *mawḳida*) was probably a mere depression in the floor, the smoke escaping, as best it could, through the door or the latticed window (ארבה, Hos. 13 3, EV 'chimney'). See LATTICE. Chimneys there were none; the AV rendering, 'ere ever the chimneys in Zion were hot' in 4 Esd. 6 4, is based on a corruption of the Latin text (RV 'or ever the footstool of Zion was established').

Coal and coals supply a variety of metaphors. Thus 'to quench one's coal' (נחתה 2 S. 14 7; cp the classical ζώπυρον, and see Dr. *ad loc.*) is a pathetic figure for depriving a person of the privilege of posterity, otherwise expressed as a putting out of one's candle (rather, 'lamp')—Prov. 13 9 etc. To heap 'coals of fire,' or glowing charcoal, on an enemy's head must, it would seem, be to adopt a mode of revenge calculated to awaken the pains of remorse in his breast (Prov. 25 22[1] (MT), Rom. 12 20). Again, 'kindle not the coals of a sinner'—that is, do not stir up his evil passions—is the sage advice of the son of Sirach (Ecclus. 8 10); cp Ecclus. 11 32, 'from a spark of fire a heap of many coals (ἀνθρακιά) is kindled,' which finds an echo in Ja. 3 5. **A. R. S. K.**

4. Metaphors.

COASTLAND (Is. 20 6† RV; Is. 11 11 23 26 24 15 59 18 Jer. 25 22 Ezek. 39 6 Dan. 11 18 Zeph. 2 11; RVmg., in Jer. 47 4 'sea coast'); a rendering of אי (νῆσος; EV usually 'isle' or 'island,' AVmg. occasionally 'country' or 'region'). See ISLE.

COAT, an inexact rendering:

(1) Of כתנת (see TUNIC) in Gen. 37 3 EV (RVmg. 'long garment'), Ex 28 4, etc.; (2) of כעיל in 1 S. 2 19 AV (RV 'robe'; see TUNIC); (3) of סרבל in Dan. 3 21 AV (AVmg. 'mantle', RV 'hosen'; see BREECHES); (4) of χιτών in Mt. 5 40 EV (see TUNIC); (5) of χλαμύς in 2 Macc. 12 35 AV (see MANTLE). For 'broidered coat' see EMBROIDERY, § 1.

COAT OF MAIL occurs as a rendering of תחרא, *taḥrā* (Ex. 28 32 39 23 RV; AV 'haberge[o]n'), שרין, *ḥiryōn* (Is. 59 17 RVmg., EV 'breastplate'), and שריון קשקשים, 1 S. 17 5 EV; see BREASTPLATE.

COCK (ἀλεκτωρ). Mt. 26 34 74 Mk. 13 35 14 30 72 Lk. 22 34 60 Jn. 13 38 18 27. On the 'cock-crowing' (ἀλεκτοροφωνία) spoken of in Mk. 13 35 information is given elsewhere (see DAY, § 4). Mt., Lk., and Jn. speak of only this cock-crowing. The tradition preserved in Mark, on the other hand (though the text in the MSS differs), refers to a second. Thus the cock had completed its journey to Palestine. Its home was in India; thence it came to Babylonia[2] and Persia. Homer indeed gives Ἀλεκτωρ as the name of a man; but Aristophanes (*Av.* 438) considers the cock the 'Persian bird.' To the Jews, too, as well as (presumably) to the Egyptians, it was a Persian bird, even though the Targumic and Talmudic word for cock (תרנגול) may have a Babylonian origin.[3]

Not improbably we have in Prov. 30 31 a reference to the impression which it produced not so long after its introduction into Palestine. The evidence of the versions[4] in favour of the rendering 'cock' cannot be regarded lightly, and there is no proof whatever of the sense of 'well girt up' for זרזיר, or for the application of the term to the greyhound. The Talmudic זרזיר also certainly means some bird (a kind of raven).[5] The key to the difference of usage is supplied by Ar. *ṣarṣara*, 'to make a shrill noise'; hence *ṣarṣarūn* is used in Arabic for both the cricket and the cock. The kindred Hebrew word also might be widely used: (1) for the cock, (2) for the starling. The second element in the phrase זרזיר מתנים is seemingly a difficulty. The word is no doubt corrupt. Dyserinck and Graetz would read מתנצא; cp Θ ἐνπερπατῶν. To keep nearer to the Hebrew and to find a more striking phrase, it is better to read מתנים and render 'the cock who loves to take up a quarrel.' EV rather uncritically gives GREYHOUND (*q.v.*): cp FOWL, § 2.

There is a word in Job 38 36 (שכוי) which Vg., the two Targs., and Delitzsch render 'cock' (AV 'heart,' RV 'mind,' mg. 'meteor'). As, however, it is evident that some sky-phenomenon is meant, we should almost certainly read for שכוי, קשת, 'the bow star,' to correspond to חרתה (so read for מחרת), 'the lance star.' The bow star is Sirius, the lance star Antares. See Che. *JBL*, 1898. **T. K. C.**

COCKATRICE is an archaic English word, derived or corrupted from the mediæval Lat. *calcatrix* [see the *New Eng. Dict.*, *s.v.*], but often confounded with 'crocodile'; the form of the word suggested the fable that the animal was hatched by a cock from the egg of a viper. For Pr. 23 32 AV (EVmg. ADDER; RVmg. 'basilisk') and Is. 11 8 59 5 Jer. 8 17† AV (RV 'basilisk,' EVmg. 'or adder'; צפעני, *ṣiph'oni*) see SERPENT, § 1 (7). For Is. 14 29† (צפע, *ṣeph'a*, EV as before, Vg *regulus*) see SERPENT, § 1 (6). Θ has βασιλίσκος in Is. 59 5 (EV VIPER, Heb. *'eph'eh*) and in Ps. 90 [91] 13 (EV ADDER, Heb. *pethen*). Horapollon (1 11) identifies the basilisk with the Egyptian uræus, a golden image of which is the usual ornament of the divine or royal head-dress. Probably this was the kind of serpent meant by Θ; the uræus, being divine, had of course extraordinary powers (see SERPENT, § 1, nos. 6 and 7).

According to Furetière, the cocatrix (cockatrice) is a kind of basilisk which haunts caverns and pits. The name *calcatrix*, however, properly means the ichneumon. Under the form Chalcadri, we find it in the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch* (12 1 15 1), where, however, the writer may be thinking of the crocodile. See CROCODILE. **T. K. C.**

COCKLE, EVmg., better 'noisome weeds' (באשה, *bō'ish*; ΒΑΤΟΣ [BNAC]), Job 31 40†. The cognate verb means in Hebrew 'to stink'; but the primary sense of the root, according to Noldeke (*ZDMG* 40 727 ['80]), is the more general one of badness or worthlessness. A kindred substantive is באשים, 'wild grapes' (Is. 5 4). As בָּאֹשָׁה occurs only once in Hebrew and is unknown to the cognate languages, there is no evidence to justify the identification with a particular plant, such as the 'cockle' of EV; still, as etymology seems to point to some 'stinking weed,' there is something to be said for the suggestion of Sir Joseph Hooker, that perhaps the reference is to the stinking arums.

Several of the arums are plentiful in Syria—*e.g.*, *Arum Dracunculus*, *A. coridis*, Sibth., *Arum Palæstinum*, Boiss., and species of Helicophyllum (cp Tristram, *NHB* 439). The ancient versions, supposing that a thorny plant is intended,[1] were no doubt guided by the parallelism of the verse. The older English Versions use 'cockle' as the rendering of ζιζάνια in Mt. 13. See TARE. **N. M.—W. T. T.**

CŒLESYRIA (ΚΟΙΛΗ ΣΥΡΙΑ [BAL])—*i.e.*, 'hollow Syria,' first mentioned in 1 Esdras, where (Κοίλη Συρία κ. Φοινίκη represents עבר נהרה, Aram. equivalent of the Heb. עבר הנהר, Ezra 8 36 Neh. 3 7).

1. Name.

The name occurs in 1 Esd. 2 17 24 *f.* 27; Ezra 4 10 19 [illegible]; 1 Esd. 6 17 27 29; Ezra 5 3 6 6; 1 Esd. 7 1 8 7; Ezra 6 13 [illegible]. In A's version of the canonical Ezra regularly renders by πέρα (but πέρα Ezra 6 6 7 21 25 [BA]) τοῦ ποταμοῦ, once, however,

[1] For another view of this passage, involving an emendation of the text, see Che. *Jew. Rel. L.* 142, who follows Buckell.

[2] There is [illegible] a representation of a cock on a cylinder seal of the [illegible] of Nabonidus.

[3] So, at least, Hommel, Hastings' *DB* [illegible].

[4] Θ RV [illegible] similarly Aq. The [illegible] Vg. [illegible] *cingulo succinctus lumbos* (Vg.). We [illegible] consistently, but favours the [illegible] cock, [illegible] may be altered. For 'greyhound' [illegible] see the Index of Levy and Lustig. Rashi here renders 'starling' (cp Syr. [illegible]).

[5] [illegible] renders באשים by ἄκανθαι in Is. 5 2 4. [illegible]

[1] [illegible] renders באשים by ἄκανθαι in Is. 5 2 4. [illegible]

[2] κ. is a few times omitted—*e.g.*, 1 Esd. 2 25 6 3, etc.

ἰσπέρα τ. ποτ., in Ezra 4 20 [BA]. With this we may compare the πέραν Εὐφράτου, which, with τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέρη (Asia Minor, NW. of Taurus) appears in the famous Gadatas inscription of Darius I. (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 13 52 [89], 14 61; cp Meyer, *Entst.* 19 *f.*). The same Aramaic designation is found upon a coin of the Persian period 'Mandai . . . who is over עבר נהרא' (cp Hal. *Mél. Epig.* 64 *f.*), and seems to be the origin of the name of the Persian province *Arbāya* (for another well-supported view, see ARABIA, § 2). Φοινίκη and Ἀραβία occur together as one archonship in the epilogue to the *Anabasis* (see Marq. *Fund.* 33 *ff.*).[1] That the Minæan עבר נהרן is to be connected with עבר, *arbāya*, though affirmed by Hartmann (*ZA* 11 81), Meyer (*ib.* 327), and Marq. (*op. cit.* 74 *f.*, cp EBER, 1), is strenuously denied by Glaser (cp *MitG*, 1897, 3 3 *ff.*; see Hommel, *AHT* 324 *ff.*), who is, however, perhaps too strongly prejudiced in favour of an exceedingly remote date for the inscriptions in question.

Cœlesyria is, strictly, the designation applied since the time of the Seleucidæ to the depression between the

2. Extent. two Lebanons, otherwise known as the *bik'ah* of Lebanon (cp Josh. 11 17 12 7), the mod. *Bekā'*; cp LEBANON.[2] In the Grecian period the term includes all E. Palestine. Thus, according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11 5), the seats of the Ammonites and Moabites were in it, and among its towns he mentions Scythopolis and Gadara (*ib.* xiii. 13 2 *f.*). In its widest sense it included Raphia (so Polyb. 5 80), and stretched 'as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt' (*Ant.* xiv. 4 5). In 1 Esd. and Maccabees (see below) these are its limits; and, roughly used, rather in a political than in a geographical sense, it and Phœnicia constitute the more southerly part of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ. At this period the districts referred to appear as one fiscal domain, under the suzerainty of one governor (viz., Apollonius [2 Macc. 3 5] Ptolemy [8 8] Lysias [10 11]). Under the Romans the term was again restricted, and Cœlesyria (with Damascus as its capital; cp *Ant.* xiii. 15 2 *BJ* i. 4 8) was officially separated from Phœnicia and Judæa (*Ant.* xii. 4 1 and 4; Pliny, 5 7). When, therefore, in 47 and 43 B.C., Herod was in command of Cœlesyria, he seems to have possessed no authority over the southern province. S. A. C.

COFFER (אַרְגָּז). 1 S. 6 8 11 15†.

𝔊 has: in *v.* 8 *εν θεματι βερεχθαν* [B*], *-ρσεχ.* [Bab vid], *εν θ. αργος* [A], *εν θ. βαεργαζ* [L]; in *vv.* 11 15, *το θεμα εργαβ* [B], *το θ αργος* [A], *εν θεματι βαεργαζ* and *το θ. βαεργαζ* [L]. Aq. *λάρναξ* (or *ὕφος*); Sym. *λαρνακιον*; Jos. *γλωσσοκομον*. Vg. always *capsella*.

The foreign-looking but really corrupt word *argāz* illustrates the need of a more correct Hebrew text (see TEXT, § 44 *f.*).

We cannot accept the far-fetched etymologies of Lag. (*Übers.* 85) and Klo. (*Sam., ad loc.*). The ן probably sprang out of a 'final nūn' (ן), which was attached as a correction to an ordinary nūn—thus ארגן (cp *-αν* [B]). In this case the 'coffer' was really not distinguished in name from the ark (ארון). O. *εν θεματι* (𝔊, cp Lev. 24 6) = *i.e.*, בסלת —'in a plate,' may represent the true text; but more probably *θεμα θημα θηκη* 'box.' See Che. *J. Q. R.* 10 32 *f.* (Ant.) and on the narrative which contains the word, see Budde (*SBOT*), who carefully separates the interpolations. I. K. C.

COFFIN (אָרוֹן, COPOC). Gen. 50 26, also Lk 7 14 AV[mg]. See DEAD, § 1.

COHORT (CΠΕΙΡΑ). Acts 10 1. See ARMY, § 10; CORNELIUS, § 1.

COLA, RV CHOLA (ΧΩΛΑ [B], ΚΩ. [A], ΚΕΕΙΛΑ [𝔄 ℵ*]—om. Vg. Syr.),—mentioned with BETOMESHAM, BETHAI, and Cholai (see CHOBAI),[3] as places to which orders were sent to follow up the pursuit of the enemy after the death of Holofernes (Judith 15 4). Possibly the HOLON of Josh. 15 51 may be intended (Zockler). 𝔅ℵ identifies the place with KEILAH; cp Josh. 15 44.

COLHOZEH (כָּלְחוֹזֶה, § 23, as if 'he seeth all'), a Jerusalemite of Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3 15; om. BNA, ΧΟΛΟΖΕΙ [L]; 11 5, ΧΑΛΕΑ [BℵA], -ΛΑΖΑ [A], ΧΟ. [L]). As misleading a name as Pahath-moab or as Hallohesh. A clan of 'seers' at this period would of course be interesting; but the name is miswritten for חלוהש (EV 'Hallohesh'), probably under the influence of the name Hazaiah, which follows in Neh. 11 5. חלוחש itself is miswritten. See HALLOHESH. I. K. C.

COLIUS (ΚΩΛΙΟC [A]). 1 Esd. 9 23. 1 Ch. 15 24, KELAIAH (*q.v.*).

COLLAR. 1. 'Collars' in AV Judg. 8 26 become in RV 'pendants' (נְטִיפוֹת). See RING, § 2.

2. 'Collar' is also applied, inappropriately, to the round hole (פֶּה) for the head and neck in a garment. So in Job 30 18, 'It bindeth me about as the collar of my coat' (EV), and in Ps. 133 2 (RV[mg]), 'that it flows down to the collar of his robes' (Kay). 'Collar' here should be 'opening.'

In Ps. *l.c.*, however, it is thought that the border of the opening, rather than the opening itself, must be intended. 𝔊 Sym. have *ἐπὶ τὴν ὤαν*—*i.e.*, the lambskin trimming or edging on the neck-opening (cp Tg., איברא 'fringe'). EV, however, ventures on 'skirts (skirt) of his garments'; the revisers felt that, even if AV gave an improbable rendering, they had nothing better to set in its place. The text can perhaps be corrected (see Che. *Ps.*[2]); it is certainly not right as it stands. In Job *l.c.*, Budde and Duhm prefer to render 'even as my tunic'; but this does not make the passage clear. There is reason to think (Che. *Exp. Times*, 10 18 *b* [May '99]) that we should read יחפים in *v.* 18*a* (𝔊 *ἐκελάβετο*) and בגי and יאחזני in *v.* 18*b*, and render

> By (his) great power he takes hold of my garment,
> By the opening of my tunic he grasps me.

The word rendered in these two passages 'collar' becomes 'hole' in EV of Ex. 28 32; the context suggested this. The 'hole for the head' (RV) in the priestly *me'īl* (robe) was to have a 'binding (lit. lip) round about'; the material cut out was to be folded over, and so to make what might fairly be called a collar. In later Heb. we find the terms כִּסְתָּה (opening) or בֵּית רְצוּאָה (receptacle of the neck).

3. RV[mg] gives 'collar' for a certain instrument of punishment (צִינָק, *ṣīnōḳ*, Jer. 29 26, AV 'stocks,' RV 'shackles'). The root (like צנק) in Aramaic and Talmudic means to bind, to confine. Ḳimḥi takes it to be a manacle for hands, not a collar. Orelli, on the other hand, compares Arab. *zimāḳ* (necklace). 𝔅ℵAQ *εἰς τὸν καταράκτην* represents צָנִיר and can scarcely be correct.

COLLEGE, RV SECOND QUARTER (מִשְׁנֶה; Vg. *Secundus*), as if the 'new town' of Jerusalem (2 K. 22 14, 2 Ch. 34 22; Zeph. 1 10). The rendering 'college' is due to Tg. Jon. 2 K. 22 14 בבית אולפנא, 'in the house of instruction.' See JERUSALEM.

The text is, however, plainly corrupt. In Zeph. 1 10 the word is parallel to הדגים, to הגבעה, the 'gate of the city' (see Neh. 12 39, where הדגים is mentioned in error), בקרמשנים, the old reading בַּמִּשְׁנֶה is in the gate of the city (AV, Sept., Syr., Vg.). Ch. . . . (see Hoph. and Ges. also Hag. 2 19 [om.]). In 2 K. 22 14, *μασιρα* [L A], *εν τη δευτερα* [L], AV 'in the college,' RV 'in the second part,' RVmg 'Heb. Mishneh.' In 2 Ch. 34 22, *μασσαιου* [L], *μασσαιου* [L], AV 'in the college,' RV 'in the second part,' RVmg. 'Heb. Mishneh.' In Zeph. 1 10, *τῆς δευτερας* [BℵAQ]; AV 'in the second.' See Ind.

COLONNADE (אוּלָם). 1 Ch. 10 5†. RV . . . See PORCH, TEMPLE.

COLONY (ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑ [Ti. WH]). Acts 16 1. See PHILIPPI.

COLOSSE, better **Colossæ** (ΚΟΛΟCCAI [Ti. WH, and . . . inscrip.], ΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΙ [Lat. MSS. Ps.-

[1] It is mentioned in the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis between Babylonia and Assyria. In another inscription of the class, however, this position is occupied by Arabia (cp *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 10 290 [42]).

[2] Cp the supposed reference to this valley (rich in heathen [illegible]) in Am. 1 5 ('valley of Aven'—*i.e.*, of Sin), see AVEN, 1. [illegible] is also called Μασσυας (Strabo, 2 16 17, ed. Meineke; Μασσυας, Polyb. 5 45), a name which may be derived [illegible] מַשִּׂיר, 'depression'; cp √ שרה ישרה, 'to sink.'

[3] Conscientious confusion appears in the treatment of this and the preceding names in the Greek Versions.

writers, and some mod. edd.: the latter form was possibly the native pronunciation[1]), a town on the S. bank of the Lycus (*Churuk Su*), a tributary of the Mæander, in that part of the Roman province of Asia which the Greeks called Phrygia. In the neighbourhood of Colossæ were Hierapolis and Laodicea (cp Col. 2 1 4 13 15 *f.*). As those two cities rose in importance, Colossæ seems to have continuously declined (cp Rev. 1 11 3 14, where the church in Laodicea ranks among the seven great churches of Asia). Herodotus (7 30; cp Xen. *Anab.* i. 2 6) speaks of Colossæ as 'a city of great size', but in Strabo's time Laodicea is numbered among the greatest of the Phrygian cities, whilst Colossæ, although it had some trade, is only a πόλισμα (Strabo, 576, 578). In Paul's time Pliny (*H.N.* 5 41) enumerates it among the *celeberrima oppida* of the district; but that is merely historical retrospect. Its geographical position, on the great route leading from Ephesus to the Euphrates (it was passed, *e.g.*, by Xerxes in his march through Asia Minor, Herod. *l.c.*), was important. Hence arises the question as to whether the place was ever visited by Paul.

1. Description.

On his third journey Paul 'went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order' (Acts 18 23), and, 'having passed through the upper coasts (τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη) came to Ephesus' (Acts 19 1). The natural route would certainly be that followed by commerce, which would pass through Colossæ, though travellers might, as Ramsay suggests (*Ch. in R. Emp.* 94), take a road to the northward, avoiding the Lycus valley entirely. It is, however, open to us to admit that the apostle may have passed through the town without making any stay. It seems distinctly to follow from Col. 2 1 ('as many as have not seen my face in the flesh') that at the date of writing Paul was not personally acquainted with the Colossian church; but it would be unsafe to argue that he had not seen the town itself. If he did no missionary work there on his third journey through Asia Minor, it is impossible to assign his assumed activity at Colossæ to the second journey on the strength of the expression 'gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia' (Acts 16 6): on that occasion he diverged northwards from the eastern trade route leading by way of Colossæ to Ephesus, and ultimately reached Troas (*v.* 7 *f.*). Further, although ethnologically Colossæ ranked as a Phrygian town, politically it belonged to Asia, a province which was altogether barred to missionary effort on the occasion of the second journey (Acts 16 6; see ASIA, PHRYGIA).

2. Paul's connection with it.

It would still be possible to argue that Paul established the Colossian church on an unrecorded visit made from Ephesus during his three years' stay there (cp Acts 19 10, 'so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word'). Nevertheless, Col. 1 4 ('since we *heard* of your faith') 1 8 2 1 are opposed to the idea of personal effort on his part, especially when contrasted with such passages as Gal. 1 6, 1 Cor. 3 1-10, where we have positive claim to the foundation of the churches addressed. Nor is it [illegible] to insist that Epaphras and Philemon, who [illegible] only Colossians (Col. 4 12), must necessarily have been converted by Paul at Colossæ itself. The Colossian church was an indirect product of the apostle's activity at Ephesus. To whom, then, must the actual foundation be ascribed? Probably to Epaphras, who is called 'a faithful minister of Christ' for the Colossians (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, so AV: better ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, 'on your behalf' RV) and their teacher (Col. 1 7, cp 4 12 13), although the honour has been claimed for Timotheus, on the ground that [illegible] coupled with that of Paul in the Salutation [illegible]

It is clear from Philem. 22 that Paul looked forward to visiting Colossæ after his first imprisonment at Rome: whether he effected his purpose is not known (but cp 2 Tim. 4 20). Among the members of the Colossian church, besides Epaphras, Philemon with his wife APPHIA and slave Onesimus (Philem. 2 10[1]), we hear of Archippus, perhaps son of Epaphras (Philem. 2 Col. 4 17). With regard to the composition of the church, we may say that it consisted chiefly of Gentiles, in this case the descendants of Greek settlers and native Phrygians, deeply imbued with that tendency to mystical fanaticism which was characteristic of the Phrygian race. Very soon, therefore, they fell away to angel-worship and a misdirected asceticism (Col. 2 16-18 21-23). The former heresy is illustrated by the famous ναὸς ἀρχαγγέλου or ναὸς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου (church dedicated to Michael), mentioned by Nicētas Chōnātes as standing at the chasm of the Lycus. The tradition is that the archangel opened the chasm and so saved the Christians of Chonas from destruction by an inundation. In the fourth century a Council at Laodicea condemned this angel-worship. Theodoret also speaks of the existence of the heresy in this region. Cp ANGEL, § 9.

3. The Colossian Church.

The construction of a strong castle at Chōnai (mod. *Chōnas*), 3 m. S. of Colossæ, was perhaps the work of Justinian. During the seventh or eighth century A.D., under the pressure of Arab incursions, the town in the plain was gradually deserted and forgotten. Hence Nicetas says that Chonai (his own birthplace) and Colossæ were one and the same place (ed. Bonn, 403). The idea even arose that the Colossians of the epistle were the Rhodians (cp Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* 1 214). The Colossians of Cedr. 1 758 are the Paulicians of the Church of Argaous in Armenia.

[Authorities: besides Lightfoot, *Colossians*, see Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* vol. i. with map; id. *Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. 19 with map of the Lycus valley.] W. J. W.

COLOSSIANS[2] and EPHESIANS,[3] Epistles to the. These two epistles are related so closely that they cannot without disadvantage be considered separately.

Colossians consists of two distinct portions, the one didactic and polemical, the other practical and hortatory, the whole being rounded off by the superscription (1 1 *f.*) at the beginning, and by commendations of the bearer, greetings and other messages, and the writer's autograph greeting at the close (4 7-18).

1. Contents of Col.

In the introduction, 1 3 *ff.*, Paul, as his custom is, gives thanks for the conversion of those whom he is addressing, and expresses the wish that they may continue to grow in all wisdom.

At *v.* 13, by a gentle transition, he passes over into a Christological discourse setting forth the transcendent glory of the Son, and how he is head of the universe and of the Church, in whom all heaven and the whole earth are reconciled to God (*vv.* 14 [illegible]); in *vv.* 21-23 the readers' personal interest in Christ's work of reconciliation is affirmed, and in *vv.* 24-29 Paul goes on to show that he has had it committed to his special charge to proclaim the great secret of the universality of salvation, whence it is that he labours and cares so specially for the interests of his readers. In 2 1-23 the main business of the epistle is entered upon, an earnest warning against false teachers, who, holding out hopes of an illusory perfection, wish to substitute all sorts of Gentile and Jewish religious observances in the place of 'Christ'.

With the exhortation (3 1-4) to live their lives in the heavenly manner, and conformably to the new life, the apostle passes to the practical portion of the epistle. Here in the first [illegible] (3 5-17) the sins of the old man that are to be laid aside are [illegible] virtues of the new man that are to be put on are [illegible] specially at generally; then (3 18 4 1) the duties of [illegible] heads, children and parents, servants and masters [illegible] specially, described, with (4 2-6) an urgent call to [illegible] prayer (including prayer for the success of his evangelistic [illegible] to wise and discreet employment of speech in their [illegible] with [illegible]

The contents of Ephesians are, on the whole, [illegible] those of Colossians, but the polemical part [illegible] necessaries are given much [illegible] (only a superscription 1 1 *f.*, and in [illegible] a sentence devoted to the bearer of the epistle, with parting good wishes [illegible]

2. Contents of Eph.

[1] Cp Ἀπφιᾷδι . . . γενεῇ Κολοσσηνῇ, *C. Ir.* 4 380 *k*; an [illegible] *Ethed.* 4[2] 2, Ὀνησίμος Λόβου γυμνικός.

[2] πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς, W [illegible] πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς; Ti.

[3] πρὸς Ἐφεσίους [Ti. W H].

[1] The name is probably connected with Koloe (lake near Sardis, [illegible] being greatly to suggest a connection with κολασσός. The more educated ethnic was Κολοσσηνός, the inter at [illegible] κολασσαεύς being perhaps nearer the native word. See Rams. *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1 212.

treated with greater amplitude. The doctrinal portion extends from 1 3 to 3 21. Here it cannot be said that any one has as yet quite succeeded in pointing out any very clear and consecutive process of thought, or methodical elaboration of definite themes. To find, for example in 1 3-14 'the operations of divine grace,' and, more explicitly, in *vv.* 3 *ff.* 'what God the Father,' in *vv.* 7 *ff.* 'what God the Son,' and in *vv.* 13 *ff.* 'what God the Spirit has done,' is to force the text into moulds of thought that are foreign to it. Strictly, this part of the epistle is simply a parallel, carried out with unwonted fulness, to the thanksgivings with which Paul is accustomed to introduce all his letters:—an act of praise to God who has wrought for all mankind deliverance from sin and misery through Christ and his gospel, and who has made the Church, of which Christ is the head, to be the centre of a new and glorious world.

In 1 3-14 Paul begins, then, with praise to God who from all eternity has graciously chosen his people to salvation; in 1 15-23 he expresses his special joy that his readers are among those who have thus been chosen. 2 1-10 brings into a strong and vivid light the absoluteness of the contrast between their former and their present state, and the fact that the happy change is due to divine grace alone; further, it is taught that the distinction between the uncircumcised and the circumcised people of the promise has been obliterated by the blood of Christ (2 11 14), and that, in the new spiritual building, where Christ is the chief corner stone, those who were afar off are incorporated as well as those who were nigh (2 14-22); there are no more strangers and foreigners. To proclaim the full and unimpaired interest of the Gentiles in the gospel has been the noble function divinely assigned to Paul (3 1-12); his readers must not allow his present tribulations to shake their confidence in any way (3 13). His prayer (3 14 *ff.*), closing with a doxology (20 *ff.*), is that they may ever go on growing in faith, in love, and in knowledge, until at last nothing more is wanting in them of all the fulness of God.

4 1-16, at the beginning of the practical section, urges the readers to give practical effect to the union that has thus been brought about, to walk worthily of the Christian vocation, and each to take his part in the common task according to the measure of his power, so that the whole may ever grow up more fully into Christ. What yet remains of the old man and heathen life must be sedulously put away (4 17-24); truthfulness, uprightness, and kindliness of speech and act must be cultivated as the true bases of social life (4 25-32): of these we have the best examples in the love of God and Christ (5 1 *f.*). In 5 3-21 personal holiness and the walk of believers as wise and pure children of light are further described. In 5 22-6 9 the duties of members of families, as holds in their several places and relations are treated in the same order as in Col. 3 18 *ff.*; and the very elaborate figure of the Christian panoply in 6 10-20 with the exhortation to carry on the warfare against the powers of evil with courage and boldness—a warfare in which he too would be so glad to join them as a free man—forms a fine close.

3. Church of Colossæ.

COLOSSÆ (*q.v.*) lay not far from the larger cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis, with the churches of which the Colossian Christians, it is clear, had kept up intimate relations from the first (Col. 2 1 4 13 15 *ff.*). These churches were not among those which had been directly founded by Paul; according to 2 1 (1 2) they had not yet seen him personally; their founder, according to 4 12 *f.* 1 7, had been a certain Epaphras. The fact that at the time when the epistle is being written Epaphras is with Paul of itself goes far to prove that he stood to him in the relation of a disciple; in any case Paul recognises the gospel proclaimed by him as the true one and [illegible] correction. When these churches were [illegible] [illegible] but they do not seem to have [illegible] [illegible] story; we may venture to fix the date [illegible] between the years 55 and 60 A.D. As, according [illegible] their founder was a Gentile Christian [illegible] that the great majority of the [illegible] Gentile Christians, an inference that is enforced [illegible] 2 12. Thus Paul had a double right to regard [illegible]

4. Of Ephesus.

EPHESUS (*q.v.*) is the city in which, according to Acts 19 8 10 (cp 20 31) Paul for more than [illegible] [illegible] SEE CHRONOLOGY § 5 [illegible] [illegible] great handicaps [illegible] vented success in the cause of the gospel, [illegible] until his arrival, had been practically unheard of there. At last the riot stirred up by Demetrius the silversmith, described in Acts 19 23 *ff.*, exposed his life to such serious danger (2 Cor 1 8 *f.*) that he was compelled to abandon the city for good and betake himself elsewhere—to Macedonia, in the first instance (Acts 20 1). The events of that period did not prove fatal to the church at Ephesus: in Rev 2 1-7 it stands at the head of the churches in Asia, and it is highly probable that Rom. 16 is a fragment of a letter addressed to it by Paul (Aquila and Priscilla, *vv.* 3 *f.*, as well as Epænetus, 'who is the first-fruits of Asia unto Christ,' *v.* 5, are among the saluted). In any case the apostle kept up a lively interest in this church, and maintained intimate relations with it. The writer of the 'we-source,' however, in Acts 20 17-38, describes a most affecting leave taking between Paul and the elders of Ephesus, whom the former had asked to meet him at Miletus as he was on his way to Jerusalem, and plainly he regards it as having been final. Of what elements the Ephesian church was composed we have no means of judging, apart from Rom. 16; the probability is that the majority were converted pagans; but it is nevertheless certain that the Jews in Ephesus were numerous, and we can well suppose that others of their number besides Aquila and Priscilla had joined themselves to the company of believers in Jesus as the risen Messiah. In fact, when Paul, in Acts 20 29 *ff.*, in looking forward to the time after his departure, speaks of the appearance of false teachers and ravening wolves in Ephesus, Judaisers may very well have been meant. Unfortunately the references to Ephesus in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 1 3 2 Tim 1 15 18 4 12) throw no light on the subsequent history of Christianity there. All we can be sure of is that the apostle, after so long a residence, must have become acquainted in a very special manner with the peculiarities of the situation.

5. Occasion of Col.

Even without any special occasion, perhaps, Paul might very well have written an epistle to the church of Colossæ at the time he did. Its founder had informed him of the orderly walk and steadfastness in the faith of its members, and doubtless also of their sympathy with himself. It was natural enough, therefore, that he should at least assure them of his gladness over the good beginnings they had made, all the more as a suitable opportunity had offered itself for communicating with them. Onesimus (4 9) was being sent back to his master, Philemon, with a short letter; Tychicus, a member of the Pauline circle, was accompanying him, and it was almost a matter of course that he should be entrusted with letters of introduction to the churches whose hospitality he expected to enjoy. The epistle to the Colossians, however, is more than a mere occasional writing. The probability is that Paul's determination to write it was formed immediately on receiving the communication from Epaphras as to the condition of Christianity in the Lycus valley; false teachers had made their appearance in Colossæ, and Epaphras himself felt unable, single-handed, to cope with the sophistries. To deal with these is the writer's main object; even where he is not expressly polemical, as in chaps. 1 and 3, his aim is to establish a correct understanding of the gospel as against their wisdom [illegible]

6. False teachers.

[illegible] ture of the Colossian false teachers does not present such well-marked features as that of the Galatian [illegible] praise, for Paul knew the latter personally, the others only by hearsay [illegible] that the Colossian agitators must have belonged to the same class [illegible] read of in other places is too much to [illegible] the observations of Paul would apply well [illegible] as for example [illegible] and 2 21 [illegible] that is, [illegible] circumcision not made with hands,

and (2 14) that the handwriting against us has been nailed to the cross and so cancelled. In particular the exhortation of 2 16, 'Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day,' seems decisive as to the Jewish character of the new teachers; in this connection the question of 2 20 (cp 2 8) cannot fail to suggest Gal. 4 3-9, and one is strongly inclined to presume the condition of matters in Colossæ to have been similar to that in Galatia. Only, it is commands and precepts of men that are being imposed with a 'touch not, taste not, handle not' (2 8 21), it is an 'arbitrary religion' (ἐθελοθρησκία) that is being thrust upon the Colossians (2 23)—in such terms Paul could hardly have described a return to compliance with the injunctions of the OT law. As the ascetic interest (2 21, 'severity towards the body'; 2 18 21, 'humility') has a foremost place with the false teachers, many take them to have been Christian Essenes or ascetics of an Essene character (cp ESSENES, § 3 *f.*). But it has to be remembered that ascetic tendencies were very widely spread at that time, and that they first came into Judaism from without. According to 2 8 the agitators gave themselves out to be philosophers. Paul indeed regards their wisdom as 'vain deceit according to 2 18 they 'are vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind,' and with deceiving speeches seek to lead their hearers astray—and when he so strikingly emphasises that in Christ Christians already possess the 'truth' ('all wisdom and spiritual understanding,' 'all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,' 1 6 9 1 26 *ff.* 2 3), and so zealously points out what is the right way to perfection (1 28 3 14 4 12), all that we can infer from this is, that the innovators in Colossæ came forward with a claim to be able to lead their followers from faith to knowledge, true wisdom, and a perfect Christianity. In doing so they appealed to visions they had seen (2 18); their knowledge of the celestial world entitled them, they contended, formally to set up a worship of angels, by which, however, Christ was thrust out from his central position as the only redeemer (2 19). Paul supplies no details of their speculations as to the powers and functions of these celestial spirits; but any such theosophy as this cannot be called Jewish in any specific sense. How far a religiously objectionable dualistic view of the universe lay at the bottom of the peculiar doctrines and precepts of these men will probably never be known; but that Paul should raise his voice so earnestly against them while taking up an attitude so different towards the 'Essenising' weak brethren in Rome (Rom. 14 *f.*)—although they do not appear to have attacked him personally at all—shows that he, for his part, discerned in them a spirit that was foreign to Christianity and hostile to it. As their philosophical tendencies and their worship of angels do not fit in with the theory that they were Jews (here Alexandrianism helps us no better than Essenism), it will doubtless be best to regard these Colossian false teachers as baptised 'mysteriosophists,' who sought to bring their ascetic tendencies with them into the new religion, and had found means to satisfy their polytheistic instincts by the forms of a newly-invented worship of angels. In doing so they prided themselves on their compliance with all the demands of the OT, though in detail they of course interpreted these in an absolutely arbitrary way. It was this method of an affected interpretation of the OT, claimed by them to be a guarantee of wisdom, that gave them something of a Judaising appearance; but in so far as their ideas had any individuality (as, for example, the notion that between man and the extra-mundane God there is a series of intermediate beings, and that the thing of essential importance is to secure the favour of these mediators or to know how to avoid their evil influences) they were of heathen not Jewish origin.

The Pauline authorship of Colossians has been denied in various quarters since Mayerhoff (1838), and, in particular, by the Tübingen School *en masse*. The external testimony to its genuineness is the best possible. Ever since a collection of Pauline letters existed at all, Colossians seems to have been invariably included. In form, nevertheless, the epistle presents many striking peculiarities. It contains a large number of words which Paul nowhere else uses—amongst them, especially, long composites such as πιθανολογία (2 4), ἐμβατεύειν (2 18); and on the other hand many of the apostle's most current expressions, such as ἔτι, διό, ἄρα, are absent, and in the structure of the sentences there are fewer anacoloutha than elsewhere in Paul, as well as a greater number of long periods built up of participial and relative clauses. These difficulties, however, apply only to the first half of the epistle, even here the genuine Pauline element is still more in evidence than the peculiarities just indicated; the difficulty and obscurity of the style, so far as old age or passing ill-health may not be regarded as sufficient explanation, can be accounted for on the ground that Paul had not so lively and vivid a realisation of the exact opponents with whom he had to do, as in the case of those of Galatia or Corinth. But in substance also the Epistle has been held to be un-Pauline. It has been held to represent the transition stage between the Pauline and the Johannine theology; a further development of the Pauline conception of the dignity of Christ (1 15 *ff.*), in the direction of the Alexandrian Logos-doctrine, according to which he is regarded as the centre of the cosmos, the first-born of all creation (1 15), no longer as the first-born among many brethren only (Rom. 8 29). Formulæ like that in 2 9, 'in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,' it is urged, have a somewhat gnostic ring; the representation of the Church as being the body of Christ (1 24 2 19), further, is said to be post-Pauline, whilst Paul himself never gave ethical precepts in such detail as we find in 3 18 *ff.*

7. Genuineness: vocabulary, etc.

8. Ideas.

In answer to all this, it can hardly be denied that Colossians exhibits a new development of Pauline Christology; but why should not Paul himself have carried it on to this development in view of new errors, which demanded new statements of truth? The fact is, that in some cases, probably, he has simply appropriated and applied to Christ formulæ (as, say, in 2 9) which the false teachers had employed with reference to their mediating beings; and his theology as a whole never became fully rounded and complete in such a sense as to exclude fresh points of view or new expressions.

9 Genuineness not disproved.

Unmistakable traces of an undoubtedly later age cannot be shown in the epistle, while whole sections, such as chap. 4, can hardly be understood as the work even of the most gifted imitator. None of the gnostic systems of the second century known to us can be shown to be present in Colossians, whilst the false teachers with whom the epistle makes us acquainted could have made their appearance within the Christian Church in the year 60 A.D. just as easily as in 120.

There seems no cogent reason even for the invention of a mediating hypothesis—whether that of Ewald, which makes Timothy, joint-writer of Colossians, responsible for certain un-Pauline expressions, or that of Holtzmann, according to which an epistle of Paul was gone over in the second century by the author of Ephesians. With the one hypothesis it is impossible to figure clearly to oneself how the work of writing the letter was gone about; and the other it is impossible to accept unless we choose to admit irreconcilable traits in the picture of the false teachers—as, perhaps, that Paul himself wrote only against 'Essenising' ascetics, whilst the theosophic angelology was due entirely to the interpolator, who had other opponents in his mind. Even in its most difficult parts, however, the connection in the epistle is not so loose as ever to force upon us the impression that there must have been interpolation;

and, as regards certain of the difficulties raised by criticism, it is to be remarked that caution is always necessary in dealing with literary productions of a period so obscure. Colossians may be Pauline quite as well as Philippians or 1 Thessalonians. The number of those who doubt its genuineness does not grow

10. Date.

Colossians was written in captivity (4 7-10 18), at the same time as Philemon, probably from Rome (not from Cæsarea), about 63 A.D. The apostle is surrounded by friends—Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, Jesus Justus. Whether Philippians was written before Colossians and Philemon, or whether Philippians should be regarded as the apostle's last writing is difficult to decide, quite apart from the question of a second captivity. The Christological portion of Philippians (2 4 *ff.*) has much in common with Colossians.

11. Relation to Eph.

If Ephesians also is really the work of Paul (see below, § 15 *f.*), it must have been written almost contemporaneously with Colossians. It is true, indeed, that in Col. 1 1, as in Phil. 1 1, Timothy is named as joint-writer, while he is not mentioned in Ephesians. From this, however, it cannot be argued that the situations were materially different, any more than it could be argued that Colossians and Philemon must be of different date because in the list of those who send greetings in Philem. 23 *f.* we do not find the Jesus Justus named in Col. 4 11, or because, in Philem. 23 *f.*, Epaphras is called a fellow-prisoner and Aristarchus a fellow-worker, whilst in Col. 4 10 *ff.* Aristarchus, as a fellow-prisoner, heads the list of those who send greetings, and Epaphras seems to be regarded as one of the fellow-workers. In Eph. 3 1 13 6 20 also Paul is a prisoner, yet as much burdened with work as in Col. 1 24-29 4 3 *f.* Tychicus is introduced in Eph. 6 21 *f.* as bearer of the letter, and as one who will be able to give further particulars as to the apostle's state, in almost the same words as in Col. 4 7 *f.*; and although there is no mention of Onesimus in Ephesians, we must hold that both epistles refer to the same mission

The frequent verbal coincidences between Colossians and Ephesians even in points in which the phraseology is a matter of indifference (cp, for example, Eph. 1 15 *f.* and Col. 1 3 *f.* 9; Eph. 2 1 and Col. 1 21 2 13; Eph. 6 20 and Col. 4 3 4), unless we have here a case of deliberate imitation by a later writer, are intelligible only if we assume the one letter to have been written when Paul's mind was still full of the thoughts and expressions of the other. Of Colossians the only portions not finding a parallel in Ephesians are: the polemical section, 2 1-3 4 (although indeed 2 10-14 is again an exception), and the greetings in 4 10-18 *a*; of Ephesians, on the other hand, the only portions not finding a parallel in Colossians are: the introduction (1 3-14), the liturgically-phrased section (3 13-21), the exhortation to peaceful co-operation (4 1-16), and the figure of the spiritual armour, although in this case also some reminiscences are not wholly wanting in Colossians

That the one letter is a pedantic reproduction of the other cannot be said. If we possessed only one of them it could not be called a mere compilation or paraphrase. The parallel passages to Col. 1, for example, lie scattered up and down Eph. 1-4 (or 5) in a wholly different order, and there is no trace of any definite method according to which the one writing has been used for the other. There is no sort of agreement among critics on the question as to which of the two is the original form; but the present writer inclines to consider Ephesians the later, partly because in Colossians the various details and peculiarities are better accounted for by the needs of a church not yet far advanced ethically and exposed to danger from false teaching, and it would have been rather contrary to what might have been expected if Paul had first sought to meet these very special needs by means of a letter of a more general character.

Of all Paul's epistles addressed to churches, Ephesians is certainly the least epistolary in character. One [illegible] examines the [illegible] of the [illegible] to find occasion for its composition. The epistle, which has a personal tone in a few places, could have been written equally well to almost any other church; it is more of a sermon than of a letter—a sermon on the greatness of that Gospel which is able to bridge over all the old contrasts in humanity, and on the grandeur of that one [illegible] Christ by which salvation is made sure, and on the precepts by which the members of the Church ought to regulate their lives. One commentator indeed, [illegible] far as to say that in Ephesians we have the [illegible] mature and sustained of all the statements of Christ's doctrine which have come down to us from the head of the great apostle.' Other students may perhaps think Galatians and Corinthians more vivid and powerful, Romans richer, Philippians more sympathetic, [illegible] certainly so far as the thing can be done at all within the compass of one short letter, Paul has [illegible] in Ephesians something like an exhaustive outline of his Gospel. Viewed on its anti-Jewish or supra-Jewish side, however, it is much too slightly wrought out

12. Character of Eph.

With regard to the question, to whom Ephesians was addressed, the only thing quite certain is, that if the epistle was written by Paul it cannot have been addressed to Ephesus. Even after all has been said by the apologists it remains incredible that he should have written to a church to which he had devoted three years of his life and to which, even after his final parting, his heart still yearned so tenderly, in so cold a tone as here,—without a word of greeting to anybody, without reference to any of their common memories, in short without a single individualising note of any kind. Even apart from 1 15 and 3 2-4 no one could suspect that the apostle is here speaking to a church with which his acquaintance [illegible] so intimate as it was with the Ephesians. If his acquaintance with the Colossians was formed only by report, every reader of the present epistle must [illegible] the same to be true of this. If the words 'in Eph[illegible] 1 1 are to be held to be original, we have here no composition of Paul the prisoner, writing in 63 A.D., but the work of a later hand who has artistically adapted himself to the part of the apostle but who wholly failed to realise how grossly improbable were the relations between Paul and the Ephesians as indicated by him.

13. To whom addressed.

But these decisive words—ἐν Ἐφέσῳ—are critically open to the gravest suspicion. It is true that from the date of the Muratorian Canon (about 180) onwards they are attested by witnesses innumerable; but an older authority—Marcion—about 140, cannot have read them where they now stand, since he took the epistle to be addressed to the Laodiceans; they are absent also from both of the oldest extant MSS. (א and B); and learned Church fathers, such as Origen in the third century and Basil in the fourth, agree in their omission. Not till the fifth century do we find the words regularly established in the recognised texts. But it is highly improbable that an original reading ἐν Ἐφέσῳ should ever have come to be deleted (let us suppose) on critical grounds; for the exercise of criticism in this sense was unknown in the second century, and, if it had been, its exercise here would not have been content with a mere negative, but would have gone on to substitute the reading that was considered to be more appropriate. It is absolutely impossible that the oldest text should not have contained the name of some place, a name is required quite indispensable by the context 'to the saints who are [illegible]'

The only remaining alternative is that we should suppose the original name to have accidentally disappeared and that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was conjecturally inserted in its place, the determining consideration being that

14. A 'Catholic' epistle.

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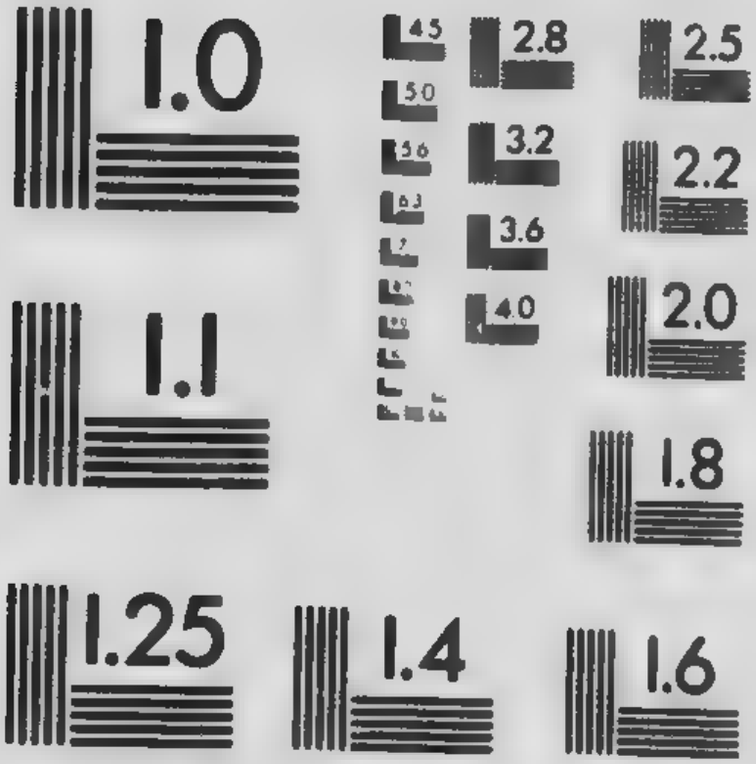

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Paul must surely, once at least in his life, have written a letter to his beloved Ephesians. If Marcion read ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ instead of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, it was only because he thought this a preferable conjecture; what he had in his mind was Col. 4 16, where an epistle to the Laodiceans is spoken of, which the Colossians also are bidden obtain a reading of. The letter alluded to must have been nearly contemporaneous with that to the Colossians; we may venture to conjecture that the then conditions in Laodicea were very similar to those in Colossæ, so that on the present assumption the correspondences between the two letters become easily explicable. Tychicus then also will become the bearer of both letters. Only, on the other side again, it is not easy to understand in this case how it is that Paul treats the Colossians with so much greater intimacy and cordiality than he treats their neighbours the Laodiceans; how, further, he should invite comparisons by bidding the churches exchange letters with each other; and, lastly, how in spite of the labour expended in behalf of the Laodiceans by Epaphras (Col. 4 13), Paul should not think it necessary to enclose a greeting from him.

The attitude of Ephesians, with its absence of explicit and detailed reference to the circumstances and stage of growth of its readers, is, on the assumption of its being a Pauline letter, intelligible only if its destination excluded such individual reference; in other words, if it was really not addressed to any one church, but was a circular intended for a number of Gentile Christian churches (in the present case in Asia Minor, or, more precisely, in Phrygia)[1]—which Tychicus on the occasion of his journey to Colossæ was to visit, conveying to them at the same time also a direct message from the great apostle of the Gentiles. It is not, after all, beyond possibility, however, that Ephesians may be the epistle referred to in Col. 4 16; for there it is called, not the epistle *to* Laodicea, but the epistle *from* Laodicea, by which expression may have been intended nothing more than a copy of Ephesians to be obtained at Laodicea. In the original superscription, if this be so, we may suppose Paul to have named the province or provinces to the churches of which he wished to address himself (cp 1 Pet. 1 1); the epistle would then have an almost 'catholic' character, and, in point of fact, next to Colossians, 1 Peter, of all the other NT epistles is the one that comes nearest Ephesians in substance.

The whole preceding discussion (§ 13 f.) falls to the ground if, as was done by the Tübingen school and still is done by many recent writers, the Pauline authorship is denied. The external testimony is the best possible; from Marcion's time onwards the epistle is included in all lists of Paul's writings, and from the second century onwards the citations from it are exceptionally frequent. On the other hand, in form and style it is removed still further than Colossians from the manner of the earlier epistles of Paul; the number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα is astonishingly great; whilst in Paul the devil is called Satan, here (Eph. 1 27 6 11) he is called διάβολος or (2 2) 'prince of the kingdom of the air':[2] the structure of the sentences is striking by [illegible] sentences closely allied in meaning are [illegible] by prepositions—especially ἐν (cp [illegible]), the use of the genitive, an expedient that conduces [illegible] to clearness of style. At the same time the epistle has a number of characteristically Pauline expressions, including some that do not occur in Colossians—and at every step genuinely Pauline turns of thought are recalled.

15. Genuineness.

The absence of concrete details in Ephesians has already been noted; but, if it be true that we have here a circular letter, the standards which we might apply to Corinthians or Philippians cease to be applicable. Peculiarities in statement of individual doctrines or in theological outlook generally, indifference of attitude upon controverted points of the Pauline period, and a preference for the ideas of the old Catholicism that was beginning to take shape cannot be denied; but here again, as with Colossians, the case is met if we postulate a growth in the apostle himself, under the influence of new conditions. We fail to find in the epistle any direct evidence that the writer is a man of the second Christian generation, addressing men who have been born Christians; on the contrary, the readers are addressed as persons who had formerly been heathens.

The main obstacle to the traditional view of the authorship of the epistle is found in 4 11 2 20 3 5. In

16. Uncertain.

4 11, in the enumeration of church officers, the peculiar spiritual gifts to which so great prominence is given in 1 Cor. 12 f. are almost entirely passed over; in 2 20 it is the glory of the Church that she is 'built on the foundation of apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone,' and in 3 5, as if there had never been any such thing as a dispute in Jerusalem or in Antioch, the present time is spoken of as that in which the Gentiles' equality in privilege has been 'spiritually revealed to his holy apostles and prophets.' In the mouth of the apostle who has devoted the unremitting efforts of a lifetime to the establishment of this equality of privilege this last expression has a peculiar sound. In a disciple of the apostle, on the other hand,—one who has in view the accomplished fact, the one and indivisible Church for which all the apostles and prophets are equally sacred authorities—the phrases quoted are natural enough; and on the whole the hypothesis that a Pauline Christian, intimately familiar with the Pauline epistles, especially with Colossians, writing about 90 A.D., has in Ephesians sought to put in a plea for the true catholicism in the meaning of Paul, and in his name, is free from any serious difficulty. It is very hard to decide; perhaps the question ought to be left open as not yet ripe for settlement, and Ephesians in the meantime used only with caution when the Pauline system is being construed.

Like the Pauline epistles in general, Colossians and Ephesians are among the best preserved parts of the NT.

17. Text of Col. and Eph.

They have hardly at all been subjected to 'smoothing' revision; the majority of the variants (which, it must be said, are very numerous) are clearly mere copyists' errors. At the same time the readings vacillate at several important points—*e.g.*, (Eph. 3 9) between κοινωνία and οἰκονομία, (Col. 2 18) between ἃ μὴ ἑώρακεν and ἑώρακεν, (Col. 3 13) between χριστός and κύριος. Influence of the text of Ephesians upon Colossians can be sometimes traced—*e.g.*, Col. 3 6, has been supplied from Eph. 5 6. The obscurity of many of the sentences may have helped to protect them from gratuitous change; in any case the exegete of either epistle has a much harder task than the text-critic.

H. J. Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser u. Kolosserbriefe* (72), a most careful comparison of the two letters with each other and with those Pauline epistles [illegible]

18. Literature.

which the genuineness may be regarded as certain. Holtzmann's hypothesis is that Colossians we have a genuine epistle of Paul to Colossæ, which has been expanded by later interpolations; the interpolator, the author of the epistle to the Ephesians, a Gentile Christian of Pauline training, who belonged to the post-apostolic age. Ad. Klöpper, *Der Brief an die Colosser* (80), and *Der Brief an die Epheser* (91), a very thorough if somewhat stiff exegete: Colossians is held to be genuine, Ephesians not. H. Soden in *HC*, 18 5, pp. 320 *ff.*, 1 2 *ff.*, 672 *ff.* and 1 7, p. 42 *ff.*, substantially accepted Holtzmann's hypothesis, as [illegible] *HC* (90) has given a laborious commentary. H. Oltramare, *Commentaire sur les Epîtres de S. Paul aux Colossiens, aux Éphésiens*, 2 vols., 1891–92, maintains the genuineness of the epistles. In the case of Colossians this had already been argued most brilliantly by J. B. Lightfoot (*St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1875, 8th ed. 1886). J. Macpherson in *Commentary on St. Paul's Ep. to the Ephesians* (92), has sought with a painstaking care, worthy of Lightfoot

[1] So, long ago, Usher; and, recently, Lightfoot.

[2] To Paul he is called also, however, βελιάρ (2 Cor. 6 15) and 'the god of this world' (*ib.* 4 4). See BELIAL.

himself, to vindicate tradition and solve the difficulties of the epistle. Dr. Haupt (*die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, 1899, an entirely new recast of the *Krit.-Exeget. Komm.* of H. A. W. Meyer) takes, as regards the genuineness, a position similar to that of the present article, but decides against the Roman origin and in favour of Cæsarea. Some new points of view are offered in Zahn's *Einl. i. d. N. T.*, 1897, 310-318, both on the question of introduction and on details of exegesis. The older usually popular commentaries of Ellicott (55) and Haleson (6 ed. 5) on Ephesians are now outweighed by those of Sanday (posthumous) *Prolegomena to the Epistles to Romans and Ephesians* (05) by Prof. J. A. Robinson; and E. K. Vaughan, *Commentary on Ephesians and Colossians* (07).

A. J.

COLOURS. If in certain branches of art the ancient Hebrews fell far behind their contemporaries, they were not without artistic feeling; if they had no drama, they were not devoid of dramatic instinct (CANTICLES, § 7; POETICAL LITERATURE, § 5); and if, through no inherent fault of their own, they were unable to attain any degree of competency in the highest form of art, yet they had, as their poetry shows, a very real appreciation of the sublime and beautiful. The neglect to cultivate this taste was a necessary consequence of the effort to fulfil the ancient command in Ex. 20 4,—a command which would of course apply as much to painting as to sculpture and of the monotheism to which they subsequently attained. (See Ruskin, *Two Paths*, 7 *f.*; Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judea*, etc., 1 111 *f.*; and cp ATHENS, § 1.)[1]

1. Artistic feeling.

A simple style of decoration and the use of some of the dyes and dyed stuffs they may indeed have learned at an early date.[2] When, however, the post-exilic writers wish to describe the decorations of an ideal sanctuary, they are obliged to borrow their ideas of ornament from Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, or Greece. (See Wornum, *Analysis of Ornament*, 51 *f.*, and cp ISRAEL, § 67.) Characteristic of this style of decoration was a love of costly display combined with brilliancy of colour (*Analysis of Ornament*, 5, and BABYLONIA, § 18, ASSYRIA, § 10, EGYPT, § 36). From these countries, then, in which art was the ally, if not the offspring, of idolatry, came the practice of decorating sculpture in the round with bold colours and costly raiment,[3] a practice condemned by Ezekiel (23 14) as being an insult to Yahwè. That such cases, however, were exceptional among the Hebrews appears probable from the fact that their language contains no words for 'paint' 'painting' and 'painter' (see PAINT). Nor does this striking phenomenon stand alone. It is also noteworthy that in the original texts no term is found to express that property of light known to us as 'colour.'

2. Decoration.

When a Hebrew writer wishes to compare one object with another in respect to its colour he finds it necessary to use the word *'ayin* (עַיִן, eye) in the sense of *appearance*. So in Lev. 13 55 the plague is spoken of as changing 'its appearance' (EV, hereafter indicated in the following examples, 'colour'), Nu. 11 7 the appearance of the manna is described as like the appearance (colour RV) of bdellium. The same word is used of the appearance of wine (Pr. 23 31), of amber (Ez. 1 4 27), of burnished brass (Ez. 1 7 Dan. 10 6), of a beryl (Ez. 1 16 10 9), and of crystal (Ez. 1 22). Certainly the term *'ayin* occurs frequently in the EV; but in such cases the translation is seldom warranted by the original text. In the Apocrypha, on the other hand, a word does occur (χρόμα, Wisd. 15 4) with reference to a painted

3. Colour vocabulary.

[1] On the natural stages in the evolution of the imagination see Ruskin's *Deucalion*, i. 1 *f.*; cp 1 *f.*

[2] Only the poet who sang of the ... victor ... knew of dyed stuffs (צְבָעִים, שְׁנִי), as it seems to assume that Israel could be expected to ... its ... with ... Of ... this stuff was ... tapestry (רִקְמָה), cp 1 Ch. 29 2 Ez. 27 7 and in Ps. 139 15 the same passage was embroidered ... See ... Moreover ... the ... of early Gr. ... Olympian ... Perrot, *Ἄκανθος, die Bibel und Homer*, Tafel-Band, ... the ... in Text-Band, 317, 418.

image; but in this instance the term denotes rather the paint or pigment used.

Just as the want of a word to express the idea of 'painting' tends to prove that the art was very little cultivated, so also the want of a word for *colour* (found in Syriac ..., Arabic *lawn*, Egyptian[1] ...) naturally suggests that colours were not much talked about by the Hebrews. This inference could indeed be shown to be unwarrantable if we found many names

4. Colour sense.

... could prove ... only that many colours were in use. When, however, we come to examine the Hebrew colour-terms—and this applies also to those in use among the Greeks and the Romans[2]—at any rate in biblical times, we find that very few of them are real colour terms at all, such terms being used as denote rather a contrast between light and darkness, brightness and dimness, than what we commonly understand by colour. Still, if colours are not sharply distinguished in the languages of the ancient world it does not follow that the Hebrews and other primitive races were unable to distinguish shades of colour for which their language possessed no distinct terms, or that they were at least with respect to certain colours, colour-blind.[3]

It is not so much a question of deficiency of colour sense as was contended some years ago as of an undeveloped language. (See ... under 'Farben'; also ... Allen, *Colour Sense*, chaps. 1-3.) If colours and perceptions are ... the ... colour-blindness ... to discriminate colours for which their language has not set apart names.[4] Besides, it now seems clear that even the lower animals are sensitive to colour (see Grant Allen, 291; Clodd, *The Story of Creation*, 97 ...; and cp Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, ... *f.*, Montaigne, *Essays* [Cotton], 1 ... 4 ...).

From the use of the terms which the Hebrews did possess, we are led to conclude that one and the same word was used to denote several shades of one colour; the context or object to which the colour was applied finally determined the case as to the particular shade intended. Sometimes, however, in order to distinguish the shade of colour quite unmistakably, the thing described is compared with another object of which the colour in question is peculiarly characteristic (cp Eng. salmon-pink, emerald-green, etc.).

5. Scarcity of real colour names.

It is indeed remarkable how few real colour terms occur in the OT. Only three of the natural colours are distinguished by names, while for blue and yellow distinct terms are entirely wanting. The deficiency, however, is made up for by the use of the terms expressing degrees of light or dark; and in addition to these are found artificial colours with the name of the object from which they were derived like ochre, cramson, cochineal, indigo, etc. Substances, too, of which a particular colour was characteristic, may have been used to represent the colour itself (like Eng. orange, etc.).

It will be convenient to group and examine the words employed under the following headings; terms expressing (1) light and degrees of light, (2) darkness and degrees of dark, (3) ... (4) variegated surfaces, (5) pigments, (6) objects. Finally, it will be necessary to point out instances in which the EV expresses or implies a reference to colour where no such reference

6. Classification.

[1] Cp ... 'complexion'.

[2] Cp D. Quin ... on *Laurion* ... distinguished by the Greeks and Romans ... Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* ... Smith in *Nature*, Dec. 4th, 1887.

[3] Broadly speaking we may say that all people see alike. Where, however, as in the case of artists, the colour-sense has been specially trained, colours are seen differently. Colour-blindness can only be regarded as a disease. (Cp Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, new ed. in small form (7), 1 ... 8 ...)

[4] Even the modern Englishman does not ... half a dozen colour-names (red, yellow, green, blue, pink, grey, brown, white, and black), though he is ... about other shades of colour for which ... as probably other ...

necessarily exists. Except in the case of (5) and (6) it is impossible to arrive at very definite conclusions, the interpretation being based mainly on philological considerations.

7. Degrees of light.

(1) *Light and degrees of light.*—The word צָח, *ṣaḥ*, (from צחח, Syr. *ṣaḥ*, 'to shine'), used in Cant. 5 10 to denote the glow of a healthy complexion and translated 'white' in the EV, means primarily *glowing* or *glistening* (cp its use in Jer. 4 11, if the text is correct, of a wind [AV 'dry,' RV 'hot'], in Is. 18 4 of heat [EV 'clear'], and in 32 4 as an adverb [צָחִית EV 'plainly']). 𝔊 represents it in Cant. by λευκος, a word which originally contained a similar idea, as is shown by its use in Mt. 17 2 Mk. 9 3 and Lk. 9 29.

Similarly צָהֹר, *ṣāhōr*, seems to mean literally 'dazzling,' though in Judg. 5 10 it is applied to asses of a light colour, perhaps reddish-white (cp Ass, col. 344, n. 2). What particular shade of colour the word denotes in this passage is doubtful; but Moore may be right when, following A. Muller (*Das Lied der Deborah*), he supposes it to be 'gray or tawny inclining to red.' 𝔊[B]'s rendering, μεσημβριας, is a mere guess, intended to connect the word with צהרים (cp Jer. 20 16 𝔊). A derivative (צָהֳרַי) from the same root is traditionally found in Ez. 27 18 (צֶמֶר צָחַר, EV 'white wool'; but see JAVAN), and probably also the name Zohar (Gen. 46 10 צֹחַר; see NAMES, § 66) is to be derived from the same root.

The term צָהֹב, *ṣāhōbh* (from צָהַב, Ar. *ṣahiba*), 'glittering like gold,' starts with the same idea. It is used of leprous hair in Lev. 13 30 32 36, where the EV represents it by 'yellow,' and in Ezr. 8 27 the Hophal participle of the same root is applied to 'brass' (AV 'fine copper,' RV 'bright brass'). In Lev. 13 30 32 𝔊 translates it by ξανθιζων, and in 13 36 by ξανθος, whereas in Ezra 8 27 (= 1 Esd. 8 57) it would seem to render by στιλβων [BAL].[1] To express 'brilliant,' as contrasted with 'white,' the NT employs λαμπρος in Lk. 23 11 (EV 'gorgeous'), Acts 10 30 (EV 'bright'), Ja. 2 2 (AV 'goodly,' RV 'fine'), Rev. 15 6 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'), and Rev. 19 8 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'). In Acts 10 30 Ja. 2 2 Rev. 15 6 the Vulgate translates the word by *candidus*.

8. Degrees of dark.

(2) *Darkness and degrees of dark.*—To express the idea of darkness the term שָׁחַר, *šāḥar* (from שחר, Syr. *šḥar*, 'to be black') is employed. It is used of the dark hair in a leprous rising (Lev. 13 31 37), of a sunburnt skin or complexion (Job 30 30, ἐσκότωται [BN], μεμελάνωται [A]; Cant. 1 5), and of dark horses (Zech. 6 2); and a diminutive form שְׁחַרְחֹר, *šḥarḥōr*, is applied in Cant. 1 6 (𝔊 μελανωμένη) to dark ringlets. When it is desired to express a particularly dark colour another substantive is sometimes added, as 'oven-black,' Lam. 5 10 (of skin; 𝔊 ὡς λίθανος ἐπελώθη), 'raven-black,' Cant. 5 11 (of hair), and in the NT 'sackcloth-black' (Rev. 6 12). In the EV *šāḥōr* is represented by 'black,' and in 𝔊 and NT by μελας. From the same root are derived שְׁחוֹר, *šḥōr* (Lam. 4 8; see COAL, § 14), and probably שִׁיחוֹר, *Šiḥōr* (Josh. 13 3), another name for the Nile (see SHIHOR).

Another word חוּם, *ḥūm* (from חמם = חום), applied to sheep whose wool has been scorched by the sun, though really meaning simply 'dark,' may be translated 'brown,' as is done by AV in Gen. 30 32 *f.* 35 40. In 𝔊 it is rendered by φαιός and once (v. 40) by ποικίλος.[2] To express the idea of gloom and sorrow

[1] The Heb. has וכלי נדשת מצדם טוהר שנים רבוא וכסף אלפים כסף רבבות אלפים. For this 1 Esd. has καὶ σκευὴ χαλκᾶ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ χρηστοῦ στίλβοντα σκευὴ δέκα [B] and κ. σ. χ. ἀπὸ χ. χρηστοῦ στίλβοντος χρυσοειδοῦς δέκα δύο [L].

[2] There is also a form כַּמְרִיר, *kamrīr* (Job 3 5 plur. constr. [𝔊 om.]) which occurs in Job (AV blackness), and has often been connected with an Aram. root כמר, 'to be black.' BDB,

we meet with the root קדר, *ḳādhar*, which has the primary meaning 'to be dirty.' Thus it can be applied to the turbid water of a brook (Job 6 16), to a sorrowful countenance (Jer. 8 21), to mourning garments (14 2) and even to gates of a mourning city (Jer. 14 2) and to the heavens (Jer. 4 28 1 K. 18 45). In Is. 50 3 a derivative (קַדְרוּת) from the same root is used of the mourning garb of the heavens (EV 'blackness'). To the same root also probably belong the names Kedar (קֵדָר Gen. 25 13) and Kidron (קִדְרוֹן 2 S. 15 23, see NAMES, § 102). Further, קָדַר, *ḳādar*, 'to be dark,' a word generally used of the darkness of approaching night (cp Job 18 6 Is. 5 30), is used in Lam. 5 17 of the eyes becoming dim, in Ps. 69 24 of their becoming blind; and in Lam. 4 8 the same term is applied to a dark complexion. This root gives us the common word for 'darkness' (חֹשֶׁךְ). Both קדר and חשך are represented in 𝔊 by σκοτάζειν, σκοτοῦν, συνσκοτάζειν: and חשך also by σκοτίζειν.

Finally, to this class belong also apparently חַכְלִילִי, *ḥakhīlī* (Gen. 49 12, 𝔊[A] χαροποιοί) and חַכְלִילוּת, *ḥakhlīlūth* (Prov. 23 29 𝔊[BRA], correctly πελιοί): both of them seem to refer to the *dull* (EV 'red') appearance of the eyes after excessive drinking (cp the name Hachilah [חכילה 1 S. 23 19], and see NAMES, § 102).

9. Natural colours: white.

(3) *Natural colours.*—Under this heading are included those Hebrew words which more closely resemble our natural colour-terms. There are three classes: (α) white, (β) red, (γ) green. It is doubtless true that primarily white denoted simply purity, green paleness, and red depth of light; but the use to which the words are applied shows that the Hebrews attached to them fairly definite ideas of colour.

(α) White is commonly represented by לָבָן, *lābhān*. Thus it is used of the colour of goats (Gen. 30 35 37), of teeth (49 12), of manna (Ex. 16 31), of leprous hair (Lev. 13 10 20 *f.*), of the leprous spot (Lev. 13 24 38 *f.*), of garments (Eccl. 9 8), and of horses (Zech. 1 8 6 3 6). Here also, as with the shades of dark, different shades of colour seem to be clearly distinguished, as 'milk-white' (Gen. 49 12), 'coriander-seed white' (Ex. 16 31), 'snow-white' (Nu. 12 10 2 K. 5 27 Ps. 68 14 Is. 1 18), and in the NT 'wool-white' (Rev. 1 14), 'bright-white' (Mt. 17 2 Lk. 9 29) and 'harvest-white' (Jn. 4 35). We even find in Lev. 13 39 a compound expression (בֹּהֶרֶת לָבָנוֹת) used to describe a shade of white (AV 'darkish white,' RV 'dull white').

From the same Hebrew root seem to be derived the name Laban (לָבָן Gen. 24 29), Libni (לִבְנִי Ex. 6 17), Libnah (לִבְנָה Josh. 10 29; but see LIBNAH), Lebanah (לְבָנָה Ez. 2 45), and Lebanon (לְבָנוֹן 1 K. 5 20 [6]), so-called either on account of its snow-capped peak or from the colour of its stone, as well as the substantives לְבָנָה, *lebhānāh* 'moon' (Ca. 6 10), לְבוֹנָה, *lebhōnāh* 'white-poplar' (Gen. 30 37), and, possibly, לְבֵנָה, *lebhēnāh* 'brick' (Ex. 1 14; see, however, BRICK, § 1, n.). See NAMES, §§ 66, 1 2.

The corresponding root in Aramaic is חור, *ḥūr*, which in Is. 29 22 is used (as a verb) of the face becoming pale with shame, and in Dan. 7 9 of a snow-white garment. Both these words are usually represented in 𝔊 by λευκος (cp, however, Gen. 30 37 where χλωρός = לבן), and, moreover, there occurs in the Apocrypha a word λευκωμα which is used of a disease of the eyes (Tob. 2 10 3 17 6 8 11 13, but in Ecclus. 43 18 λευκότης, Heb. לבן).

To the same class, perhaps, belongs also חֹרִי, Gen. 40 16. In the RV it is translated 'white bread'; but from what follows in the context the word would seem to refer not to the contents of the baskets, but to the baskets themselves (AV 'white baskets'). Finally, to express the idea of the hair becoming grayish-white through age, there is the root שִׂיב, *śēbh* (1 S. 12 2 Job 15 10 however, appends a query, and Che. denies the existence of a root שִׂיב in OT (*Expositor*, June 1897, p. 406; *JQR*, July 1897, p. 575). Cp ECLIPSE, CHEMARIM.

[1] 1 K. 10 28 is stated seem to have been of white as well as [illegible] (Ant. viii. 8 3, viii. 7 3, xix. 5 [illegible] ii. 11; see Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 3 380 [ET 1 [illegible]

whence the derivative שֵׂיבָה, *śēbhāh*, 'gray hair' (Gen. 42 38 44 29 31 Deut. 32 25 Hos. 7 9 Prov. 20 29) or 'old age' (Is. 46 4). In 𝔊 it is usually correctly represented by πολιά or τὸ γῆρας.

(β) Perhaps the most clearly distinguished of the natural colours, as being the colour of blood was *red*, to

10. Red.

express which the Hebrews commonly used the root אדם, *'ādham*. That it denoted a brilliant hue is evident from the fact that Isaiah uses the verb האדים in the sense of becoming like scarlet (תולע, see below, § 14) and the Priestly Code speaks of skins dyed red (מְאָדָּם). The adjective אָדֹם, *'ādhōm*, is applied to blood in 2 K. 3 22, to blood-stained apparel in Is. 63 2; and verbal forms, to a blood-besmeared shield (מאדם) in Nah. 2 4 [3], and to wine (יתאדם) in Prov. 23 31. That the root, however, was also employed to describe other colours of a reddish hue is apparent from its use as applied to a heifer (Nu. 19 2) or a horse (Zech. 1 8), to a reddish-brown (אדמני, Gen. 25 25 1 S. 16 12; [1] cp Lam. 4 7, Cant. 5 10, and see GOLIATH, § 2, n.) skin, as well as to reddish or brownish-yellow lentils (Gen. 25 30). [2] The Priestly Code uses also a diminutive form (אדמדם) to express merely 'reddish,' applying it to the colour of the leprous spot (Lev. 13 19 24) or sore (Lev. 13 42 *f.*).

From the same root are derived the names Edom (אֵדֹם Gen. 25 30), Admah (אַדְמָה Gen. 10 19), and Adummim (אדמים Josh. 15 7 18 17; see NAMES, § 102) as well as the precious stone called אֹדֶם (see RUBY and PRECIOUS STONES). To אָדֹם *'ādhōm*, corresponds πυρρός (lit. 'having the colour of fire') in 𝔊 and NT; and in Mt. 16 2 3 we find the verb πυρράζειν used of the sky.

Other roots, however, besides this are occasionally employed to designate this colour. Thus the root חָמַץ, *ḥāmaṣ*, which usually conveys the idea of 'acidity, fermentation,' seems to be used in Is. 63 1 to denote a colour; and the context requires a blood- or wine-like appearance (cp Eng. sorrel, (1) from *sur* = *sour* and (2) from *saur* = reddish-brown). אמצים in Zech. 6 7 is also, from the context, possibly to be read חֲמֻצִּים (Che.); cp Ges.-Buhl, s.v. אמץ. The root חמר,[3] *ḥamar* 'to be red,' is traced by some in Ps. 75 9, and, with more justice, in Job 16 16 (Pō'al'al form). To this class we may also probably assign שָׂרֹק, *śārōḳ*, 'reddish-brown' (cp Ar. *aśḳaru*, 'a sorrel-horse,' and Heb. שרק)—a term used in Zech. 1 8 of a horse.

(γ) The third natural colour term describes those uncertain hues—colours which it has, in all ages,

11. Green hues.

been found difficult to distinguish—that waver between blue, yellow, and green. In Hebrew the adjective employed (from ירק, 'to be pale,' cp Assyr. *arāḳu*, 'to grow pale' [of the face], *arḳu*, 'yellow,' and Aram. ܐܪܩ, 'to be pale') can be applied to the colour of vegetation (Job 39 8 2 K. 19 26 Is. 37 27); and a substantive יֶרֶק, *yereḳ*, derived from the same root denotes vegetable produce in general. As, moreover, the root idea of the word was originally, like that of χλωρός its Greek equivalent, merely *paleness* or faintness of colour, a derivative (יְרָקוֹן) can be used to describe a panic-stricken countenance (Jer. 30 6) or the fading colour of decaying vegetation (Deut. 28 22 Amos 4 9 Hag. 2 17). Further, to express simply 'palish,' a diminutive form (ירקרק) can be used of plague spots (Lev. 13 49 14 37) or of the appearance of gold (Ps. 68 13).[4] On the word חָרוּץ, *ḥārūṣ* (חרץ 'to be yellow?'; cp NAMES, § 66) which is applied to gold (Ps. 68 14, etc.) and seems to denote a shade of *yellow*, see GOLD.

(4) *Variegated surfaces.*—A few words occur which, though their precise meaning is uncertain, undoubtedly

[1] Che., אדמני עֵצֶם; cp Lam. 4 7 (*Exp. T.*, Aug. 1899). If, however, 1 S. 16 12 refers, not to David's complexion, but to the colour of his hair, the word will then mean 'reddish.'

[2] Unless we point הָאָדֹם (see ESAU, § 1).

[3] From this root some derive חֹמָר, *ḥōmār*, 'asphalt,' חֹמֶר, *ḥōmer*, 'clay,' יַחְמוּר, *yaḥmūr*, 'roebuck.'

[4] Cp ME-JARKON (a doubtful place-name in Josh. 19 46).

denote a parti-coloured appearance of some kind;

12. Variegated surfaces.

their employment being for the most part restricted to the description of animals. Of these the term rendered in AV by 'ringstraked' and applied to goats (עָקֹד, *'āḳōdh*, Gen. 30 35 39 *f.* 31 8 10 12), probably has reference to white stripes on an otherwise dark skin, that translated 'speckled' (נָקֹד, *nāḳōdh*, Gen. 30 32 *f.* 35 39 31 8 10 12) to light spots on a dark skin; and that represented by 'grisled' (בָּרוֹד, *bārōdh*) and used of both goats (Gen. 31 10 12) and horses (Zech. 6 3 6) to light patches on a dark skin. The last word would, therefore, probably correspond to our *piebald*.

In Jer. 12 9 (RV) we meet with the phrase 'a speckled (צְבוּעַ) bird of prey.' The commentators have sought to justify and explain it; but it remains improbable.[1] A combination of different colours is expressed in Gen. 30 32 *ff.* by טָלוּא, *ṭālū'*, probably 'besprinkled,' 'flecked' (cp *sparsus*). The same term is used in Ezek. 16 16 of the dyed stuffs of many colours with which other peoples were wont to decorate their shrines.

(5) *Pigments.*—The Hebrews knew and made use of several pigments, three of which were derived from

13. Pigments.

animals. These three dyes were all manufactured by the Phœnicians: the one 'scarlet' or 'crimson' (whence its Gr. name φοινικοῦν and Lat. *phœnicium*), from an insect (coccus) which gave its name to a species of oak on which it was found (*Ilex coccifera*); the other two from a slimy secretion found in a special gland of a species of shell-fish called *Murex trunculus* and *Murex brandaris*. By infusing the insect (coccus) in boiling water a beautiful red dye was produced, superior in effect and durability to cochineal; the other dyes when applied to articles became at first of a whitish colour, but under the influence of sunlight changed to yellowish greenish and finally to purple, the purple being red or blue according to the species of shell-fish employed. These three colours were held in high estimation by the ancients on account of both their brilliancy and their costliness. The purple-blue is translated 'blue' in the EV, but must have corresponded rather to our *violet*, by which it is once rendered in the AV (Esth. 1 6 and in the margin 8 15). The Hebrews knew no blue colour with which to compare it, and hence it is said in *Berachoth* 1 2 that 'purple-blue is like the sea, and the sea is like the plants, and the plants are like the firmament of heaven' (see also *Mena. h.* 4, and cp Del. in *PKE*[2] iv. 488, *Ivs*, 18 *f.*, and the articles PURPLE, SCARLET, BLUE, CRIMSON).

(α) To designate the first of the dyes mentioned above, the Hebrews sometimes used simply תוֹלַע, *tōlā'*,

14. Scarlet.

'worm,' just as we speak of crimson (fr. Arab. *kirmiz* = Sansk. *krimi*) and cochineal (really a term denoting the insect *Coccus cacti* found in Mexico). Thus it is used in Is. 1 18 as the most natural example of a glaring and indelible dye, and in Lam. 4 5 (where 𝔊[b2] gives the simple term κόκκος, 'berry' [*A*, κόλπων], the insect being regarded in early times as a species of berry) of princely raiment. It even occurs as a verbal derivative (תּוֹלָעִים, Nah. 2 3 [4]; 𝔊 ἐμπαίζοντας) with the meaning 'to be clothed in scarlet' (see, however, DRESS, § 3, n.). More often, however, the form תּוֹלַעַת, *tōla'ath*, is found with the addition, either before or after it, of the word שָׁנִי, *šānī*—a word which has been derived from the root שָׁנָה, *šānāh* (cp Assyr. *šanitu*, possibly fr. *šanû*), supposed to mean 'to glitter,' and is thought to refer to the brilliant colour derived from the תּוֹלַע. In this form it is mentioned as a costly possession (Ex. 35 23), and as being, therefore, suitable for an offering (Ex. 25 4 [שני ת׳] Lev. 14 4 [שני ת׳] 6 49 51 52 [שני תת׳] Nu. 19 6 [שני ת׳]), for the hangings (Ex. 26 36

[1] 𝔊 σπήλαιον ὑαίνης (BNQ; but λησταῖς [A]). צְבוּעַ seems to be an old word for hyæna (see ZEBOIM). σπηλ[illegible] צבעת, which may have been miswritten מרעת, out of which we may deduce a false reading מרפה (see Siegf.-Sta[illegible]).

27 16 36 37 38 18), for the ephod (Ex. 28 5 6 39 2 8), for the priests' girdle (Ex. 28 8 39 5 29), for the breastplate (Ex. 28 15 39 8), and for the embroidered pomegranates (Ex. 28 33 39 24), etc. In Ecclus. 45 11, also, it is used of some kind of embroidered work (Gr. κεκλωσμένῃ κόκκῳ; vet. Lat. *tortoococo*). A thread of this colour—expressed by *šānī* alone—was commonly used in the times of the Jahvist as a mark (Gen. 38 28 30; Josh. 2 21, JE), and the single term is employed in two poetical passages (2 S. 1 24, where the maidens of Israel are called upon to lament Saul, who used to clothe them in scarlet; and Ca. 4 3) as equivalent to the longer expression. In the acrostic on the 'Capable Woman' the same word is used in the plural (שָׁנִים, *šanīm*[1]) to describe the warm clothing provided against the cold of winter (Prov. 31 21), and in Is. 1 18 to denote probably scarlet-stuff as distinguished from the dye itself (תּוֹלָע). As a substitute for these expressions we find the Chronicler using a word כַּרְמִיל, *karmīl* (2 Ch. 2 7 14 3 14, cp Ex. 36 35), derived from the Persian (*kirm*, 'a worm,' see CRIMSON, and cp above). In 𝔊 κόκκινος is chosen to represent all these expressions, and there can be no doubt that where the same word occurs in the NT it denotes this dye (Mt. 27 28 Heb. 9 19 Rev. 17 3 4 18 12 16).

Later OT writers knew of another pigment of like shade of colour, called שָׁשֹׁר, *šāšōr* (1 V 'vermilion'—perhaps oxide of lead (cp 𝔊 μίλτος and see Riehm, *HWB* 'Mennig'). It was used for painting ceilings (Jer. 22 14, 𝔊 μίλτος) and images (Ezek. 23 14, 𝔊 γραφίς).

15. Purples.

(β) The Purple-blue (תְּכֵלֶת, *tĕkēleth*, Assyr. *ta-kil-tu*) and Purple-red (אַרְגָּמָן, *'argāmān*, Bib. Aram. אַרְגְּוָן, Assyr. *argamannu*) dyed stuffs also figure largely in the decoration of the Tabernacle and the priestly robes; but they can hardly have been known as early as the scarlet (cp CANTICLES, § 15), their employment being characteristic of P and later writers. They also can be used for an offering (Ex. 25 4 35 6), as being a valuable possession (Ex. 35 23), as well as for the curtains (Ex. 26 1 36 8), for the veil (Ex. 26 31 36 35), for the hangings (Ex. 26 36 27 16 36 37 38 18), for the priest's ephod (Ex. 28 6 39 2), for the girdle (Ex. 28 8 39 5 29), and for the breastplate (Ex. 28 15 39 8), etc. A late prophet knows both colours as part of the splendour of heathen worship (Jer. 10 9). It seems natural also to another late writer to assume that the Midianitish chiefs would wear robes of purple-red (Judg. 8 26); and Ezekiel tells how the robes of purple-blue worn by the Assyrians had struck the imagination of the women of Israel (23 6), whilst he also knows (27 7) of purple-blue and purple-red from ELISHAH (*q.v.*). In Ecclus., too, both dyes are mentioned (45 10) as occupying a prominent place in the raiment of Moses, and in 6 30 ribbons of purple-blue are said to form part of the adornment of Wisdom. On the defeat of Gorgias dyed stuffs of both colours were taken by Judas Maccabæus among the spoil (1 Macc. 4 23). Of the two purples red seems to have been preferred. Solomon's 'seat of purple' (Cant. 3 10) is perhaps due to error (see PURPLE); but purple robes of office were common. Judas was struck by the fact that the Romans, notwithstanding their power and riches, were not clothed in purple (1 Macc. 8 14). When, however, Alexander appoints Jonathan high priest, he sends him a purple-red robe (10 20 62 64 [𝔖V]); so likewise Antiochus when he confirms him in the office (11 58). On the other hand, when the treachery of Andronicus is discovered, he is at once deprived of the purple robe (2 Macc. 4 38). Similarly in the NT in Mt. 27 28 (χλαμὺς κοκκίνη) Mk. 15 17 (πορφύρα) and Jn. 19 2 (ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν), the red-purple robe is used as a mock image of majesty; while in Lk. 16 19 (πορφύρα) it is one of the characteristics of a rich man. In Rev. 17 4

[1] 𝔊 διασάς (*v.* 22) however suggests שְׁנִי 'double.' So Vg. Schleusner, Grätz, Che.

(πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον) it is part of the attire of the great harlot, and in 18 12 (πορφύρας) is referred to as valuable merchandise (cp also *v.* 16 πορφυροῦν). It is also worthy of note that one of Paul's converts made her living by selling this dye (πορφυρόπωλις, Acts 16 14). In Cant. 7 6 the hair of the bride seems to be compared with purple (ארגמן), and Greek parallels for this are quoted. The comparison, however, can hardly be trusted, for גדלת ראשך כארגמן מלך is a dittogram of ראשך עליך ככרמל which precedes. Each form of the clause seems to be more correct in one half than the other. Read, perhaps, with Cheyne 'The locks of thy head are like Carmel (ככרמל); they are pleasant (נעמי) as an orchard of pomegranates' (see GALLERY, 2). נמן in כארגמן is plainly some word which should follow ככרמל, probably נעמה (written נעמ, and corrupted נמן; cp HAIR, § 1). In the Gr. תכלת is commonly represented by ὑακινθος and ὑακινθινος,[1] and ארגמן by πορφυρός in both OT and NT (see Rev. 9 17 21 20).

(6) *Objects.*—The words included under this heading denote objects of which a particular shade of colour was characteristic. Thus בּוּץ, *būṣ* (2 Ch. 5 12, 𝔊 βύσσινος) was the fine cotton or linen manufactured by the Egyptians and called elsewhere (Ex. 26 1 Gen. 41 42, etc.) שֵׁשׁ, *šēš* (see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 448, and the articles EGYPT, § 35, COTTON, and LINEN).

16. Object names.

חוּר, *ḥūr*, in Esth. 1 6 probably means 'white-stuff' (whence חוּרִי in Is. 19 9), and כַּרְפַּס (Pers. *kārpas*) 'white cotton.' Three more rare words occur in the same verse which have been thought to denote different species of valuable stone or plaster: שֵׁשׁ, *šēš* (also in Ca. 5 15) which has been supposed to be identical with שָׁיִשׁ, *šayiš* (1 Ch. 29 2) and to mean 'white marble' or 'alabaster'; בֶּהָט, *bahat* (𝔊[L] σμαραγδιτης, 𝔊[A] σμ· ραγδος) denoting perhaps 'porphyry' (so BDB; EV 'red marble,' RV[mg] 'porphyry'); דֹּר, *dar*, meaning possibly 'pearl' or 'pearl-like stone'; 𝔊 πίννινος λίθος); and סֹחֶרֶת (*sōhereth*, EV 'black marble,' RV[mg] 'stone of a blue colour'), which has been derived from סחר = שחר, and taken to mean 'black marble' (see, however, MARBLE).

Lastly it remains to notice a few passages in which the EV unnecessarily implies a reference to colour.

17. Ambiguities of EV.

Thus the colour 'green' is sometimes used in the EV to represent words denoting not colour but a healthy and flourishing condition. Of such words רענן, *ra'ānān*, which means rather 'luxuriant,' is correctly translated in 𝔊 by various words expressive of *luxuriance* (δασύς Dt. 12 2 Is. 57 5; σύσκιος 3 K. 14 23 Ca. 1 16 Ez. 6 13 ἀλσώδης 4 K. 16 4 17 10 2 Ch. 28 4 Jer. 36 13 17 8 Ez. 27 6). Very similar is the use of לַח, *laḥ*, 'fresh, moist' (χλωρός Gen. 30 37 Ez. 17 24 20 47 [21 3]; ὑγρός Judg. 16 7 8) and רְטֹב, *rĕṭōbh* 'juicy' (ὑγρός Job 8 16). Again אָבִיב, *'ābhībh* denotes 'fresh, juicy ears of corn' (Lev. 2 14), and אֵב *ēbh*, can be used of 'fresh young plants' (Job 8 12 Cant. 6 11); whilst פַּגִּים, *paggīm*, seems to denote tender young fruits (Ca. 2 13, see Del. *ad loc.*), and כַּרְמֶל, *karmel* (Lev. 23 14) applies to 'garden fruit' in general.

To this category belong also such compound expressions as נְאוֹת דֶּשֶׁא 'grassy pastures' (Ps. 23 2) and צֶמַח דֶּשֶׁא 'sprouts of the field' (Eccles. 40 22). In all these cases the term 'green' used in AV, might indeed serve as a paraphrase; but it is equally wise with the following examples:—In Job 6 6 the word הַלְמוּת translated 'white' (of an egg) is thought by many to mean 'the juice of purslain' (so RV[mg]; 𝔊 ῥήμασιν κενοῖς but see Fowl.); but whichever interpretation be adopted it will be admitted that the Hebrew word contains no idea of colour. Similarly חֶמֶר, the reading adopted by EV in Is. 27 2 (AV 'red wine,' RV 'wine') instead of חֶמֶד (RV[mg] 'a pleasant vineyard'; see SHOT), means really 'foaming wine' (Driver on Dt. 32 14); so

[1] 𝔊 also gives ὑακίνθινος for קַלְשׁ (Ex. 25 5 26 14 35 7 ...), taking it as the equivalent of תכלת

מַרְאֶה in the expression מַרְאֵיהֶם (Ex. 10 10, etc., Wisd. 10 18 θ' ἀασσαι ἐρυθράν), meaning 'red,' contains no reference to colour. Moreover, in the expressions אִשְׁכּוֹן מַרְאֶה (AV 'black night, RV 'blackness of night') in Pr. 7 9 and מַרְאֶה (AV 'blackness') in Joel 2 6 Nah. 2 10 the English renderings are purely paraphrastic. In the same way the long robe (perhaps white with a blue border) worn by Joseph (Gen 37 3) and by Tamar (2 S. 13 1) is transformed in the EV into 'a coat of many colours.' In Pr. 20 30 חַבּוּרָה AV 'blueness') and Ecclus. 23 10 (μώλωψ AV 'blue mark') the words mean literally 'bruise.'

Literature.—Richm. *HWB* 'Farben,' 1 4 6; Benzinger, *Arch.* 269 *f.* 'Farben-namen'; Nowack, *HA* 26 *f.* 'Malerei'; Del., *Iris*, and 'Farben' in *PRE*[3]; Perrot and Chipiez (W. Armstrong), *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judea, Syria, and Asia Minor*, 1 109-120; and, since the above was written, an article by G. W. Thatcher in Hastings' *DB*. M. A. C.

COMFORTER (παράκλητος [Ti WH]), Jn. 14 16. See PARACLETE.

COMMENTARY (מִדְרָשׁ), 2 Ch. 13 22 RV, AV[mg]. See CHRONICLES, § 6 [2]; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 14.

COMMERCE. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

COMMON. The negatives of the qualities 'clean,' 'holy' (see CLEAN, § 1) are

1. 'Common,' a synonym for 'unclean' (see CLEAN), constantly in RV for חֹל (properly), 'that which is open,' Baudissin, *Studien*, 2 221. AV, however, only twice renders *ḥōl* thus (1 S. 21 4 *f.*); elsewhere it has 'unholy' (Lev. 10 10) or 'profane' (Ezek. 22 26 42 20 44 23 48 15). In NT, the RV is less strict with κοινός, which is almost indifferently rendered 'common,' 'unclean,' 'unholy,' 'defiled,' 'polluted.' So in 1 Macc. 1 47 62, RV (with AV) gives 'unclean' for κοινός. No injury is done to the sense; cp Acts 10 15, 'what God hath cleansed (pronounced clean), that call not thou common'; v. 11 'common and unclean.' That which is 'common' is free, or at any rate is treated as if free, from ceremonial restrictions; it can be used in the common life—the life of the עַם הָאָרֶץ, the uninitiated 'people of the land' (ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον, Jn. 7 49). And those who use what is only treated as if 'common' or open, when it has no right to be so treated, become 'common'—*i.e.*, unclean—themselves. 'Common,' therefore, becomes a wide term, dangerously wide from a truly religious point of view. What an irony in the evangelist's expression 'with common (EV defiled), that is, unwashed hands'!

2. 'Unclean,' the strict rendering of ἀκάθαρτος in NT, of טָמֵא, *ṭāmē'*, in OT (θ ἀκάθαρτος). Both 'common' and 'unclean' can be used (1) of forbidden foods or of animals which may not be eaten (Acts 10 14 11 8 Rev. 18 2). (2) Of persons who are not Jews, or who do not belong to the Christian community (Acts 10 28 1 Cor. 7 14 2 Cor. 6 17; cp κοινόω, Mk. 7 15 and parallels, Heb. 9 13 Rev. 21 27 [RT and RV]).

3. 'Unholy,' given in AV of Lev. 10 10 (*ḥōl*) becomes 'common' in RV. In Ezek. 22 26 42 20 44 23 (same formula), AV renders *ḥōl*, 'profane.' The influence of θ and Vg. may be suspected; these versions respectively give βέβηλον, *profanum*, so also in Ezek. 48 15, AV profane, Vg. *profana*. 'Profane' is best reserved, however, for other Heb. words (see PROFANE). RV of NT retains 'unholy' in 1 Tim. 1 9 2 Tim. 3 2 (ἀνόσιος), Heb. 10 29 (κοινός).

4. On the peculiar technical term חָנֵף, 'to be polluted,' see HYPOCRISY.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS, in the widest sense of that expression, is usually considered (on the authority of Acts 2 42-47 4 32-5 11 6 1-6) to have been one of the established institutions of the earliest Christian society at Jerusalem. This opinion requires strict limitation; but that limitation is not to be based, as it has been, either on the intrinsic improbability of the institution itself, or on a vague conjecture that the writer of Acts has idealised the facts. It arises from an investigation of the sources of his narrative (cp ACTS, § 11)—a method which has to record one of its most assured results in connection with the subject of the present article.

We have in Acts not one account of the institution but three. (*a*) One account comprehensively records

1. Three accounts in Acts.

the sale of all lands and houses (χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν: Acts 4 34 *f.*); according to 2 45 the sale was of all possessions and goods whatsoever (τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις), a common fund being thus formed, out of which all were supplied according as any man had need. (*b*) According to another account, the sale of property (κτῆμα, 5 1; χωρίον, 5 3) cannot have been universally prescribed, or even generally customary; for Peter (5 4) expressly declares that Ananias was free to retain in his private possession either his property or the money for which it was sold. Moreover, although there is no hint of there being anything to mark out the act of Barnabas (4 36 *f.*) from the universal practice assumed in (*a*)—such as that the estate was his only one, or was particularly valuable—it is thought worthy of special honourable mention. In 4 36 *f.*, therefore, it is not assumed, as it is in 4 34 *f.*, that the sale of property was expected of all. (*c*) In 4 32, however, where we find 'said' (ἔλεγεν) and not some word implying 'retained as private property,' there is no idea of any sale of property at all. The idea simply is that the owners placed their property in a general way at the disposal of the community at large. There is no assumption of a common fund.

(*d*) A fourth account may possibly be distinguished in Acts 2 44.

2. Possibly a fourth account.

The statement in 2 44 *b-d* (they had all things common) by itself alone agrees well enough with the last-mentioned and impiest account (the institution (that there was no actual sale), and 2 44 *a*, which declares that all that believed were together in one place,[1] might by itself be taken, like 1 15 2 1 1 Cor. 11 20 14 23, to refer merely to the exigencies of social worship;[2] but the connection of the clause with the statement that it (as (that they had all things in common) appears to imply that the entire community lived in common, dwelling in one house and having common meals.

This inference, however, may safely be set aside, as it may well be doubted whether the collocation in Acts 2 44 has not arisen from the author's having inadvertently combined two heterogeneous ideas without perceiving the possible misleading effect.

A social institution of the nature indicated would scarcely have been practicable in a community of 120 persons (Acts 1 15) much less in one of 3000 (2 41) or more (2 47). The other statements in Acts do not preclude the supposition that the meals, even love-feasts and the observance of the Lord's Supper associated with them, were held in different houses at the same time. Κατ' οἶκον (AV 'from house to house,' AVmg. and RV 'at home') in 2 46 (cp 5 42) need not be intended to convey that the whole community assembled on one occasion in one house and on another occasion in another; it may have a distributive meaning like κατὰ πόλιν ('in every city') in 15 21 (and κατ' οἴκους, that is 'in every house,' in 20 20). In Rom. 16 5 14 *f.* we find several household churches in the same city; cp also 1 Cor. 16 19 Col. 4 15. The complaint about the neglect of certain widows in the daily ministration (Acts 6 1), which the word καθημερινῇ proves to have referred to their sustenance, could not have arisen if there had been common meals (although indeed the expression 'tables' [τραπέζαις] might seem to point to these). It could have arisen only if the widows' share of provisions was brought to their houses.

A misrepresentation of the original idea, similar to that which, as has just been shown, may be present in

3. Acts 5 2.

2 44, is unquestionably to be found in 5 2 *f.* The writer of this verse held Ananias to have sinned in keeping back part of the money obtained by selling his estate. The duplicity with which Peter charges him does not consist in his having, when questioned, passed off as the whole a part of the money thus obtained. It is only Sapphira (5 8) who does this. Ananias, according to 5 2 *f.*, has already committed the crime of keeping back some of the money before he could be questioned by Peter. This cannot possibly be reconciled with Peter's declaration in 5 4, that Ananias had a perfect right to retain the whole. Notwithstanding that plain declaration, the author must have had before his mind, in writing 5 2 *f.*, the stricter view that it was an absolute duty to sell all the property and to hand over the whole of the money.

The hypothesis that the narratives are based on

4. Acts 4 32-5 11 not coherent.

various sources receives material support from the impossibility of discovering any real coherence within the passages themselves.

Acts 4 33 treats of a subject quite different from the matters

[1] This will also be the sense if we accept the reading of WH, which omits ἦσαν and the following καί; they are retained in their marginal reading.

[2] ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό in the NT always refers to place; AV 'into one place.'

dealt with in the preceding and the following verses. Nor can 4 34 be connected with 4 32. It could be connected with it only if the absence of poor persons were the reason (γαρ) why all property was common (v. 32) instead of being the result of the community of goods. Further, according to 4 34 *f.*, the absence of poor is due not to community of goods, but to the sale of all property in land and houses and the establishment of a common fund, whereas, in 4 36-5 11 again, the sale of any property appears as a voluntary act of certain individuals. In like manner 2 42 is so definitely repeated in 2 46 that the narrative can hardly be an independent composition. It must be a compilation. Even more marked is the repetition of the first clause of 2 43, *ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος*, in the third, *φόβος τε ἦν μεγας ἐπι πασας*. But even if this last clause be omitted, with WH (though it is difficult to explain how it could have arisen as a variant to the first clause), 2 44, with the reading *και παντες οἱ*, cannot be connected with what precedes. The opening, 'But also all that believed (were) together, implies that others were together as well. The omission of the *και* sanctioned by WH is clearly an attempt to remove the difficulty.

An attempt to prove that all these passages have been compiled by an editor from various sources, could be based only on an examination of the whole book. Such proof is not needful to our present purpose. It will be sufficient to have shown that the book presents three different views on the subject of community of goods.

5. Which the most trustworthy.

If it be asked which of the three is the most likely to be the true view, it will be safe to answer that, if any one is to be preferred, it is that which is simplest (§ 1 *f.*). An account of any institution of the kind, clothed with the glamour of the ideal, is sure to have been exaggerated by writers with incomplete information.

It is certain, however, that the general idea of community of goods was not strange to the primitive Christian society.[1]

It is indicated in such sayings of Jesus as those recorded in Mt. 6 19 *f.* 10 9 19 21-24, and in such information about his own life as we find in Lk. 8 3. Besides, we know there was a distinctly Ebionite tendency which applied a literal interpretation to the blessings pronounced on the poor and hungry (Lk. 6 20 *f.* 24 *f.*), and saw the path of salvation in giving away all property in alms (Lk. 6 34 *f.* 11 41 12 21 33 16 9). It is not certain indeed that this Ebionite tendency was dominant in the period immediately following the death of Jesus. (The passages cited were taken up by the Third Evangelist from a document which itself rests upon an older written collection of sayings of Jesus. This is proved by the remodeled words in Lk. 6 20-26, which, not having any reference to the disposition of the persons addressed, certainly did not come in their present form from the lips of Jesus. Besides, what is here recommended is not so much community of goods as almsgiving.) The epistles of Paul, which are our most trustworthy authority, only show that in his time (20-30 years after the death of Jesus), the community at Jerusalem was poor, or, at least, contained a good many poor members, and stood in need of assistance from the Gentile-Christian churches (*εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους*, 1 Cor. 16 1 2 Cor. 8 4 9 1; but *τῶν πτωχῶν* alone, Gal. 2 10; *εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων*, Rom. 15 26).

The Gospels prove that many poor people had already attached themselves to Jesus in his lifetime. An active care for these, and consequently a more or less organised *διακονία*, must be assumed in the original church at Jerusalem. We may well suppose that, in as far as this ministration took the form of a community of goods, it led, according to the usual lesson taught by other attempts of the kind, to the increase of poverty. It may, moreover, be conjectured that in the earliest Christian times the institution of community of goods increased the tendency to forego the pursuit of wealth, which, even without that institution, was occasioned, according to 1 Thess. 4 11-18 2 Thess. 2 1 *f.* 36-13, by the belief that the end of the world was near at hand and by the unrest to which this belief gave rise. We may suppose that wealthy members of the community in Jerusalem allowed their property to become available for the use of poor brethren; and this does not preclude the belief that of their own free will certain persons, such as Barnabas and Ananias, went further and sold their belongings for the benefit of the community.

Still, it is certainly not true that communism was prescribed as obligatory.

The uncertainty of the subject is shown also by Acts 6 1-6. It

[1] We can here only mention the possible influence of Essenism. See ESSENES, § 3.

would be very remarkable if there were no necessitous persons whose support could be neglected but widows. The phrase seems to be due to a usage of the author's own (comparatively late) period, in which, according to 1 Tim. 5 3-16, the 'widow' had an official position in the community. It is strange that, although the mention of the names of the seven men appointed to 'serve tables' (*διακονεῖν τραπεζαις*) points to genuine tradition, their function—they are nowhere styled *διακονοι*—is never referred to afterwards (they are not to be identified with the *πρεσβυτεροι* of 11 30), and that only Hellenists had to complain of the neglect of their widows. Just as in Acts 15 36-39 a less serious dispute is narrated in place of one that had more important issues (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3), so here, at the bottom of the narrative before us, there really lies, we may conjecture, some dissension occasioned by differences of conceptions of Christianity entertained by the natives of Palestine and by the Christian Jews who had come in from abroad.

In any case, the community of goods did not last long, though the view that it came to an end when the society was dispersed by the persecution (Acts 8 1-4) is no more than a conjecture.

6. Subsequent influence of the idea.

The subsequent influence of the idealised picture in Acts is very noteworthy. In the exhortation to works of charity in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (19 8), and similarly in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (4 8), the statement of Acts 4 32 is repeated as a commandment. 'Say not, "It is private property" ' (*οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι*). Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, 13, states that the Christians supported those in need from a common fund (*ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ*), and ridicules the credulity with which they allowed themselves to be cheated by impostors in this doing. The influence of the same ideal on the monastic life is obvious.

P. W. S.

COMPASS. For מְחוּגָה, *mᵉḥūgāh* (*περιγώνια* mg. ?] BNAQ[1] om.), RV COMPASSES, Is. 44 13,† HANDICRAFTS, § 2. For קַרְקֹב, *karkōbh*, Ex. 27 5 38 5, AV 'ledge,' see ALTAR, § 9 (*a*).

CONANIAH (כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ, Kt., כָּנַנְיָהוּ, Qr., but according to Baer in 2 Ch. 31 13 כָּנַנְיָהוּ, cp CHENANIAH כְּנַנְיָהוּ; § 31; 'God hath stablished,' χωνενιας [BL]). 1. Chief of the temple overseers, temp. Hezekiah, in conjunction with his brother Shimei, according to the Chronicler, 2 Ch. 31 12 *f.* (AV CONONIAH) (Χωχενιας [A], *-ωμεν.* [B *v.* 12]).

2. A 'chief of the Levites' (Ch.) or 'captain over thousands' (1 Esd.), temp. Josiah; 2 Ch. 35 9 (χωνενιας [A*], *-ωχεν.* [A²]; 1 Esd. 1 9 (ιεχονιας [BA], βανιας [L]; EV JECONIAS).

CONCUBINE (פִּילֶגֶשׁ, Gen. 22 24; Bibl. Ar. לֹחֲנָה, Dan. 5 2). See MARRIAGE, § 5, FAMILY, § 5, and SLAVERY.

CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS. In a country where the rain-supply is small and irregular, which possesses scarcely more than one perennial stream (עֵין; cp Am. 5 24), and is not rich in springs, the preservation of water in cisterns and reservoirs, and the employment of trenches or conduits to convey it to the place where it was most needed, must have been of paramount importance. Hence the indispensability of rain and the trust placed in the continuance of its supply form the basis of some of the best-known and most beautiful metaphors in OT.

Leaving to the article SPRINGS [*q.v.*] what needs to be said upon the *natural* supply of water, we propose here to notice the *artificial* means by which it was stored and conveyed.

The ordinary method of preserving water was to dig (כרה, חפר) or hew (חצב) out of the living rock a reservoir

1. Cisterns.

varying in size from a small pit to an extensive subterranean vault lined with masonry. Such cisterns go back to pre-Israelite times (Dt. 6 11 Neh. 9 25). To dig them was the work of a benefactor and deserving of special mention (*e.g.*, 2 Ch. 26 10), and the opening ceremony, on one occasion at least, becomes the subject of a song (see BEER).

The ordinary Heb. term is

1. בּוֹר, *bōr* (for variant forms cp *BDB* s.v.; λακκος [BAL

properly an artificial excavation, and thus distinct from בור *bōr*, a natural well (see SPRINGS). When dry the *bōr* is a pit (cp Gen. 37 20) which can be used as a prison (Jer. 38 6 Gen. 40 15, etc.; cp בית הבור Ex. 12 29). In poetical language *bōr* is applied to the pit of the grave (Ps. 28 17) or to Sheol (Ps. 30 3 [4]). In only two cases does *bōr* occur as part of a place-name: see BOR-ASHAN, SIHAH.

Other terms are

2. גבא, *gēbē'* (cp Ar. *jibyatun* 'watering trough'), Is. 30 14 (AV 'pit'; in Ezek. 47 11 EV 'marish' [morass]), and

3. גבים Jer. 41 3 2 K. 3 16 (AV 'ditch,' RV 'trench'), perhaps used for purposes of irrigation (cp 2 K. 25 12 Jer. 52 [illegible] 39 10 after Klo.); see AGRICULTURE, § [illegible].

4. ברכה, *berēkhāh* (κρήνη, κολυμβήθρα) is used of an *artificial* pool, Eccl. 26 (with עצי), but elsewhere appears to refer to *natural* springs. Several pools were found in and around Jerusalem (cp below, and see JERUSALEM), also in Gibeon (2 S. 2 13), Hebron (*ib.* 4 12), and Samaria (1 K. 22 38); for Cant. 7 4 [5], see BATH-RABBIM.

5. מקוה, *mikwāh*, Is. 22 11, AV 'ditch,' RV 'reservoir.'

It was of the utmost importance that citadels should be well supplied with tanks for collecting the rain-water (so at Masada and Machærus, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 14 6, *BJ* vii. 6 2, ἐκδοχεῖον). A cistern in the temple is mentioned in Ecclus. 50 3 (ἀποδοχεῖον): cp below, and see SEA, BRAZEN. In the towns it seems to have been customary for every house to possess a cistern[1] (cp 2 K. 18 31 Prov. 5 15). The best example of this is found in Mesha's stele (*ll.* 24 *f.*): 'there was no cistern (בר) in the midst of the city in קרחה, and I said to all the people, "Make ye every man a cistern in the midst of his house."' The same king records that he made בראי האשות לבלן, 'the locks or dams of the reservoirs[2] for water'; but whether הכברתה (the cutting[s] *l.* 25) which Mesha made with the help of his Israelite prisoners was a conduit which fed these reservoirs is uncertain. The view is not improbable, however, since the art of forming channels to convey water was common to all the Semitic races and was not due to foreign influence.

2. Conduits. Remains of conduits (αὐλῶν, ὑδραγωγός [BAQL], *aqueductus*[3]), connected as a rule with pools, are to be found in many places in Palestine; they are usually mere trenches running along the surface of the ground, subterranean channels being somewhat rarer. Certain of the rock-cut channels and cisterns in Jerusalem (as well as the Siloam conduit) may be pre-exilic; in many cases, however, they have been enlarged or repaired to such an extent as to make it extremely difficult to tell to what period they belong.

3. Pools of Solomon. Jerusalem was well supplied with water. Perhaps the most important of its supplies was that which came from the so-called Pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem (13½ m. distant). These pools (situated close by the *Kal'at el-Burak*) are near 'Aṭān and Arṭās, and must have been devised for a more important work than that of merely irrigating gardens[4] (Eccles. 26 Ecclus. 24 30 *f.*, see BATH-RABBIM). There are three of them, partly hewn and partly enclosed by masonry. The lowest seems to have been used at one time as an amphitheatre for naval displays.

The pools are fed by two large conduits. The one, after cutting through the valley of 'Aṭān (Etam) by a tunnel, runs through the Wady Dēr el-Benat, along the Wady el-Biār (Valley of Springs), and ultimately enters the Bir el-Derej (Spring of Steps). The other is much longer and full of windings. Starting from a large reservoir, the Birket el-'Arrub (now converted into a garden), it leaves the Wady of the same name, and after crossing the plateau of 'Teku' flows into the middle pool. Conduits connect also the Sealed Spring (mod. *'Ain Salih*), identified by a modern tradition with the גן נעול in Cant. 4 12, and the 'Ain 'Atan[1] with this water-system.

From the Pools of Solomon the water is led into the city by two channels. The higher goes along the N. slope of the valley of Burak, descending near Rachel's tomb and rising again. (A syphon was used and remnants of the pipes may still be seen.) It then proceeds towards the hill of Tantur and the W. el-Rababi (see HINNOM, VALLEY OF). It is partly rock-hewn and partly made of masonry. The lower conduit (still complete) goes with many windings from the lowest pool, E. along the slope of the valley, and then W. above Arṭās. One arm of the conduit was connected (probably under Herod's government) with the spring of Arṭas and ran to the Frank mountain. The main arm passes Bethlehem and Rachel's tomb on the S., proceeding sometimes above ground in a channel about 1 ft. square, and sometimes underground in earthen pipes. It then crosses the Hinnom valley by a bridge of nine low arches and meets the other conduit hard by the Birket es-Sultan. It finally runs SE. and E. along the valley over the causeway, under the Bab es-Silseleh (Cham-gate), and supplies the 'Likas' and the king's cistern in the Haram.[2] These conduits were repaired by the Sultan Mohammad ibn Kalaun of Egypt about 1300 A.D. Their date is unknown. The upper conduit is more artificial, and probably the older. Some refer them to the golden age of Judah, and tradition (oral and Rabbinical) ascribes them to Solomon. It has also been pointed out that they exactly resemble the conduits which were made by the Arabs in Spain.[3]

4. The Siloam Conduit. The well-known Siloam conduit runs from the Virgin's Spring (*'Ain Sitti Maryam*) to the Pool of Siloam (see JERUSALEM). It runs underground in a circuitous course and is 586 yds. in length[4] (the direct distance between the two pools is 368 yds.). At its lower end it has a height of 16 ft.; but this gradually decreases to 3¾ ft., and then to 2½ ft. This low part, however, is near the surface, and perhaps was originally an open channel. It is a dangerous conduit to explore, as the water is apt to enter unexpectedly and fill the passage. In various places false-cuttings and set-backs are found, indicating subsequent changes in the direction taken by the workmen. About 19 ft. from the Siloam end, on the right-hand side as one enters, is an artificial niche which contained a tablet bearing on its lower face an inscription.

5. Siloam Inscription. This was first observed in 1880, and was brought under the notice of Schick. The tablet was about 27 inches square, and its top only one yard above the bottom of the channel. The inscription, known as the Siloam inscription, is the oldest

[1] As Robinson remarks (*BR* 1 480 *ff.*), 'the main dependence of Jerusalem at the present day is on its cisterns, and this has probably always been the case.'

[2] The meaning is not certain: perhaps it is 'two reservoirs.'

[3] The Heb. תעלה, *te'ālāh*, is used of ditches for irrigating trees (Ezek. 31 4 σύστημα or σύστημα [BAQ]), of a trench round an altar (1 K. 18 32 35 38: in these passages θαάλα [L] θάλασσα [BA]), and of conduits or aqueducts in the ordinary sense of the word (Job 38 25, ῥύσις [BNA] Is. 7 3 [om. ℭBNAQ] 2 K. 18 17 Is. 36 2 2 K. 20 20).

[4] The name 'Solomon's Pools' is based solely upon Eccles. 2 6, and, notwithstanding the statement of Josephus, we have no evidence that the gardens of Solomon were situated in the *H'arās* (=*hortus*, garden?); Baed.(3) 129 *f.*

[1] In the Jer. Talmud it is stated, moreover, that a conduit led from *'Aṭān* (Etam) to the temple (Jer. *Yoma*, iii. fol. 41; cp Lightfoot, *Descriptio Templi*, chap. 29).

[2] Many subterranean passages and structures have been found under the Haram. Cp Jos. *BJ* vi 7 3 84 94, and Lightfoot: 'Templum in modum arcis . . . fons perennis aquæ vivæ subter templum, et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus' (*Hist.*, 512). Many of these were for removing the water and blood of the sacrifices, or for flushing the blood-channels (cp *Yoma*, 5 6, *Tosaf'ōth*, 22, *Me'īla*, 3 3, *Middōth*, 3 6).

[3] Jos., indeed, speaks of an aqueduct which Pilate began to build, taking funds for the purpose from the temple treasury and causing it to bring grave disturbances (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 2, *BJ* ii. 9 4), and in one place gives the length as 400 stadia—a measure which would suit the conduit which leads from the Wady Arṭās. It is more probable, however, that Pilate simply repaired the existing conduits; his reign was so often disturbed by Jewish seditions that he could hardly have had time to carry out such an immense undertaking. See Schür. *GiV* 1 410, and cp Eus. *HE* ii. 6 7.

[4] More precisely, 1757 ft. (Conder); but Warren gives 1708.

Hebrew inscription extant (cp Dr. *TBS* xv. *f.* [facsimile opposite], WRITING, § 4)

It runs as follows:—'(1) [Be-hold] the piercing through (הנקבה). Now this was the manner of the piercing through. Whilst yet [the miners were lifting up] (2) the pick (גיר) each towards his fellow, and whilst there were yet three cubits to be struck through, there was heard the voice of each man (3) calling to his fellow, for there was a fissure[1] in the rock on the right hand . . . And on the day of the (4) piercing through, the hewers (המצבים) smote each so as to meet his fellow, pick against pick; and there flowed (5) the water from the channel (המוצא)[2] to the pool (הברכה) 1200 cubits; and a hundred (6)[4] cubits was the height of the rock over the the head of the hewers.'

The difference of level in the bed of the channel is so slight that one is led to suppose that the excavators had some kind of test. Shafts were made here and there, probably in order that the men might find out their whereabouts. The first shaft is 47 ft. from the Siloam end. After that the passage is straight.

The conduit is the work of a people whose knowledge of engineering was in its infancy. Its date is uncertain. It may be the one referred to in 2 K. 20 20 (= 2 Ch. 32 30);[4] but the allusion in Is. 8 6 to the 'waters of Shiloah that flow gently' suggests that it may have been in existence in the days of Ahaz.[5]

More or less parallel with this, but straighter, is a channel, evidently connected with the Birket el-Hamra (Red pool), which lay to the E. of the Siloam pool. It is older than the Siloam conduit (see Schick, *PEFQ*, Jan. 1891). The conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field (2 K. 18 17) is identified by Wilson with the aqueduct which seems to have run over the Cotton Grotto to the convent of the Sisters of Zion.[6] Among other conduits may be noticed the one which connects the Citadel or Castle of David (el-Kala'a) with the Birket Mamilā. It is possibly referred to in Jos. *BJ* v. 7 3, where mention is made of the 'gate where water was brought in to the tower of Hippicus' (the latter is usually identified with the NW. tower of the citadel).

6. Other Conduits.

For others, less important, see the memoirs of the *PEF*. Many remains of conduits, more or less well preserved, have been found in other parts of Palestine. It will be sufficient to mention the aqueduct at Jericho across the Wādy el-Kelt (see Jos. *Ant.* xvii 13 1, Schur. *GJV* 1 276); another on the road from Damascus to Palmyra, not far from Jerūd; the ḳanāt Fir'aun, which crosses the Wādy Zēda near *Deir'ât* (Edrei); and the aqueduct conveying water from 'Ain et-Tābigha (Perrot-Chip. *Art in Jud.* 1 30; *Bæd.*[3] 291).

(See 'Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem,' *ZDPV* 1 172-176 (1878); Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 51 *ff.* 230 *f.*; Warren and Conder, *Jerusalem*; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Judæa*; Baed. *passim*, and the many notes and articles in the *PEF* publications).

S. A. C.

CONEY (שָׁפָן, see SHAPHAN; χοιρογρυλλιος [BAFL] [Th. and many MSS of LXX have λαγωος in Ps. 104 18], Lev. 11 5 [in ℭ[BAF], unless the order of the verses is accidentally reversed, שפן is translated δασύποδες] Dt. 14 7 Ps. 104 18 Pr. 30 26†) should rather be 'rock badger' (RV[mg.]), the animal having been identified with certainty as *Hyrax syriacus*—called in Syriac *ḥâ,dâ* and in Arabic *wabr*[7] (Rob. *LBR* 3 387, Tristram, *FFP* 1 *f.*).

[1] ודה, wholly unknown, is translated by Sayce (*RP*[1] 1 175) 'excess,' referring to a set-back. For the illegible part in the middle of *l.* 3 he suggests 'and on the left.'

[2] מוצא, like Ass. *mūṣu*, seems to mean 'channel,' 'water-course'; cp *OJV* 2 311 *ff.*

[3] So most, reading מלאת אמה; but the surface of the rock is here only about 10 ft. above the top of the tunnel whilst towards the N. it is 170 ft. This reading may represent the average thickness of the rock. Since, however, at the place of juncture (8 12-18 ft. from the back of the Virgin's fountain) there is a difference of height of just 13 inches, another reading מלאת אמה, 'a portion' [of a cubit], has been proposed (cp Sayce, *loc. cit.*).

[4] It is otherwise identified with the one whose remains running W. and E. were discovered during the digging of the foundations for the English church.

[5] So Stade, *GJV* 1 594.

[6] Jos. (*BJ* v. 4 2) places the Royal Caverns (Cotton Grotto) near the Fuller's Monument. See *Athenæum*, 6th Feb. 1875.

[7] The name *thufun*, which is almost the same word as שָׁפָן, is stated by Fresnel (*JRAS*, 1838, p. 514) to have been found by him in use among the southern Arabs for the *jerboa*, an animal somewhat resembling the *hyrax*.

The origin of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain. It has been derived by Rodiger and others from a root meaning 'hide,' akin to גַּב. The rendering 'coney' (the probable meaning of the Targumic שׁוּפָא) is due to Jewish tradition; but the habits of the rabbit do not suit the references in Ps. 104 18, Pr. 30 26. Still less is to be said for ℭ's rendering χοιρογρυλλιος, *i.e.*, hedgehog.[1]

The *shafhan* of OT is known to naturalists under the name of *Procavia* (*Hyrax*) *syriaca* (Schrb.). It is a member of the Hyracoidea, one of the most remarkable orders of the Mammalia.

The Syrian hyrax is about the size of a small rabbit, and has a superficial resemblance to that rodent. It is of a dull olive-brown or fawn colour, and has prominent incisor teeth, one in the upper jaw and two in the lower; the former, as in rodents, grow throughout life, but instead of being chisel-shaped their tip are pointed, and the teeth are triangular in section. As in the rodents, there is a wide gap between the incisors and the molar teeth. The zoological position of the order is obscure. Cuvier pointed out certain anatomical features which there are with the rhinoceros; but this relationship has not been universally accepted, and at present it is better to regard them as an isolated order. Palæontology has so far thrown no light on the subject. About fourteen species of hyrax are known, all of them in Africa, Arabia, and Syria. The *P. (Hyrax) syriaca* [illegible] of its congeners, lives in holes in rocky ground; usually many animals are found together, and they are very shy and easily frightened. When alarmed they utter a shrill cry and hastily retreat to their holes. According to Nassonow,[2] they are easily tamed. They eat green leaves, fruit, hay, etc. They are said to make a nest of grass and fur, and to bring forth from two to three to six—three seems the usual number—young at a birth. The Arabs esteem them as food, though Canon Tristram found them 'rather dry and insipid.'

N. M.—A. E. S.

CONFECTION, CONFECTIONARIES (Ex. 30 25 AV; 1 S. 8 13, EV), old words meaning a composition (*confectio*), or mixture of drugs or dainties, and those who prepare such mixtures—*i.e.*, 'apothecaries' respectively. RV correctly translates: 'a perfumer (רֹקֵחַ) after the art of the perfumer (רֹקֵחַ).' In 1 S. 8 13 female perfumers are meant (רַקָּחוֹת, μυρεψοί, *unguentarii*). It is the masc. pl. of the same word (רקחים) that is rendered 'apothecaries' in EV (RV[mg.] 'perfumers') in Neh. 3 8 (ιωακειμ [BN], ρωκεειμ [A], μυρε[illegible] [L], *pigmentarii*).

CONFESS, CONFESSION. The verb ידה in Hiph. and Hithp. means either to acknowledge aloud in ritual worship God's great and glorious attributes (= to praise him) or to make solemn confession of sin.

1. The term.

The former meaning is far the commoner in Hiph., the latter in Hithp. (*a*) For הודה 'to confess,' see Ps. 32 5 Prov. 28 13 (*b*) for התודה 'to praise,' 2 Ch. 30 22† (RV 'making confession'). For the more usual senses, see (*a*) Ps. 7 17 [18] 42 6 1 Ch. 16 4 and elsewhere, (*b*) Lev. 5 5 16 21 26 40 Nu. 5 7 Ezra 10 1 Neh. 1 6 9 2 *f.* Dan. 9 4 20. Note also that the noun תּוֹדָה, generally 'thanksgiving,' has in Josh. 7 19 Ezra 10 11 the sense of 'confession (of sin).' ℭ renders the verb usually by ἐξομολογεῖν, ἐξομολόγησις, once by ὁμολογεῖν; it never renders the noun by ὁμολογια.

No doubt there is primitive Semitic symbolism in the choice of ידה to express the religious act of confession, but here, as elsewhere, we painfully feel the uncertainty of the subject (cp Lag. *Or.* 2 22). The root-meaning of the verb is 'to throw,' or perhaps (cp Ar. *wadā'a*, יָדָה, Is. 11 8) 'to extend.' Some peculiar gesture usual in confession seems to be indicated (cp *BDB*, *s.v.* ידה). In 1 K. 8 38 'spreading forth the hands' is specified, but this was simply the ordinary gesture in prayer.

Individual confession of sin must be assumed to have been common, though references to it are scant.

2. Individual confession.

Josh. 7 19 is a passage by itself: Achan is bound to confess, to 'give glory' thereby to the all-seeing God; but he is not forgiven. Prov. 28 13 (but not Ps. 32 5, where pious Israel speaks) extols the benefit of it. 1 K. 8 [illegible] virtually refers to it. When God touches the heart [illegible]

[1] That this and not *jerboa* (as supposed by Rödiger) is the meaning of the Greek word is made certain by the testimony of Suidas and Hesychius; see also Ducange, [illegible]

[2] *Zool. Anz.* no. 490, 1895.

conscience of the sinner (נגע לבבו. Θ ἁφὴν καρδίας αὐτοῦ, but EV 'the plague of his own heart'), the sinner spreads forth his hands (see § 1) towards 'this house' and obtains forgiveness. It has been suggested that the liturgical formula לזכרון 'to bring to remembrance' (?) in the headings of Ps 38 and 70 (viewed as a single psalm) means that these psalms were to be used by a man confessing his sin at the offering of a special sacrifice;[2] but the view is not very probable. After the destruction of the temple, the confession of sin by the high priest for the whole people having ceased, the duty had to be discharged by each Israelite for himself in the synagogue. Various formulæ came into use, for which see the interesting conspectus in the article 'Sündenbekenntniss' in Hamburger's *RE*, Abth. 2.

(*a*) Of liturgical confession of sin there are three great examples: Neh. 9, Is. 63 7–64 11 [12], Dan. 9 (psalm 51 may also be compared). The formulæ used by the high priest on the great fast have been preserved (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 7). See also the short general formula quoted by Weber (*Jüd. Theol.* 321), from Talmud, *Yoma*, end. Such compositions belong to the class called סדרי *sedārīm*.

3. Liturgical confessions.

(*β*) There were liturgical confessions of another kind—*thanksgiving confessions*. A sacrifice of thanksgiving (confession) is one which is accompanied by a loud (because earnest) acknowledgment of God's gracious guidance (Ps. 107 22; cp Jer. 33 11, post exilic). The so-called *Hallel*-psalms (105–107) also may be mentioned here. On the phrase 'יהודית', descriptive of a special service of the Levites, cp CHOIRS, § 2.

The point of contact between confession of sin and eucharistic confession is given in 1 K. 8 33. When Israel is defeated because of its sins, 'if they turn again to thee, *and confess thy name*, and pray . . ., then hear thou in heaven, and forgive'; and it is in harmony with this that two out of the three liturgical prayers mentioned above begin with a glowing acknowledgment of Yahwè's goodness. (The prayer in Dan. 9 merely recognises the duty of thanksgiving in a few words relative to God's fidelity to his covenant.)

4. NT. In the New Testament we find both senses of ἐξομολογεῖν (to thank, and to confess); *e.g.*, Mt. 11 25. 36. In Rom. 14 11 the verb represents תשבע, see Is. 45 23. Ὁμολογεῖν and ὁμολογία usually signify 'profess,' 'profession'; so, *e.g.*, 1 Tim. 6 12, AV Heb. 3 1, AV, etc.

Confession and repentance are necessarily connected. The Baptist's hearers are baptised, confessing (ἐξομολογούμενοι) their sins (Mk. 1 5, Mt. 3 6)—and therefore so also are confession and forgiveness. See 1 Jn. 1 9, and especially Ja. 5 16, where the 'healing' spoken of has reference to the sins confessed[1] (moral and physical troubles connected; cp Is. 53 5, 1 Pet. 2 24). The ἀλλήλοις ('one another') are Christian disciples.

The 'confession' of 1 Tim. 6 12 may be that made at Timothy's ordination; but that of Heb. 3 1 seems to be the confession of the divine sonship of Jesus, such as was made at baptism (see BAPTISM, § 3). T. K. C.

CONFISCATION OF GOODS (עֲנֹשׁ נִכְסָיו). Ezra 7 26 ΖΗΜΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ [BA], ΖΗΜΙΩΣΑΙ ΤΑ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 24 (ΑΡΓΥΡΙΩ [-ΡΙΚΗ] ΖΗΜΙΑ [BA]). (cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. 1 Esd. 6 32 has τὰ ὑπαρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι [εἰς] βασιλικά 'all his goods to be seized for the king,' for Ezra 6 11, 'let his house be made a dunghill' (Θ otherwise).

For the 'forfeiture' threatened in Ezra 10 8 (יוחרם כָּל־רְכוּשׁוֹ, ἀναθεματισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ ὑπαρξις αὐτοῦ; 1 Esd. 9 4, ἀνιερωθησονται τὰ κτήνη [-θήσεται τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, L] αὐτῶν 'seized to the use of the temple') see BAN, § 3.

[1] Cp 1 S. 10 26. For נגע in *v.* 37 Θ has συνάντημα.
[2] B. Jacob, *ZATW* 17 63 *f.* (97).
[3] Read τὰς ἁμαρτίας (WH), not τὰ παραπτώματα (TR).

CONGREGATION. For עֵדָה *'edāh*, and (less correctly) קָהָל *qāhāl*, and מוֹעֵד *mō'ēd*, see ASSEMBLY. 'Thy congregation,' Ps. 68 10 (11), AV [illegible] 5 [illegible] 23 11 [illegible], RV, but see [illegible] 10), represents a [illegible] Heb. [illegible] 1 [illegible] 1 [illegible] 1

CONSTELLATIONS (כְּסִילִים). Is. 13 10, EV. See STARS, § 3 (c).

CONSUL. A letter of 'Lucius, consul of the Romans' (Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίων [ASV]) to King Ptolemy of Egypt is given in 1 Macc. 15 16. See LUCIUS, 1, and 1 MACCABEES, 15 15 ff.

CONSULTER WITH FAMILIAR SPIRITS (יִדְּעֹנִי וְאוֹב), Dt. 18 11. See DIVINATION, § 4 (c).

CONVOCATION, HOLY (מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ), Ex. 12 16. See ASSEMBLY, 4.

CONVOY (עֲבָרָה), 2 S. 19 18 [19], RVmg., EV FERRY BOAT (*q. v.*).

COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS. The task of preparing the daily food naturally fell to the women of the household, even women of the highest rank attending on occasion, to this part of the household duties (2 S. 13 7 ff.; cp below). An apartment or apartments specially devoted to the preparation of food—in other words, a kitchen—can have been found only in the houses of the wealthy. We can realise without difficulty the kitchen of the Hebrew kings and nobles from the life-like picture of that of Rameses III. as figured on his tomb at Thebes (reproduced in Wilk. *Ins. Egypt*, 2 [2 14]). In such establishments there were cooks, male (מְבַשְּׁלִים, 1 S. 9 23) and female (מְבַשְּׁלוֹת, 1 S. 8 13). In connection with the great sanctuaries, too, such as Shiloh (1 S. 1 4 9) and Bethel, there must have been something of the nature of a public kitchen, where the worshippers had facilities for preparing the sacrificial meals. In his sketch of the restored temple at Jerusalem, Ezekiel makes provision for such kitchens (both for the priests [46 19 f.] and for the people [46 24]), which are here called 'boiling-places' (מְבַשְּׁלוֹת, μαγειρεῖα [BAQ], v. 24) and 'boiling houses' (RV); (בֵּיתֹת הַמְּבַשְּׁלִים, οἶκοι τῶν μαγειρείων). See CLEAN, § 2.

1. Kitchens.

In an ordinary Hebrew household, whose food, except on great occasions, was exclusively vegetarian, the culinary arrangements were of the simplest kind. Two large jars (כַּד *kaḏ*) the ὑδρία of Jn. 1 23 26 *ff.*) of sun-dried clay had a place in the meanest house, one for fetching the daily supply of water from the spring—carried then as now upon the head or on the shoulder[1] by the women of the household (Gen. 24 15 *f.*; cp 1 K. 18 33 [34]): EV 'barrel'; the other for holding the store of wheat or barley for the daily bread (1 K. 17 12 14 16: EV 'barrel'). In both the passages last cited the American revisers rightly prefer the rendering 'jars.' To these we must add some instrument for crushing or grinding the grains of the various cereals used as food, in particular wheat and barley (see FOOD, § 1, BREAD, § 1). The most primitive method was simply to crush the grains between two stones or rather to rub them upon a flat stone by means of another. Such primitive corn-grinders or 'grain-rubbers' (as they were called in Scotland) were found by Mr. Bliss at all stages of his excavations in Tell el-Hesy—the probable site of Lachish—being slabs flat on one side and convex on the other, with rounded ends' (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 83, illustr. p. 82). They are found also both in ancient and in modern Egypt (see illustr. in Erman's *Egypt*, 190, for the former; for the latter, Benz. *HA* 85, Nowack, *HA* 110). The pestle and mortar (see MORTAR) represent a later stage in the art of preparing food. The still more effective hand-mill or quern (רֵחַיִם) with its upper and nether millstones—hence the dual form—is the last to appear (Erman, *op. cit.* 189; see also MILL).[2]

2. Culinary arrangements.

[1] The practice varies in different parts of Syria. In some parts the jar when empty is carried on the head; when filled, on the shoulder (*PEFQ* 1904, 11 [16]).

[2] Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 179: 'After the water-skins a pair of millstones is the most necessary husbandry in an Arabian household.'

MILK (*q. v.*) was kept in skins (Judg. 4 19), but [illegible] in bowls, wine in skin bottles (see BOTTLE), [illegible] honey in earthenware jars (see [illegible]), OLIVES, GRAPES, figs, and the other fruits of the [illegible] preserved [illegible], partly in similar jars, partly in [illegible] (see [illegible] and N[illegible]). BASKET). Such were the *sal* (סַל, Gen. 40 [illegible] καρταλλος [MDLL]), a basket of wicker work; the [illegible] (מַגְרָה, Dt. 26 [illegible], καρταλλος [HAFL]), *canistrum*, cp V[illegible] *Ex.* 8 [illegible]) for carrying wheat from the threshing [illegible] to judge from the passage Dt. 28 5 17 ('blessed sh[illegible] thy basket and thy kneading trough' RV, Θ αἱ ἀπ[illegible] καὶ σου); [1] and the *dūd* (דּוּד), a basket in which fa[illegible] gathered (Jer. 24 2 Ps. 81 6 [7] RV). The preparat[illegible] bread, always the staple article of diet, required [illegible] kneading trough (מִשְׁאֶרֶת) of wood, earthenware, or [illegible] according to circumstances, and the oven (תַּנּוּר) [illegible] toned together (Ex. 8 [illegible] (7 23), for which see BREAD, [illegible]

Coming now to cooking, in the ordinary sense [illegible] is, the preparation of food by the agency of fire [illegible]

3. Preparation of food.

we find that the various method[illegible] cooking to which reference is m[illegible] may be grouped under two he[illegible] The food was cooked either (1) by bringing it [illegible] immediate contact with the source of heat, whethe[illegible] in the case of the ash-cakes (*subcinericius panis*, [illegible] 196, described under BREAD, § 2 *a*) or in the ro[illegible] and ready method of roasting on the live embers [illegible] below) or in the more civilised method of roasting [illegible] means of spit or gridiron; or (2) by using a suit[illegible] liquid as the medium for transmitting the heat requ[illegible] such as water, milk, oil, or fat (in frying). It we[illegible] seem that the Hebrews originally included these var[illegible] processes under the general term בָּשַׁל.

The original signification of this verbal root was evidently [illegible] be or to become ripe,' 'to ripen' applied to grain (Joel 3 [illegible] and fruit (Gen. 40 10), from which the transition to the ide[illegible] 'making (food) eatable'—*i.e.*, cooking—was easy (cp post-bib[illegible] תָּבְשִׁיל, something cooked, a 'dish'). Hence we find קָאַם 'cooked with fire' (2 Ch. 35 13) and בִּבְשָׁל בְּקִיר 'cooked [illegible] (or in) water' (Ex. 12 9), when it is important that 'roas[illegible] and 'boiled' shall be precisely distinguished. In ord[illegible] language, however, בָּשַׁל was used only in the sense of [illegible] while for the various forms of 'roasting' indicated and [illegible] above (1 S. 2 15 Is. 44 16 19) use was made of the word [illegible] That which was roasted, a roast, was צָלִי (Is. 44 16, cp [illegible] 'roasted or parched corn'; see FOOD, § 1). In the Talm[illegible] third verb is frequently found alongside of צָלָה and בָּשַׁל [illegible] צָלַל, which is applied not only to the cooking of flesh but als[illegible] the boiling down of fruit to make preserves (*Ma'as.* 4 [illegible] 8 9). These three verbs are generally taken to repres[illegible] Latin *assare*, *coquere*, and *elixare* respectively, in which [illegible] שָׁלַק would signify 'to boil thoroughly' (cp דָּתַק in Ezek. 2[illegible] RV 'to boil well,' and דָּתֵק, *ib.* v. 5): it is probably equ[illegible] lent to our 'stew,' since in the absence of knives and forks [illegible] MEALS) the Oriental has to stew his meat till it can be re[illegible] pulled in pieces by the hand.

When the meat was boiled in a larger quantity [illegible] ater than was necessary for stewing, the rich li[illegible] which resulted was known as מָרָק, *mārāk* (Judg. 6 [illegible] Is. 65 4 kr. [Kt. מְרַק] RV 'broth'), also perhaps as מַרְקָה [illegible] Ezek. 24 10, RV 'make thick the broth'). The m[illegible] and the broth might be served together or separ[illegible] the latter by Gideon, Judg. *loc. cit.*). When the m[illegible] on the other hand, is set on with a smaller qu[illegible] water, to which onions or other pungent veget[illegible] spices have been added, the result is the favou[illegible] Arab stew *yaḫni* (يخنى), perhaps the שְׁלִיק (Ex. [illegible]) and שְׁלָקוֹת (*Ib. Zer.* 2 [illegible]) of the Mishna. The 'sav[illegible] meat' (מַטְעַמִּים, Gen. 27 4 [illegible] cp Prov. 23 [illegible]) which Re[illegible] prepared for his 'two kids' (the goats' was donot[illegible] spicy stew of this kind.

A reference to another modern dish, *kibbeh*, which has [illegible]

[1] The Mishnic Heb. סַל is a large *metal* basket; cp *Bi*[illegible] and, for this and other vessels, J. Krengel, *Das Hausgerät der Mishnah*, 1 Heft, 18[illegible]

[illegible]

Were an animal of the herd (בָּקָר) or of the flock [illegible] [illegible] § 11; and Sacrifice [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

binus extra columns).' Later Hebrew legislation in this, no doubt, perpetuating an ancient practice—required that the Passover lamb should be roasted on a spit of pomegranate (שפוד שלרמון [Levy, שפוד] *Pes.* 7 10). The ordinary spit, being of iron,—so much we may infer from the demand that a spit purchased from an Israelite must be cleansed in the fire (*Ab. Zara*, 5 12)—was not allowed for the above-mentioned purpose; neither was the gridiron (אסכלא, *Pes.* 7 2). The spit, we may suppose, rested on andirons[1] (βάσεις, *vara*), on which it could be turned by the hand.

The passage of the treatise *Pesahim* above referred to speaks further of roasting, or more exactly of broiling, on a gridiron placed apparently over the mouth of a *tannur* or baking oven. The gridiron was perhaps used to prepare the piece of broiled fish (ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος) of Lk. 24 42. Not only flesh and fish but also eggs, onions, etc., were roasted by the Jews (*Shabb.* 1 10).

The favourite mode of roasting meat for ordinary household purposes at the present day in Syria is by means of skewers. The meat is cut into small pieces, which are stuck upon the skewers and roasted over a brazier. Meat thus prepared is termed *kebab*.

With regard to the food-products of the vegetable kingdom (see FOOD), many vegetables were of course

7. Vegetable food.

eaten raw (ὠμός, in Hebrew חַי, literally 'living,' a word applied not only to raw animal flesh [1 S. 2 15 Lev. 13 10 *ff.*], but also to fish [*Nedar.* 6 4], to vegetables [*ib.*], and even to unmixed wine). They were also cooked by being boiled, alone or mixed with various ingredients such as oil and spices. The Hebrew housewives, we may be sure, were not behind their modern kinsfolk of the desert, of whom Doughty testifies that 'the Arab housewives make savoury messes of any grain, seething it and putting thereto only a little salt and *samn*' (*Ar. Des.* 2 140). Thus, of the cereals, the obscure '*ārīsah* (עֲרִיסָה, Nu. 15 20 *f.*) was probably a porridge of barley groats (see, further, FOOD, § 1), whilst Jacob sod for himself a dish (נָזִיד, EV 'pottage') of lentils (Gen. 25 29 34); the same name is given to the vegetarian dish prepared for the sons of the prophets (2 K. 4 38 *ff.*; cp Hagg. 2 12). In NT times, at least, it was known that the pulses or pod-plants were improved by being soaked (MH שְׁרָה) before being boiled. Various kinds, such as beans and lentils, might be boiled together (*Ohol.* 1 7); they might also, like our French beans, be boiled in the pods (קליפות). In the OT we find mention of the *mahabath* (מַחֲבַת, τήγανον, AV 'pan,' RV 'baking-pan,' mg. 'flat plate,' Lev. 2 5 6 21 [14], etc.) and the *marheshath* (מַרְחֶשֶׁת, EV 'frying pan,' Lev. 2 7 7 9). The *mahabath* certainly (see Ezek. 4 3), and the *marheshath* probably, was of iron; and, although both are used with reference only to the sacrificial cakes (see BAKEMEATS, BREAD), we may legitimately infer from the fact that the martyrs of 2 Macc. 7 were roasted alive on the τήγανον (vv. 3 5; cp late Heb. word מחנן) that both may have been used also in the preparation of meat.

To judge from the prepositions employed (על, 'on', and ב, 'in'), the *mahabath* was deeper than the *marheshath*. This inference is confirmed by the tradition, which we find in the Mishna, that the difference between the *marheshath* and the *mahabath* consisted in the former having a lid (כסוי) while the latter had none; to which another authority adds that the former is deep and its contents fluid, the latter flat and its contents firm (*Menah.* 5 9). The *mahabat*', in short, was a stewpan, the *marheshath* similar to a Scotch 'girdle,' a flat iron plate on which oatcakes are baked.

A striking illustration of Ezek. 4 3 is furnished by Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 504), who describes an iron-plated door in the castle of Hayil: 'the plates (in the indigence of their arts) are the shield-like iron pans (tannur) upon which the town housewives bake their girdle-bread.'

Other utensils named or implied are (*a*) the sieve,

[1] Some would give this or a similar sense to אסכלא. See Jastrow, *Dict.*

mizreh (מִזְרֶה, Is 30 23; *Shabb.* 8 2, *Aboth*, 5 15), for sifting the flour, and (*b*) the strainer, *mēsimmeret* (מְסִמֶּרֶת, *Shabb.* 20 1, *Ib.* 5 15 [especially for wine]; cp Lk. 22 10, Mt. 23 24). An ordinary bowl, however, might be perforated so as to serve as a strainer, as we see from the pottery of Tell-el-Hesy (Bliss, *op. cit.* 85). To these may be added (*c*) one of the commonest of the post-biblical terms for a pot, קְדֵרָה; hence קְדֵרָה came to signify 'cooked food' (*Nedar.* 6 1). For the vessels used for serving food, see MEALS, § 8.

The importance of oil in the Hebrew kitchen will be noticed under OIL (*q.v.*). In early times the custom

8. Condiments.

so popular among the modern Arabs of boiling flesh in milk seems to have prevailed among the Hebrews. The oldest legislation—confirmed by the Deuteronomic—limited this practice so far as to forbid (for reasons that are still obscure: see FOOD, § 13, and see MAGIC, SACRIFICE) the seething of a kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 23 19 34 26 Dt. 14 21). In NT times this prohibition had been extended far beyond its original intention.

Thus we read in the Mishna: 'It is forbidden to seethe (בשל) any sort of flesh in milk, except the flesh of fish and locusts; it is also forbidden to set flesh upon the table along with cheese (with the same exceptions, *Khull.* 8 1). It was still debated whether the prohibition applied to fowls and game or only to cattle, sheep, and goats (*ib.* 4). In the course of time, however, it became part of the Jewish dietary law, that two distinct sets of cooking utensils—one for meat alone, and another for dishes into the preparation of which milk or butter enters—are required in every orthodox Jewish kitchen (see on this law of בשר בחלב esp. Wiener, *Die jüd. Speisegesetze*, 41-120 [1951]). Extreme purists have gone the length of using three (*ib.* 115 *f.*) and even four such sets.

A. R. S. K.

COOS, or rather, as in RV and 1 Macc. 15 23 EV **Cos** (ΚΩΟΣ; now *Stanchio*—*i.e.*, εἰς τὴν Κῶ), the least and most southerly of the four principal islands off the coast of Asia Minor. It lies at the entrance to a deep bay, on the two projecting promontories of which were Cnidus and Halicarnassus. It owed its fertility to its volcanic origin, and its commercial importance to its position. It lies on the high road of all maritime traffic between the Dardanelles and Cyprus: vessels coasting in either direction must pass within half a mile of the capital (also called Cos), which was on the E. extremity of the island, and had a good anchorage and a port sheltered from all winds except those from the SE. Lucan (*Phar.* 8 243) thus sketches the usual route of ships:—

Ephesumque relinquens
Rauci sava Sami, spirat de litore Coos
Aura diuinus, Cnidon ind. fugit, claramque relinquit
Sole Rhodon.

In precise agreement with this is the account of Paul's voyage from Macedonia to Palestine (Acts 21 1). His ship ran before the wind (εὐθυδρομήσαντες) from Miletus about 40 m. to the N., down to Cos (*i.e.*, either the island or the capital: probably the latter is meant); next day it reached Rhodes.

In spite of its geographical advantages, Cos remained historically unimportant. Its inhabitants, apparently of deliberate choice, eschewed foreign relationships, and devoted themselves to the development of internal resources. No colonies were sent out, for long the capital was in the west of the island; the strategic and commercial importance of its present site was ignored until 366 B.C. When at last the Coans were compelled to emerge from their seclusion, it was only to echo the voice of Rhodes in all matters of foreign policy. The success of this concentration of energy is indicated by the fact that Cos ranked with Rhodes, Chios, Samos, and Lesbos as one of the μακαρίτατοι (Diod. Sic. 5 81 6), and by the existence of the saying 'He who cannot thrive in Cos will do no better in Egypt.' Allied with this material prosperity was the development of liberal arts. Under the Ptolemies Cos became an important literary centre. With it are connected the names of Theocritus the poet, Bérossus the historian, Apelles the painter, and, at an earlier date (5th cent. B.C.), Hippocrates the physician. It was one of the great centres of the worship of Æsculapius, of the caste or medical school of Asclepiadæ. Claudius (A.D. 41) gave the island the privilege of immunity, mainly for its medical fame (Tac. *Ann.* 12 61).

[1] ὃν οὐ θρέψει Κῶς ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲ Αἴγυπτος.

Among the commercial products of the island were unguents, two kinds of wine, pottery (*amphorae Coae*, Pliny, *HN* xxxv. 171), and silk for Roman ladies (*Coae purpurae*, Hor. *Od.* iv. 13 13 *vestes tenues*, Tibull. ii. 3 5). Cos is still an active port. Strabo (657) notes the fair aspect of the city to one entering the roads.

Interesting is the connection of Cos with the Jews. As Mithridates seized 800 talents deposited in the island by the Jews of Asia (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2), there must then have been a Jewish settlement there engaged in banking. In 1 Macc. 15 23 Cos is mentioned in the list of places to which the circular letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (*circa* 130-8 B.C.) is said to have been addressed. In 86 B.C. Gaius Fannius wrote to the Coan authorities enclosing a *senatus consultum* to secure safe convoy for Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem. The island was connected also with Herod the Great (Jos. *BJ* i. 21 11), and with his son Antipas (Boeckh, 2502).

Best authority, *Inscriptions of Cos*, by Paton and Hicks, 1891; an attempt at direct combination of epigraphy and history. W. J. W.

COPPER (נחשת; χαλκος; cp BRASS). The compound of copper and zinc that we call brass appears to have been little known to the ancient

1. In Egypt. but we have abundant evidence that copper was early known, and that it was hardened by means of alloys into bronze. Seneferu, a conqueror, pharaoh of the fourth dynasty, worked the Sinaitic copper mines, and M. de Morgan has found some articles of copper in the tomb of Menes (traditionally regarded as the first king of Egypt), explored by him in 1897. M. Amélineau appears to have proved that copper was known at an even earlier date, and from his researches and those of Mr. Quibell at Kom el-Ahmar we may probably conclude that the Pharaohs of Egyptians were from the first not ignorant of the use of gold and copper (*ḥmt*). Themnies in the Sinaitic peninsula continued to be the chief source from which the Egyptians drew their copper (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 355, and cp SINAI); but in the fifteenth century they obtained it also from Alašia *i.e.*, CYPRUS[1] (see Am. Tab., 25 and 27), where Cesnola has found both copper and bronze celts in Phoenician remains.

The oldest Babylonian specimens of copper are those found by M. de Sarzec at Tello (before 2500 B.C.); at

2. In Babylonia. Tell es Sifr, in the same neighbourhood, Mr. Loftus has found even a large copper factory (1500 B.C.). In Babylonian tombs and also in what Dr. J. P. Peters calls a jeweller's shop (at Nippur), objects made of copper (belonging to *circa* 1300 B.C.) have been found. Hommel thinks, on philological grounds, that the Semitic Babylonians as metallurgists were pupils of the Sumerians, and dates their acquaintance with copper and iron very early.[2] The inscriptions make frequent mention of copper (*siparu*) and bronze[3] (*urud*, also *ḳû*, and *urudu*; cp Lat. *rudus* "as intractum"). The ancient hymn (in Sumerian and Assyrian) to Gibil, the fire-god, extols him for his services in the mixing of copper and tin (cp Tubal-cain, and see CAINITES, § 10). The Assyrians used bronze axes as late as the ninth century. They derived their copper and bronze from the so called Na'iri countries, ultimately therefore, from Armenia; the copper in the tribute paid to Rammân-nirari III. by Damascus is mentioned elsewhere (IRON).[4]

The Canaanites, naturally enough, were well acquainted with copper. According to Ritter (*Erdk.* 17 1061

3. In Canaan. cited by Knobel), there are still traces of ancient copper-mines in the Lebanon.[5]

Flinders Petrie also accepts Winckler's identification of Alašia in Am. Tab. with Cyprus (where copper was worked). See his statement, *Syria and Egypt*, 44 (98).

2 *PSBA* xx. 2. *Tók v.* 1410.

3 Cp Lenormant, *ZKF* i. 6 314 *ff.*

4 On iron and bronze among the Babylonians and Assyrians, cp Winckler, *AOF* i. 159 *ff.*

5 Cp the important descriptive phrase quoted in Del. *Par.* 2 sad Ba'ali-ṣapûna sadû rabû ṣiparri 'the mountain Baal-

this is confirmed by what seems to be an assertion of the fact in Dt. 8 9 and Zech. 6 1 (see below, § 5). On the E. of the Lebanon range copper must have been abundant in the 'land of Nuhaśśi' (*Am.*), which Halévy ingeniously identifies with ZOBAH; and in later times there were copper mines in Edom at Phaenon or Phenon (cp PINON). The Phoenicians early employed bronze for works of art,[1] and the great mound of Tell el Hesy, believed to be Lachish, proves that the Amorites who dwelt there had used their opportunities. 'In the remains of the Amorite city (perhaps 1500 B.C.) there are large rough weapons of war, made of copper without admixture of tin; above this, dating perhaps from 1250 to 1000, are [illegible] tools, but the bronze gradually becomes scarcer, its place being taken by

4. In Israel. iron' (see IRON). Whatever, therefore, be the date of 1 S. 17 5 as a document, we may feel quite certain that the Philistine warriors had armour of bronze; indeed, the ancestors in Asia Minor doubtless had bronze weapons long before David's time.[2] Goliath, however, uses weapons of attack made of iron (the *kidôn* [?] of bronze can hardly be a sixth; see GOLIATH).

The statement in Josh. 6 24 (copper or bronze vessels found in Jericho) will be in the main correct; also that in 2 S. 8 7, in as far as it relates to the abundance of bronze in Syria. Whether the serpent of bronze called NEHUSHTAN [*q.v.*] was earlier than the temple of Solomon may, perhaps, be doubted. At any rate the notice in Nu. 21 9 (JE) is as much of an anachronism as that in Ex. 38 8 (P). The Israelites in the wilderness had no workers in bronze. Nor could David find a competent bronze-worker in all Israel; the statements respecting Hiram the artificer in 1 K. 7 13 *ff.* are no doubt historical.[3] In the later regal period it was, of course, quite otherwise (cp Jer. 6 28 *f.* Ezek. 22 18 20). From 2 K. 25 13 *f.* Jer. 52 17 *f.* we learn that the Babylonians broke the sacred vessels of bronze and carried away the metal to Babylon; no doubt Rehoboam's shields of 'brass' (1 K. 14 27 2 Ch. 12 10) went there too; but the chief losses were probably repaired. The cymbals in the second temple were certainly of copper or bronze, as we may infer from 1 Ch. 15 19 Jos. *Ant.* vii. 12 3 (cp 1 Cor. 13 1). Gates of 'brass' are mentioned in Ps. 107 16 Is. 45 2 (cp Herod. i. 179, and see Mr. Pinches' account of the bronze gates of Balawat),[4] mining implements of 'brass' in Eccles. 18 19 (Heb. [illegible]).

That 'brass' (bronze) should be used to symbolise hardness and strength is natural. In time of drought,

5. OT usage. it seemed as if the heavens were bronze, so that [illegible] could not pass through them (Dt. 28 23), or as if the earth were bronze, so that it could never be softened again (Lev. 26 19). A sufferer asks if his 'flesh' (*i.e.*, body) is of brass (Job 6 12), as the bones of Eliphaz's moth (Job 4 19) and the brow of disobedient Israel (Is. 48 4) are, by other writers, said to be. To be compared with brass is not, however, the highest distinction. It was the third empire in Nebuchadrezzar's vision that was of 'brass' (Dan. 2 39 cp *v.* 32). On the other hand, 'brass' in the obscure phrase 'mountains of brass' (Zech. 6 1) has no symbolic meaning: 'brass' (*i.e.*, copper) is merely mentioned to enable the reader to identify the mountains (cp Nuhaśśi, the 'copperland', [illegible]).

Dr. [illegible] as the passage is, we need not despair of explaining it. [illegible] 'mountains of brass' are parallel to the 'mountains

sapûn, 2 [illegible] 'mountain of copper'; also Sargon, Ann. 23, where Ba'al-ṣapûna, 'the great mountain,' is spoken of as containing mines (see p. 173).

1 Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus*.

2 Dr. J. H. Gladstone, 'The Metals of Antiquity' (*Nature*, April 1, 1875, p. 501).

3 Schliemann's discovery of weapons of copper and bronze on the site of Troy is well known.

4 On the right [illegible] of 1 K. 7 40, see ADAM, i.

5 The [illegible] of the palace gates from Balawat (parts ii. iv.) [illegible] *Arch.*

(𝔊 τῶν ὀρέων) in the river-land' (בְּמֹצָא; cp צוּלָה Is. 44 27)—*i.e.*, those visible from Babylonia—in Zech. 1 8, and must have been as well known as these to Zechariah's hearers or readers. They were no doubt the 'hills out of which thou mayest dig copper' (Dt. 8 9) *i.e.*, Lebanon and Hermon (see above, § 3), which formed the northern boundary of the Holy Land. It is the 'land of the north' (the seat of the empire of the Seleucidæ?) 'that chiefly occupied the thoughts of the speaker' (*ibid.*). See ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF. On נחשת כ״ם Ezra 8 27, cp COPPERS, § 2.

T. K. C.

COR (כֹּר, perh. Ass. *kūru* [*v.* Muss-Arnolt, *s. v.*], or from √ כרר; see No. *ZDMG* 40 714 ['86]), a measure of capacity = an homer (10 ephahs or baths); of wheat and barley (1 K. 4 22 [5 2]; EV 'measure,' mg. 'cor'; 2 Ch. 2 10 [9] 27 5; RV^mg. 'cors'). As a liquid measure Ezek. 45 14. 2 K. 6 25 (emended text) speaks of ½ cor of carobs (see HUSKS).

In 1 K. 5 11 [25] 'measures of oil' is wrong; read כָּתִּית שָׁמֶן 'baths of oil,' after 𝔊 and Vg. 2 Ch. 2 9. κορος [BAL] a loan-word, which in 𝔊 represents both כֹּר and כּוֹר, occurs once in NT (Lk. 16 7; RV^mg. 'cors'; AV^mg. says 'a coat 14 bushels and a pottle'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CORAL is EV's rendering in Job 28 18 Ezek. 27 16 of רָאמוֹת, a word of unknown origin, which occurs also in Prov. 24 7, where EV treats it as a derivative of רוּם, meaning 'too high.' Most commentators, however (Hitz., Siegfr.-Sta., etc.), suppose that there is a reference to a precious object called *rāmōth*—as if the wise man meant, 'Wisdom is as much out of the fool's reach as coral.' Neither explanation is satisfactory.[2]

1. Rāmōth unidentified.

The word occurs only twice, and, since the Vss. shed an uncertain light on the meaning, we must be content to make the most of internal evidence.

Ezek. has λαμωθ [BQ], ραμωθ [A], *serikum*; Job has μετέωρα [BNAC Theod.], ὑψηλά (Sym.), *excelsa*: Prov. has σοφία καὶ ἔννοια ἀγαθὴ ἐν πόλαις [BA] for ראמות לאיל חכמת בשער [Vg., *excelsa*].[3]

The context in Job (*rāmōth, gāḇīₜ, pᵉnīnīm*) shows that some precious and ornamental substance is intended, and Dillmann infers from the language that *rāmōth* was regarded as less valuable than *pᵉnīnīm* (see below). According to MT of Ezek. 27 16, *rāmōth*, with *nōphek, arḡāmān, rikmah, ḇūṣ*, and *kaḏḥōḏh*, was brought into the Tyrian market by merchants of Syria; but probably (see Cornill, *ad loc.*) we should read for Aram (ארם) Edom (אדום);[4] as Cornill remarks, Edom was an important stage in the transport of merchandise westward from S. Arabia and India. This last indication of the provenance of *rāmōth* makes against the usual rabbinic rendering, 'coral'; for the red coral of commerce—the hard calcareous skeleton of the colonial Actinozoon, *Corallium nobile*, Pal. (*rubrum*, Da Costa), which is widely distributed in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic as far as the Cape Verd Islands, and is a considerable source of wealth in the Mediterranean basin—occurs in its natural state much less frequently S. and E. of Suez.

2. In RV^mg. 'corals' (Lam. 4 7), 'red coral,' and 'pearls' (Job 28 18 Prov. 3 15 8 11 20 15 31 10) are suggested as renderings alternative to 'rubies' (see RUBY, 1) for פְּנִינִים *pᵉnīnīm*. Certainly 'rubies' is not a good rendering. The words, 'the catching' (מְשֹׁךְ; EV, improbably, 'price') of wisdom is above that of rubies,' in Job 28 18,

2. Pᵉnīnīm perhaps coral.

[1] This interpretation is due to Grätz (*Jüd. Zt.* 1885, pp. 540 *f.*); it has been overlooked by even the most recent commentators. For other views, or the whole very improbable ones, see Wright, *Zechariah*, 1 4 *f.*; Now. and GASm. decline to offer any opinion.

[2] Bickell: 'If thou hold thy peace (רָמוּתָ) before a fool, thou art wise.'

[3] Targ. Job 28 16 has, for ראמות, כנרמכא = σανδαρακη of Theophr., etc., viz., native realgar, or ruby sulphur (realgar, sulphide of arsenic). It is used to a limited extent as a pigment, but cannot be intended here (indication, however, of colour).

[4] With Aq., Pesh., some Heb. MSS, and virtually 𝔊 (ἀνθρώπους = אדם). Sym. and Theod. support MT.

would seem to imply that a fishery was in the case,[1] and if two of our best critics may be followed, the nobles of Jerusalem are described in Lam. 4 7 as 'purer than snow, whiter than milk, more ruddy than branches of *pᵉnīnīm*' (*i.e.*, obviously, of coral).[2] Another reference to *pᵉnīnīm*, of considerable interest, occurs in Ps. 45 14 [15], where we should no doubt read פנינים for פנימה; the whole line should perhaps run, 'on her neck is a wreath of *pᵉnīnīm*' (see Che. *Ps.*[2] *ad loc.*).

In the somewhat obscure question as to identification of the substance or substances intended by *rāmōth* and

3. Coral-like stones.

pᵉnīnīm, it ought not to be overlooked that certain stones valued by the ancients seem to have been named from their resemblance to coral. Pliny, before passing from the onyx and alabaster group, speaks of a valuable 'coralline stone' found in Asia, of a white hue, somewhat approaching that of ivory, and in some degree resembling it (*H.* 36 13); also of corallis, a native of India and Syene, resembling minium in appearance; and of coralloachates or coral-agate, commonly found in Crete, and then called the 'sacred' agate, similar to coral, and spotted all over, like the sapphire, with drops of gold (37 54 56). Cp MARBLE.

COR-ASHAN (כּוֹר־עָשָׁן), 1 S. 30 30. See BORASHAN.

CORBAN (κορβᾶν [Ti.], κορβάν [WH], Mk. 7 11), transliteration of Heb. קָרְבָּן, an offering;[3] explained by δῶρον, 'gift' (cp Mt. 15 5; similarly Jos. *Ant.* iv. 4 4: κορβᾶν), a kind of votive offering; an object devoted to the deity, and therefore tabooed.[4] Josephus (*l.c.*) uses the word in speaking of the Nazirites who were dedicated to God as a corban, and of the temple treasury which was inviolable (*BJ* ii. 9 4; . . . τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν καλεῖται δὲ κορβωνᾶς; cp Mt. 27 6 κορβανᾶς). Theophrastus, among foreign oaths, especially quotes the *corban* as one belonging to the Jews, which was forbidden to the Tyrians (cp Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22, § 167). It is easy to see that by interdicting himself by a vow a man was able to refrain from using or giving away any particular object, and might thus evade any troublesome obligation. Several abuses crept in (cp *Nid.* 5 6), and, in the passage cited (Mk. 7 11 cp Mt. 15 5), Jesus denounces a system which allowed a son, by pronouncing the word 'corban' (and thus vowing a thing to God), to relieve himself of the duty of helping a parent. Cp comm. on Mt. 15 5, Mk. 7 11, and especially L. Cappellus on Mt. 15 5; and *PRE*[2] 5 42.

CORBE (χορβε [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 12 AV = Ezra 2 27 ZACCAI.

CORD. There is no scarcity of Hebrew terms to denote cord of one kind or another.

Among the commonest words are חֶבֶל *ḥeḇel* (√ to bind), a rope, cord, hauling (cp 2 S. 17 13 EV 'rope'),[5] of tent-ropes (Is. 33 20 Jer. 4 21),[6] and of ship's tackle; see SHIP, TENT, § 3. יֶתֶר *yeṯer* (√ to stretch), both used of cords or ropes for drawing, hauling (cp 2 S. 17 13 EV 'rope'),[5] of tent-ropes (Is. 33 20 Jer. 4 21),[6] and of ship's tackle; see SHIP, TENT, § 3. *Yeṯer* (cp in Judg. νευρά), which seems to denote rather 'gut,' and its derivative מִיתָר, are used also specially of bowstrings (Ps. 11 2 21 12 [13]). Less frequent terms are: חוּט *ḥūṭ* (√ to sew

[1] The text may, however, be corrupt; מִשְׁקָל is a singular. We might emend to ומחשבה, '(wisdom) is esteemed' (Ge.).

[2] The common rendering is '. . . more ruddy in body than *pᵉnīnīm*' (cp EV). But 'in body' (עֶצֶם) appears superfluous here; whereas if we transpose the preposition, and read עצם instead of מ״ עצם, we get a good sense (see above). 𝔊 does not represent either עֹצֶם or עֶצֶם. See Bu. and Bickell, *ad loc.*

[3] In P of the Hexateuch it is the comprehensive term for offerings 'presented' to God, bloody or bloodless; see also Ezek. 20 28 40 43.

[4] See Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.*, s.v. קרבן; *NHW B.*, s.v. נדר; [illegible] (mutilations of the formula, which are equally [illegible] *Nazir* iii, 12, as will be explained under VOW, § 4), and [illegible] BAN, § 1, SACRIFICE, VOW.

[5] For 1 K. 20 31 see TURBAN.

[6] Job 4 21 RV 'tent-cord,' RV^mg. AV 'excellency.' 𝔊, however, expresses הלא נשח בהם ויבשו, 'Surely when he blows upon them, they wither.' This is preferable (so Beer).

'thread' (Gen. 14 23, Judg. 16 12, Cant. 4 9; AV 'fillet,' RV 'cord' in Jer. 52 21); נִתְּקָה *nittqâ* (√to encircle, go round), Is. 3 24 RV 'rope' (AV rent); עֲבֹת *'abôth* (cp Ass. *abûttu*, 'otter'), Judg. 15 13, etc.; פְּתִיל *pâthîl*, Nu. 15 38, etc., Is. 5 18, etc. (AV 'cord,' RV 'string'), (for Gen. 38 18-25 see RUSH, § 1); and חוּט, חֶבֶל: see LINE.

The materials available were strips of skin or hide (cp the legend of the Carthaginian *Byrsa*), or the intestines of animals, especially the goat or camel (cp גִּיד above), flax (Ezek. 40 3), and rushes. It is ropes of rushes that are meant by σχοινίον and σπάρτιον, ⊕'s equivalents for חֶבֶל and חוּט respectively. Σχοινίον occurs twice in NT (Jn. 2 15 (a scourge of cords), Acts 27 32 (ropes of a skiff)).

The weaving together of two or more ropes for greater strength was customary: cp Eccles. 4 12 'the threefold cord (הַמְשֻׁלָּשָׁה) is not quickly broken.' יִתְרִים לֵחִים 'green withes' (RV), 'which had not been dried,' were employed in binding Samson (Judg. 16 7). Greater flexibility, for the purpose of tying, was thus secured, and the knots were less 'able to slip' than the cord to slip.

From the idea of 'line, cord,' etc., is readily derived the meaning of 'measuring-line' (cp חֶבֶל 2 S. 8 2, Am. 7 17, מִדָּה 1 K. 7 15, 37, 1 K. 7 23, פְּתִיל Ezek. 40 3). The line, further, is the part 'measured off,' the 'lot' or 'inheritance' (cp חֶבֶל Josh. 19 9, Ps. 16 6, Ps. 105 11).

On the 'cords' (σχοινία) worn by the unchaste women of Babylon (Bar. 6 43), see Fritzsche *ad loc.*

CORE (κορε BNA Ti. WH, Κορεις 15 1 Lc. 1 36 AV, RV KORAH (q.v.)).

CORIANDER (גַּד; κορίον BAFL, κόριον 16 31 Nu. 11 7) is a plant indigenous to the Mediterranean region (*Coriandrum sativum* L., Umbelliferae). The Hebrew name, which Lagarde (*Ges. Th.* 257) believes to be of Egyptian origin, seems identified with the γλυκὺ σίδη of the septuagint on Dioscorides (3 74) and means 'to be bitter.' The comparison of manna to coriander is thus assured. The manna, which is likened to its seed is also said to be 'small,' 'fine,' 'as small as hoar-frost upon the ground,' and is elsewhere described as bdellium. These characters suit the so-called seed (really fruit) of the coriander, which is about the size of a peppercorn. N. M. W. T. L. H.

CORINTH (κορινθος). The secret of Corinthian history lies in the close relation of the city to the commerce of the Mediterranean. Even before the development of trade by sea the wealth of Corinth was inevitable owing to its position on the Isthmus ('the bridge of the sea' Pind. *Isth.* iii. 36, 'door of the Peloponnese,' Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2). For navigation and far-reaching commercial enterprises no city was more favourably placed. Its territory was unsuited for agriculture (Strabo 5 21); the more distinct, therefore, was the vocation of its inhabitants for a seafaring life. The Phoenicians were early attracted by the advantages of the site. There are many traces of their presence at Corinth. At the foot of the Acrocorinthus, Melqarth, the god of Tyre (see PHOENICIA), was adored by the Corinthians as the protector of navigation under the name Melicertes (Paus. ii. 1 3). The armed Aphrodite (Astarte), had a temple on the summit of the hill (Str. 378 *ναΐδιον*; Paus. ii. 4 6 *f.*), linking it with the sun-god; *id.* ii. 5 11; to her in later times a thousand female votaries paid service with their bodies, adopting a custom well known in Syrian worship (Strabo 378).

The juxtaposition of the two Corinthian harbours Lechaeum on the Corinthian Gulf, and Cenchreae, with Sikyon, on the Saronic, made it easy to tranship goods, and, as the voyage round Cape Malea was

[illegible] *ἀστραπτίον*. [illegible] to Fluck, and Hanh. [illegible] which has been and which [illegible] in Greek, κορίς.'

[illegible] γ δ appears as an [illegible] *ἀ*, which is [illegible] *ἀστ*. See [illegible]

[illegible] rather than 'round,' is [illegible] the meaning of [illegible] (Exod. 16 14).

[illegible] and it desired the [illegible] land their goods at [illegible] the Isthmus received dues from the seas as well as from whatever was brought from the Peloponnese by land (Str. 378; cp Dio Chrys. *Or.* viii. 5 ἡ πόλις ὥσπερ ἐν τριόδῳ κεῖται). In consequence of her rapid commercial expansion, the arts also awakened in Corinth to a new life, especially those of metal work and pottery, heirlooms of Phoenician influence (cp Paus. ii. 3 3, Pl. *HN* 24). Trade became wholesale. The establishment of the Isthmian games in the sanctuary of Poseidon, near the bay of Sikyon, [illegible] the Isthmus (Pind.; Str. 300), elevated Corinth into a distinct centre of Hellenic life (Str. 378). So from the earliest times the epithet 'wealthy' was especially reserved for Corinth: ἀφνειός, Hom. *Il.* 2 570; ὀλβία, Pind. *Ol.* 13 4; Thu. 1 13; and although the rise of Athens [illegible] the greater city of Greece.

Herodotus may found a tradition in 146 B.C. when the place was pillaged by the Roman consul, Lucius Mummius [illegible] the settlement of the city was inevitable. In 44 B.C. Julius Caesar founded on the old site the *colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*. The nucleus of its population consisted of freedmen (Paus. ii. 1 5; Str. 381). Most of the names of Corinthian Christians indicate either a Roman [illegible] Gaius, Crispus, 1 Cor. 1 14; Fortunatus, Achaicus, 1 Cor. 16 17; Tertius, Rom. 16 22; Quartus, Rom. 16 23; Justus, Acts 18 7). The New Corinth, by the mere force of geography, became as of old the most prosperous city of Greece, the chosen abode of luxury and [illegible] (Str. 378 *f.*; Athen. 13 573; cp the saying, οὐ παντὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἐστὶν ὁ πλοῦς). It was also the capital of the province, and the seat of the governor of Achaia (Acts 18 12).

For description, see Paus. ii. 1 *f.*; cp Frazer, *Pausanias*, [illegible] Pausanias distinguishes the Roman from the Greek [illegible]; [illegible] recently made important discoveries (see [illegible] as other inscriptions, esp. of uncertain [illegible] as the impost of the [illegible] συναγωγὴ Ἑβραίων).

Corinth, like Athens, [illegible] Jewish population [illegible] (cp [illegible] tun, *Dwell.* 1). The [illegible] Corinthians, has [illegible] the [illegible] from Rome, must [illegible] the manner of Hebrew families in Corinth (Acts 18 [illegible]; Stat. *Silv.* [illegible] see Weiss). As in other cities, so in Corinth, [illegible] Acts 17 [illegible] a considerable number of people had been attracted to the Jewish [illegible] would be the first-fruits of [illegible] Hence [illegible] with the Jews, [illegible] of the Roman or Latin [illegible] Justus [illegible] (cp Acts 19 [illegible]). [illegible] mostly of Italian origin: Acts 18 [illegible] Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες πιστεύον. As [illegible] among the Jews (Acts 18 [illegible]), though the Corinthian [illegible]

In conformity with his principle of seeking the centres of commercial activity, Paul visited Corinth on his departure from Athens (Acts 18 1). For the importance of this step as regards the development of Paul's [illegible] see PAUL. Converts were made chiefly among the gentiles, of the poorer class (Acts 18 2; 1 Cor. 1 [illegible] 12 [illegible]), although some Jews believed (see CRISPUS). [illegible] of importance (see ERASTUS, GAIUS). [illegible] The accession of [illegible] (1 Cor. 14 [illegible]). [illegible] (1 Cor. 14 [illegible]). [illegible] (1 Cor. 3 [illegible]). First [illegible] (2 Cor. 1 [illegible]). [illegible]

2 Cor. is addressed to the Christians of Achaia generally as well as to the Corinthians, while 1 Cor. is written more especially to the church of Corinth.

The apostle spent eighteen months in Corinth on this occasion (Acts 18 11). On his next recorded visit he stayed three months (Acts 20 3). On a supposed intermediate visit to Corinth and on the correspondence that took place, see CORINTHIANS, §§ 9 f., 13. On the character of Paul's teaching see below, and cp PAUL, APOLLOS.

As to the effect of Paul's letters and presence the N T gives no information; but the letter of Clement, written, perhaps, about 97 A D., shows that the moral tone of the Corinthian church improved, though the friction between parties continued, as indeed we should expect from the social conditions obtaining in such a city. Hegesippus visited the church about 130 A.D., and was favourably impressed by the obedience and liberality of its members, and the activity of its bishop Dionysius (Eus. *HE* iv. 22).

The two epistles written to the Corinthians are remarkable for the variety of their local colouring. The illustrations are drawn chiefly from gentile life: the wild beast fight (1 Cor. 15 32); the stadium and boxing match (1 Cor. 9 24-27); the theatre (1 Cor. 4 9 f.), the garland of Isthmian pine, the prize in the games (1 Cor. 9 25); the idol festivals (1 Cor. 8 to 10 22 f.); the sussitia, so common a feature of Greek social life (1 Cor. 10 27).

W. W.

CORINTHIANS, Epistles to the.[1] It will be unnecessary to repeat here the familiar story of the founding of the church at Corinth, which is elsewhere set in its place in the life of the apostle (see PAUL). According to the scheme of chronology adopted in this article it would fall in the years 50-52 A.D. (48-50 Harnack, 52-54 Lightfoot, otherwise von Soden, see CHRONOLOGY, § 71). In the spring of the latter year Paul left Corinth. Aquila and Priscilla accompanied him as far as Ephesus, where they stayed behind while he went on to Jerusalem. This journey and the visit to the Galatian churches (Acts 18 23) would take up the whole of the later spring or summer of A D 52, and it would not be until the autumn of that year that the apostle returned to Ephesus.

1. Relations with Corinth.

In the meantime events had moved at Corinth. The Alexandrian Jew Apollos, by this time an instructed Christian, had gone thither and his preaching had a great effect. Other teachers were at work there in a spirit less friendly to Paul. Factions were formed, and, when Paul wrote his first extant letter to the Corinthians some two years later, had begun to make serious mischief. The apostle was now settled at Ephesus, which, on an average voyage, would not be more than a sail of a week or ten days from Corinth.[2] News would thus pass easily to and fro: and Paul was evidently kept well informed of what passed at Corinth. At least one earlier letter of his has been lost to us (1 Cor. 5 9), unless, as some have thought, a fragment of it remains embedded in 2 Cor. 6 14-7 1 (on this view, which should probably on the whole be rejected, see below, § 16). The purport of this letter, which the Corinthian Christians somewhat misrepresented, was to warn them against intercourse with immoral heathen. When we remember the laxity of Corinthian morals we cannot be surprised that other and graver aberrations of this kind had taken place among them. The state of things disclosed by some of the apostle's visitors at Ephesus, notably by members of the *familia* of a lady called Chloe (1 Cor. 1 11), gave him so much anxiety that he took pen in hand to write our First Epistle. At the same time he replied to a series of questions put to him in a letter which he had received (perhaps through Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus; 1 Cor. 16 17) from the church at Corinth. These two things—the tidings which he had heard of disorders in the church and certain definite inquiries put to him—account satisfactorily for the contents of the First Epistle (see below, § 10). So far all is clear, except perhaps as to the exact date at which the epistle was sent, though it may be placed provisionally about the autumn of A D 55. There is also no doubt as to the general nature of the circumstances under which our Second Epistle was sent. The interval which separated it from the First Epistle cannot have been very long. It may be assigned to the late autumn (about November) of the same year.[1] From some cause or other, it is clear, the anxiety of the apostle had increased, and had indeed reached a pitch of great and painful tension. The return of Titus, who had been sent to Corinth, relieved him of this [illegible] warmly expressed his satisfaction. [illegible] to the practical question of the collection which he was organizing for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. [illegible] the letter is concluded however, he comes back in the text as we have it to his opponents and writes [illegible] with no little emotion about them. This letter was written on the way to Corinth, probably from Macedonia, and the apostle is about to pay to the church a visit which he repeatedly calls his third (2 Cor. 12 14; 13 1).

2. Earlier correspondence.

This brief outline, however, [illegible] a number of difficulties.

Considered quite by itself, the course of events is clear enough; [illegible] we [illegible] apostle [illegible] at every step. [illegible] that it is to [illegible] it may be [illegible] out by the [illegible] the last five-and-twenty years; and we shall [illegible] lost in threading our way through them by taking [illegible] hypothetical if not exactly monologue—by which they may be supposed to have arisen.

4. Difficulties in detail.

The data which we take over from the First Epistle are: (1) the existence of an active opposition to Paul on the part not only of unbelieving Jews but also of certain sections of Judaising Christians at Corinth; and (2) the occurrence in the church there of a gross case of what we should describe as incest (1 Cor. 5 1). The main question which meets us is, how far does the Second Epistle deal with these same data, and how far have the circumstances altered? Before we can formulate an answer to this question, however, it is necessary first to decide whether or not we are to interpose a lost epistle between the two which have come down to us.

5. Intermediate letter.

The Second Epistle is full of allusions to a previous letter, and the old [illegible] commentators with one consent assumed that this was the First Epistle. Such an assumption was obvious, natural; but, when the language of the Second Epistle came to be closely examined, doubts began to arise as to whether that language could be satisfied by the First Epistle as it has come down to us.

In particular it was asked whether the strong emotion which it seems to have caused, and the tone of the appeal to the First Epistle: 'Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears' (2 Cor. 2 4), and again, the severe heart-searchings described in 2 Cor. 7 8 f. seem to agree with the calm practical discussions of the First Epistle.

Since Klöpper (1874) an increasing number of critics have replied to this decidedly in the negative. [illegible] somewhat too decidedly. Although it is perhaps true that a great part of the First Epistle is taken up by calm practical discussions, the whole epistle is in this strain.

[1] Πρὸς Κορινθίους [Ti WH].

[2] It took Aristides two days to get from Corinth to Miletus (Friedlander, *Sittengesch.* 2 15); but Cicero and his brother Quintus were [illegible] on shipboard (*Ad Attic.*, 3 9, 6 8, 9; quoted by Heinrici (after Hug), *Das zweite Sendschreiben*, etc., 48).

[1] On this reckoning ἀπὸ πέρυσι (2 Cor. 9 2) will mean not 'a year ago' but 'last year.' The Macedonian year, like the Jewish, began with October. See YEAR.

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Many passages, especially in the [illegible] chapters, must have cost the writer no slight emotion. Such would be [illegible] the scathing irony of 1 Cor. 4 8-13 (the [illegible] already [illegible] the rich abundance of the [illegible] in the prerogatives are maltreated [illegible]); the whole of the next section, 1 Cor. 4 14-21, which closes with a threat that [illegible] the well-meaning [illegible] and then [illegible] the prodigals [illegible] in the [illegible] and so [illegible] the danger to [illegible].

It is [illegible] such a passage like these would state [illegible] P[illegible] passage [illegible] and that these [illegible] even [illegible] to be [illegible] the [illegible] with the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible]

once but twice; or, rather, he must have changed it and afterwards reverted to his original plan. From 2 Cor. 1 15 *f.* we learn expressly that he had at one moment decided to go straight from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and then to return again to Corinth.

When he formed this decision he seems to have been well pleased with the Corinthians and they with him; his motive is that, twice over, both on going and returning, they may have the benefit of this presence (2 Cor. 1 15). He did not carry out this plan because, after it had been formed, his relations to the Corinthians underwent a change. He tells us that he would not go to them because, if he had gone, it must have been 'in grief' (2 Cor. 2 1). None the less his change of plan was made one of the accusations against him, and was set down to fickleness of purpose (2 Cor. 1 17).

This being so, however, are we not precluded from interposing any visit between the conceiving of the intention described in 2 Cor. 1 15 (the short voyage and the double visit) and the writing of the Second Epistle?

It is not only, as Schmiedel argues (*HC* 53), that the feelings of the apostle when he made his plan and when he paid the supposed visit were different—in the one case satisfaction with the Corinthians, in the other case pain—but that a visit of any kind is inconsistent with the language used. If Paul had paid such a visit he would have kept to his intention (not broken it), and the charge of fickleness must at least have assumed another form.

We must therefore, with some reluctance, abandon the idea of bringing the painful visit and the painful letter into juxtaposition. The only other place for the former seems to be in the part of Paul's stay at Ephesus anterior to the First Epistle, and towards the middle or later part of it (*i.e.*, not far from, and probably before, the lost letter; 1 Cor. 5 9; cp Schmiedel, *op. cit.* 54). The supposition that the second visit was only contemplated, not paid, appears to be excluded by 2 Cor. 13 2.

We observe also, in passing, that the history of these changes of plan goes far to dispose of the arguments in favour of the supposition that there is no lost letter between the two epistles.

The only way to make the First Epistle referred to directly in the Second is to regard certain passages in it as haunting the apostle and causing him trouble as to its reception. At the time when he conceived the plan set down in 2 Cor. 1 15, his mind was free from trouble: the Corinthians and he were on the best of terms. This alone would sever the links which have seemed to bind the two letters together. They must be connected closely or not at all.

11. Movements of Timothy.

When Paul wrote 1 Corinthians Timothy was not with him. We should infer from Acts 19 22 that before that date he had been already sent into Macedonia. This agrees perfectly with the turn of phrase in 1 Cor. 16 10: 'If Timothy come, see that he be with you without fear.' Before the despatch of the Second Epistle he had rejoined Paul, as he is associated with him in the opening salutation (2 Cor. 1 1). If the suggestion above holds, it was probably he who brought news of the events which led up to the second crisis. In any case the dealing with that crisis at its height was committed not to Timothy but to the stronger hands of Titus.

12. Of Titus.

Assuming that there was an intermediate letter between 1 and 2 Cor. it is probable that Titus was the bearer of it (2 Cor. 12 18), as he was also the bearer of our Second Epistle (2 Cor. 8 16 *f.*).

A small group of scholars, including Hausrath and Schmiedel, would place prior to this yet another earlier visit, on the business of the collection, soon after the writing of the First Epistle; but the hypothesis is invented to suit the theory that 2 Cor. 12 is not an integral part of our Second Epistle, and necessitates the invention of a number of other purely hypothetical occurrences (among them a fifth, or third lost letter), nearly all of them duplicates of others that are better attested. It may be rejected without hesitation.

13. Sequence of events.

The sequence of events, as far as we can ascertain it, seems to have been this:—[1]

(i.) While Paul is absent at Jerusalem Apollos arrives at Corinth, where he preaches with success (Acts 18 27).

(ii.) Paul makes up his abode at Ephesus in the summer of A.D. 52, remaining there until the summer of A.D. 55.

(iii.) Early in this period Apollos quits Corinth and certain Judaising teachers arrive there. The beginnings are laid of differences which soon harden into parties.

(iv.) About, or somewhat after, the middle of the period Paul [illegible] see above, § 10). He also, after his return, writes the *lost letter* of 1 Cor. 5 9.

(v.) The household of Chloe bring news of an ominous development of the spirit of faction (1 Cor. 1 11), and a little later Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus arrive at Ephesus (1 Cor. 16 17), perhaps as bearers of a letter to the apostle from the church at Corinth seeking his advice on various matters.

(vi.) Partly in consequence of what he had heard, and partly in answer to that letter, Paul writes *First Corinthians* in the spring of A.D. 55, taking occasion to correct a wrong impression drawn from the lost letter (1 Cor. 5 9 *ff.*).

(vii.) The epistle thus written has the desired effect, and for the moment all goes well (2 Cor. 1 12-16). The apostle lets the Corinthians know his programme of 2 Cor. 1 15 *f.* Timothy arrives at Corinth and now, or at the time of chap. 8, returns to Ephesus.

(viii.) Another sharp controversy arises, beginning perhaps in some well-meant but feeble action on the part of Timothy, and soon involving the whole question of the apostle's position and authority.

(ix.) On hearing of this from Timothy Paul writes a *second lost letter*, the tone of which is severe and uncompromising. It is sent by Titus, who at the same time has instructions in regard to the collection.

(x.) After Titus has gone, Paul becomes more and more anxious as to the effect his last letter is likely to have on the Corinthians. He leaves Ephesus, having about this time been in imminent peril there. He stops at Troas. Still no news.

(xi.) Titus at last returns to him in Macedonia and dispels his fears. The *Second Epistle* is written and is sent by Titus and two others (2 Cor. 8 18 22). Its main tenor is thankfulness; but the collection is pressed, and the growth of one party (probably the Christ-party) leads to some emphatic strictures.

(xii.) Towards the end of December A.D. 55 Paul reaches Corinth. He stays there three months (Acts 20 3), during which he writes the Epistle to the Romans.

14. Occasion of 1 Cor.

FIRST EPISTLE.—We have seen that the occasion of the First Epistle was two-fold: (1) certain tidings which had reached Paul as to various disorders existing in the church at Corinth; (2) certain questions put to him in an official letter from the church. The disorders were: (i.) a number of factions which raised the flag of party spirit and used the names of prominent leaders to give colour to their own self-assertiveness. On these more will be said below (§ 16). The subject covers 1 10-4 21. (ii.) A bad case of immoral living which too much reflected a general laxity in the church (5 6 12-20). (iii.) Litigiousness, which did not scruple to have recourse to heathen law-courts (6 1-11). (iv.) An indecorous freedom in worship, exemplified by the disuse of the female headdress (11 2-16). (v.) Still worse disorders at the *agapè* or love-feast, which was followed by the eucharist (11 17-34). And we may perhaps include under this head (vi.) the denial by some of the resurrection, dealt with in chap. 15.

The last three points may have been raised by the official letter. This certainly contained questions about marriage (answered in ch. 7); probably also about relations to heathen practices, such as the eating of meats offered to idols (ch. 8 continued in 9 1-11 1); and possibly some inquiry as to the relative value of spiritual gifts. Chap. 1 1-9 is introductory, and ch. 16 an epilogue of personal matter containing instructions as to the collection, and details as to Paul himself and his companions.

15. 1 Cor. 1 10-4 21 and 8 1-11 1.

The only points that need perhaps to be more particularly drawn out are the connection of chap. 1 10-4 21 and 8 1-11 1.

The first tracks out the spirit of faction to its origin in the conceit of a worldly-minded wisdom, which is contrasted with the simplicity of the Gospel—a simplicity, however, which does not exclude the higher wisdom that comes from God (1 17-2 16). Then, in 3 1-4 5, the true position of human teachers is stated. They are but stewards, whose duty is not to put forward anything of their own, but only to administer what is committed to them by God. The Christian has but one foundation and one judge, namely Christ. 4 6-21 applies these general truths to the circumstances of the case with biting irony, which, however, soon changes to affectionate entreaty, and that again to sharp admonition.

The sequence of the argument in 8 1-11 1 should not be lost sight of. In ch. 8 is laid down the principle which should govern conduct in such matters as the eating of meat that may have come from heathen sacrifices. This principle is the ordination of personal impulse to the good of others. In ch. 9 Paul points out the working of the principle in his own case: it is in reference to it that he waives his right to claim support from the Church, in deference to it that he exercises severe self-

[1] With the dates given here cp those in CHRONOLOGY, § 71.

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control, like that of [illegible] in [illegible]. The [illegible] of Israel showed what an [illegible] it was for even the [illegible] privileged to suppose themselves exempt from the necessity of such [illegible] (10 1-13). The [illegible] nature of the Christian Eucharist presupposed [illegible] (10 14-22). This leads to some practical suggestions [illegible] (10 23-11 1).

Of the subject matter of the epistle the points which

16. Parties. most invite discussion are the nature of the parties, and the spiritual gifts. The latter are dealt with elsewhere (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL).

As to the parties, we may remark (1) that the names 'Paul,' 'Apollos,' 'Cephas,' and 'Christ' represent real titles which the parties at Corinth gave themselves. When Paul says (4 6) 'These things, brethren, have I [illegible] for [illegible] (to adopt Dr. Field's [illegible] *Otium Norvicense, ad loc.*)' to myself and Apollos [illegible] the fiction consisted, not in using names which the Corinthians did not use, but in speaking as if he and Apollos had [illegible] like party-leaders, when they had not so behaved. He was in reality [illegible] not from them but from those who invoked their names against their will and without their consent.

(2) The nature of the Paul and the Apollos parties is clear: they were no doubt liberal in tendency, giving a free welcome to Gentile converts, and [illegible] to yield too tenderly with the vices which these brought over with them. From this side would come such premature emancipation as that described in 11 2-16. The followers of Apollos probably also prided themselves on a kind of Alexandrian *cino ie*, which is by inference condemned in chaps. 1-4. The Petrine and the 'Christ' parties were, on the other hand, Judaistic, claiming the authority of the apostles at Jerusalem. Both disparaged and attacked Paul. The Christ party, however, seems to have gone to the greater lengths.

The Christ party were Jews in the strictest sense, probably Jews of Palestine (2 Cor. 11 22). They came with commendatory letters from Jerusalem (2 Cor. 3 1). They themselves bore the title of 'apostle,' in the wider acceptation (2 Cor. 11 13 12 11). They claimed to have Christ for their Master in a sense in which others had not (1 Cor. 10 7). And in particular they insisted that Paul had not the full qualifications of an apostle, as these are laid down in Acts 1 21 *f.*: he was not an eye-witness of the acts of Jesus, and did not belong to the select company which he had gathered around him (1 Cor. 9 1). Their teaching laid special stress on Jesus' Jewish Messiahship (conceived as the Jews conceived it) as to amount to preaching 'another Jesus' (2 Cor. 11 4). Paul takes firm ground in his opposition to them. He will not bate one jot of his Gospel (*ibid.*); he will not allow that he is behind the most apostolic of the apostles (2 Cor. 11 5); he had 'seen the Lord' as truly as they had (*i.e.*, on the road to Damascus, and in ecstatic vision, 1 Cor. 9 1 15 8 2 Cor. 12 1 *ff.*); he had better proof of his apostleship—in his miracles (2 Cor. 12 12), in his insight into Christian truth (2 Cor. 11 6), in his labours (2 Cor. 11 23 *ff.*), and especially in the success of his ministry among the Corinthians themselves (1 Cor. 9 1 *f.* 2 Cor. 3 2 *f.*).

There can be little doubt that Paul's masterly *Apologia* carried the day; the curtain drops for us with the close of the Second Epistle; but the subsequent history of the controversy shows that the worst part of the crisis was past, and the power of the Judaisers broken.

SECOND EPISTLE.—The Second Epistle is even more a direct product of the historical situation than the

17. 2 Cor.: contents. First. We may map out the main body of the epistle thus: (1) an outpouring of thanks for recent deliverance (1 3-11); (2) explanations in reference to the apostle's change of plan and the treatment of the offending person by the Corinthian church (1 12-2 17); (3) a deeper *Apologia* for his apostolic position and the distinctive character of his Gospel (3-5); (4) more personal explanations (6-7); (5) the collection (8 *f.*); (6) a warmer defence against Judaistic attacks (10-13 10).

The principal literary question affecting the epistle is as to its integrity.

Putting aside mere wanton and extravagant theories, substantial arguments have been urged for maintaining that the

18. Integrity. short paragraph of six verses, 6 14-7 1, and the longer section 10-13 or 10 1-13 10, though the work of Paul, were not originally part of this epistle, but belonged to other epistles now lost: 6 14-7 1 to the missing letter alluded to in 1 Cor. 5 9, and the *Tränenbrief* (as the Germans call it) to the intermediate letter which we have seen reason to assume between the two extant epistles.

We may admit at once that there is a real break in the Second Epistle at both the places noted.

The subject changes, and changes abruptly, both at 6 14 and at 10 1. The epistle [illegible] if we were to skip from [illegible] 9 to 10 1 [illegible] 9 is [illegible] 10 1 [illegible]

[illegible]

In [illegible] 6 14-7 1 [illegible] however, and must, [illegible] contention [illegible] Schenkel, this latter [illegible] the letter of both chapters must, we believe, be [illegible]

There was [illegible] 7 [illegible] (ἐν πίστει, 13 4); [illegible] chapters (10 to 7), [illegible] letter, however [illegible] the point of [illegible] 10 14 [illegible] the point [illegible] 7 [illegible] 10 1 *f.* (παρρησίᾳ [illegible] Phil. 1 20, 1 Tim. 3 13); [illegible] (πεποιθήσει, [illegible]); καὶ τὰ [illegible] times, always in reference to himself; 6 7 10 4 (ὅπλα); τοῦτο [illegible] times [illegible] 7 [illegible] 10 8 *f.* (ὑπακοή, 9 13 [illegible]); [illegible] besides in Phil. [illegible]. The [illegible] are so plentiful in the last six verses [illegible]. We [illegible] the Comparison of 12 18 with 8 17 *f.* [illegible] Later (*Introd.*, [illegible]), because the two passages really refer to different occasions; 8 4 is proof that the ἀπόστολοι which precede are epistles and does not the circumstances [illegible] with the style of the present epistle, which is in 12 11 the ἀπόστολοι are strict apostles and [illegible] God in contrast to Titus and his companions. The parallelism of expression, however, is so great as to suggest strongly that the passages refer to the same letter. There is a parallelism [illegible] between the use of ΠΑΣΟΛΕΚΤΕΙΝ in 12 17 *f.* and in 7 2 (p. 210); the word occurs only once besides in NT (1 Thess. 4 6).

If the one hypothetical intrusion breaks down, the other should in all probability go with it.

[illegible] which's hypothesis appears really holds good; for the balance of argument is [illegible] detaching Rom. 16 from the epistle to the Romans (see the commentary on that epistle by the present writer and Mr. A. C. Headlam). The attestation of the NT text is so varied and so early that a displacement of this magnitude could hardly fail to leave traces of itself. At least, before it can be assumed, the major premise that such a displacement is possible needs to be more fully established.

In the cases which might be quoted from the OT the conditions are really different. It would, however, be well if the whole question of the editing and transmission of ancient Jewish and Christian books could be more systematically investigated. [For a discussion of 6 14-7 1 see *Class. Rev.*, 1890, pp. 12, 150 *f.*, 317, 359; and the authorities mentioned in the last place.]

If the epistle has come down to us in its integrity, no doubt we must recognise the abruptness of Paul's manner of writing or dictation. In that, however, there is nothing very paradoxical. Besides the rapid fluctuations of feeling, which are so characteristic of this epistle, we must remember that a letter of this length could not all be written at a single sitting. It was probably written in the midst of interruptions ('the care of all the churches,' 11 28). Moreover, its author was one whose mind responded with singular quickness to every gust of passing emotion.

APOCRYPHAL LETTERS.—In the Armenian version after 2 Corinthians there stand two short letters, from

19. Apocryphal letters. the Corinthians to Paul and from Paul to the Corinthians (cp APOCRYPHA, § 29), the substance of which is briefly as follows. The Corinthians inform Paul that a certain Simon and Cleobius have come to Corinth teaching that the prophets are not to be believed, that the world, including man, is the work not of God but of angels, that there is no resurrection of the body, that Christ has not come in the flesh, and that he was not born of Mary. Paul replies asserting the orthodox doctrine on each of these heads.

Attention was first called to these apocrypha by Archbishop Ussher in 1644. A complete text was published in the Armenian

Bible of Zohrab in 1805 (incomplete translations earlier); also, with a monogram by Rück, in 1826. Just as interest in the [illegible] was being revived by Theol. Zahn (*Geschichte d. Kanons*, I 3, 5 *f.* 2 8, 1011) and Dr. P. Vetter, professor in the Roman Catholic faculty at Tübingen, a Latin version was discovered by M. Samuel Berger in a tenth-century MS. at Milan, and published by him in conjunction with Prof. A. Carrière (*Un Commentaire Apocryphe de Saint Paul à des Corinthiens*, Paris, 1891). A second MS. (eighth cent.), containing a different but probably not always [illegible] independent version, was found at Lyon, and published by Prof. Bratke in *ZWT*, 1897, col. 2 61. There is also extant in Armenian, a commentary on the epistles by Ephrem Syrus. The texts are most conveniently collected by Dr. P. Vetter in a Tübingen programme (*Der apokryphe dritte Korintherbrief*, Vienna, 1894).

The facts at present ascertained in regard to the apocryphal letters are these:

(1) They were from the first (*i.e.* from the 5th cent.) admitted into the Armenian version as part of the canon. (2) They also existed in Syriac and were accepted as canonical in the fourth century by Aphraates, Ephrem Syrus, and the Syriac *Didascalia*. [The quotation in Aphraates is recognised by both Harnack and Zahn, though questioned (as we think wrongly) by Carrière and Vetter.] (3) The letters were also known and had some small circulation in the West.

The problems which still await solution have reference to the question of origin.

(1) Zahn, and now also Vetter, think that the greater part of the letters was in the first instance incorporated in the apocryphal Acts of Paul. [Since this was written Zahn's hypothesis has been verified through the discovery, by Dr. C. Schmidt, of considerable portions of the Acts of Paul in Coptic; cp *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1897, pp. 117-124, and Harnack in *ZWT*, 1897, col. 6 7.] In any case it seems probable that they gained their place in the Syriac version in connection with the controversies against Bardesanes early in the third century. Their composition can hardly be much later than 200 A.D. (2) It is coming to be generally [illegible] that the canonicity of the epistles existed first in the East. Vetter and Zahn now think that the concluding portion was [illegible] in Syria, and Zahn goes so far as to make the Latin version translated not from the Greek but from the Syriac. In this he certainly has not proved his case; but the age of these versions needs further investigating.

Besides the general commentaries (which still deserve mention) of Bengel, Wetstein, and Meyer (recent editions by Heinrici), we have, in English, in *The Speaker's Commentary*, that on 1 *Cor.* by T. S. Evans (chiefly exegetical and marked by fine scholarship), on 1 *Cor.* 1 *Cor.*, by Dr. Joseph Waite (general), also [illegible] on 1 *Cor.* by Dr. T. C. Edwards (exegetical and [illegible]), and by Bishop Ellicott (grammatical and exegetical). Dean Stanley on both epistles is picturesque and [illegible], but has incidentally fallen behind the present position of [illegible], and is never exact in scholarship. In this [illegible] the [illegible] contributions are strongest; [illegible] the fullest recent commentary in the two epistles is by Heinrici (Berlin, [illegible]); with [illegible] and with new illustrations from later Greek, but in [illegible] to press Greek analogies too far. Perhaps the best on the whole is Schmiedel's in the *HC* (01), which is searching and exact but inclined, as we think, to multiply entities beyond what is necessary. In this respect Jülicher's *Einl.* (94) seems to us to be the most judicious. Godet published a commentary on 1 *Cor.* (1886); and mention should be made of a monograph on 1 *Cor.* and a commentary on 2 *Cor.* by Klopper ('69, '74), and of the discussions of special points in Krenkel's *Beiträge* (1894), and of the missing epistle and its identification with parts of 2 *Cor.* in the [illegible] (1 17 *b* 231 *ff.* 285 *ff.*, 1898 *a* 113 *ff.*).

On the apocryphal letters, besides the literature quoted above, a summary will be found in Harnack's *Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* I 37-[illegible], and Zahn's last words on the subject in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1 14, col. 123 *ff.* The important discussion in Zahn's *Einleitung*, I 2 3-24), was too late for notice. W. S.

CORMORANT. 1. The cormorant of EV is the *šālāk*, שָׁלָךְ (Lev. 11 17 Dt. 14 17†),[1] a word connected with the common Hebrew verb for 'to throw down' (הִשְׁלִיךְ), and therefore denoting some bird that swoops or dives after its prey. 𝔊BAL in Lev. 11 17 rightly renders κατ[ρ]άκτης, as this denotes a fish-eating bird which dives and remains under water for some time (Arist. *H.A* 9 1). In Dt. 14 17 the order of 𝔊 is different from that of the MT. Vg. has *Mergulus*, the little Auk, and Targ. and Peshitta have *shilā nunē*—*i.e.*, 'extrahens pisces.' Many writers, following Bochart, believe שָׁלָךְ to be *Sula bassana*, the 'gannet' or 'solan goose'; but, although this bird is sometimes alleged to have been seen in the reed-marshes of Lower Egypt (Di. on Lev. 11 19), there is some reason for doubting whether it has so wide an Eastern range. A more likely bird, in view of its common occurrence on the coast of Palestine (Tristram, *NHB* 252), is the 'cormorant,' which likewise plunges after its prey.

Two species of cormorant are described from Palestine: the *Phalacrocorax carbo*, which frequents both the sea shore and inland waters, and the pygmy cormorant, *P. pygmaeus*, which is found in lakes and rivers. Canon Tristram states that the *P. carbo* is always to be seen near the mouth of the Jordan, watching for the fish which seem on entering the Dead Sea to be stupefied by the saltness of its waters. Cormorants are fish-eaters and extremely voracious. Like the bittern and the pelican they are looked upon as inhabitants of solitary places.

2. For קָאַת (so Ba.; Gi. קָאַת, *kā'ath*; Is. 34 11 Zeph. 2 14 AV text), see PELICAN (so AVmg., AV elsewhere, RV everywhere). N. M.—A. E. S.

CORN. On the cultivation of corn and its use as food, see AGRICULTURE, BREAD, FOOD, § 1, and the various cereals (on which see PALESTINE, § 14). Other points, see the articles cited in the reference given in the following list of expressions:—

1. אָבִיב, *ābīb*, the fresh young ears of corn, Lev. 2 14 ('green ears of corn,' RV 'corn in the ear'); see also MONTH.

2. בְּלִיל, *bĕlīl*, Job 24 6 AV (mg. 'mingled corn or dredge'); properly 'fodder'; see CATTLE, § 5.

3. בַּר, *bar*, Gen. 41 35 49, etc. (E), Am. 5 11 8 6 perhaps 'purified [cleansed] grain'; cp Ar. *burrun*, 'wheat, grain of wheat,' also FOOD, § 1.

4. גֹּרֶן, *gōren* (בְּגָרְנִי), Is. 21 10, EV 'corn of my floor'; cp Dt. 16 13 AV); properly 'threshing floor'; see AGRICULTURE, § 5.

5. דָּרוּ, *gerū*, Lev. 2 14 'corn beaten out,' RV 'bruised corn'; cp 2 1.

6. דָּגָן, *dāgān*, Gen. 27 37, etc., grain (of cereals), used widely along with תִּירוֹשׁ 'must' (see WINE), of the products of Canaan (Dt. 33 28); see FOOD, § 1. Its connection with the Syrian Dagon (*Dāgōn*) is uncertain.

7. כַּרְמֶל, *karmel*, 2 K. 4 42, EV 'ears of corn' (cp Lev. 2 14 'ears'), preferably 'fruit' or 'garden-growth'; cp CARMEL. See FOOD, § 1.

8. עָבִיר, *'ābhūr*, Josh. 5 11 *f.*, EV 'old corn,' RVmg. 'produce of corn.'

9. עֲרֵמָה, *'ărēmāh*, Ruth 3 7, EV 'heap of corn'; see AGRICULTURE, § 6 *f.*

10. קָלִי, *qālī*, 1 S. 17 17, etc., 'parched corn'; see FOOD, § 1.

11. קָמָה, *qāmāh*, Judg. 15 5, etc., 'standing corn'; see AGRICULTURE, § 7.

12. רִיפוֹת, *rīphōth*, 2 S. 17 19, Prov. 27 22, 'bruised corn'; cp COOKING, § 2.

13. שִׁבֹּר, *šēbēr*, Gen. 42 1, etc., perhaps 'broken (corn),' § 1; uncertain. As a denom. הִשְׁבִּיר, 'to sell corn' (Gen. 42 6 AV, Ps. 78 *f.*, etc.).

14. κόκκος, Jn. 12 24, 'a corn (RV grain).'

15. σῖτος, Mk. 4 28 etc., a general term like בָּר (above, 6).

16. τὰ σπόρια, cornfields, Mt. 12 1 Mk. 2 23.

17. στάχυς, Mt. 12 1 Mk. 2 23, 'ear of corn'; cp Heb. שִׁבֹּלֶת, Job 24 24.

CORNELIUS (κορνηλιος [Ti. WH]), one of the centurions of the so-called Italian cohort (Acts 10 1).

1. The 'Italian' Cohort. In the regular army composed of Roman citizens distinctive names of this sort were not given to the separate cohorts; only the legions were so designated (Ramsay, *St. Paul*[6], chap. 14, § 1, p. 314). In Acts 10, accordingly, what we have to do with is a cohort of the auxiliary troops which were raised in the provinces and not formed into legions.[1] As to the meaning of such names: 'cohors Galforum Macedonica,' for example, would denote

[1] Legions were stationed only in the great provinces [illegible] were governed by the emperor through a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*; the smaller provinces—those administered by an officer of lower rank (*procurator*), such as Egypt, or Judæa from [illegible] A.D., and again from 44 A.D. onwards—had only auxiliary troops. The [illegible] provinces, where war no longer threatened and [illegible] administration was in the hands of the senate, had no standing army properly so called.

[1] שׁרן is restored by Herz in Job 28 7: לא־דרכה עיט שלה 'no cormorant darteth upon it.' Cp LION, OSSIFRAGE.]

that the cohort mentioned consisted of Gauls but had distinguished itself in Macedonia. If this interpretation were applicable, an Italian cohort would mean one which had fought in Italy. In Arrian, however (*Ad contra Alanos*, § 3, p. 99), the cohort which in § 13, p. 102, is called ἡ σπεῖρα ἡ Ἰταλική, the Italian cohort, figures simply as οἱ Ἰταλοί, the Italians, and with this agree all the other mentions (entirely in inscriptions) of a cohors Italica.

These are (1) *Coh*(ors) *I Italica civium Romanorum v*(*olontariorum*); (2) *c*(*o*)*h*(*o*)*r*(*s*) *n*(*umeri*) *Italic*(*orum*) *c*(*ivium*) *R*(*omanorum*); (3) *coh. II Ital.* [illegible]; (4) the epitaph of a soldier of the fourth cohort found at Carnuntum in Pannonia, first published in the *Archäologisch-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich* [illegible] (No. 5, p. [illegible]) *c*(*ohortis*) *II Ita*(*lae*) *c*(*ivium*) *R*(*omanorum*) centuria *P*(aus)*tini ex vexil*(lariis) *sagit*(tariis) *evet*(ratus) [illegible].

Thus the σπεῖρα Ἰταλική of Acts 10 1 really consisted of Italians, probably of Italian volunteers.

Now, Schürer[1] has pointed out that according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 87, § 176) the garrison of Cæsarea about 60 A.D. consisted mostly of Cæsareans and Sebasteni (Sebaste having, from 27 B.C., been the name of Samaria). As early, however, as 41-44 A.D. (at latest), when Cæsarea was not under a Roman procurator but under a grandson of Herod the Great, King Herod Agrippa I. (whose death is recorded in Acts 12 20-23, and during whose reign, or shortly before it, the story of Cornelius will have to be placed), the garrison at Cæsarea must, according to Schürer, have been similarly composed. For in 44 A.D., the emperor Claudius desired to transfer the garrison—which, at that time, and according to Josephus (*BJ* iii. 4 2, § 66) a twenty-three years later, in 67 A.D., consisted of an *ala* (= ἴλη—*i.e.*, cavalry detachment of 500 men) of the Caesareans and Sebasteni and five cohorts—to the province of Pontus, because, after the death of his friend King Agrippa I., they had publicly insulted the statues of his daughters; but there was no change of garrison until the time of Vespasian (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 9 1 *f.*, §§ 350-366). This led Schürer to conjecture that a cohort of Italians may have come to Cæsarea (there was in Syria, as shown above, one such at least) under Vespasian, and that the author of Acts, or of the source from which he drew, may have transferred the circumstances of his own time to the time of Peter.

Ramsay, on the other side, adduces the fourth of the inscriptions given above. This inscription, however, does not say more than that in 69 A.D. there was a *cohors Italica* in Syria; and, although there may have been such a cohort there as early as about 40-45 A.D., it is not said that there was one in Cæsarea. It is especially improbable that that city was so garrisoned in the reign of Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.), for he was a relative, independent sovereign, not likely to have had Italians in his service; but even for the period preceding 41 A.D. Schürer argues for a probability that the garrison of Cæsarea was the same as it was afterwards, and that it was simply taken over by Agrippa at his accession. For the rest, Ramsay can only appeal to a possibility that Cornelius may have been temporarily at Cæsarea on some 'detached service.'

Oscar Holtzmann (*NTliche Zeitgesch.* § 11, 2, p. 108) thinks that perhaps the enrolment at some time or other of a considerable number of Italian volunteers may have sufficed to secure for such a cohort in perpetuity the honorary epithet of 'Italica.' All this, however, is mere conjecture.

Mommsen (*Sitzungsber. d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1895, pp. 501-3) seeks to deprive of its force the statement of Josephus on which Schürer relies. Starting from the view that the troops of Agrippa must certainly have been drawn from the whole of his kingdom,—that is, from all Palestine—he maintains that Cæsarea and Sebaste are singled out for special mention by Josephus merely as being the two chief towns in Agrippa's dominions. He lays emphasis on the fact that in *BJ* iii. 4 2, § 66

[1] *ZWT*, 1875, pp. 413-425; *GJV* i. 282-6 (ET i. 247-54: where, on p. 54, according to *JTS*, 1890, iii. 470n, for 'in reference to a *later* period' should be read 'in reference to a *preceding* period'). In *JTS*, 1896, 240-242, Schürer replies to Ramsay *ib.* 194-207; Ramsay replies, 1897, 1 [illegible]-72.

(see above) and *Ant.* xix. 9 6, § [illegible] is said only of the [illegible] of Cæsarea. [illegible] he does not use this [illegible] of Cornelius [illegible] Caesarea. We [illegible] either the [illegible] *A* 27 [illegible] σπεῖρα Ἰταλ[illegible] of Acts 10 1.

[illegible] the representation [illegible] by [illegible] of Jerusalem, [illegible] that the Gentiles, without [illegible] any obligation to observe the law of Moses, were to be received into the Christian Church if they had faith in Christ [illegible] the truth of this representation [illegible] what we are to [illegible] the Council of Jerusalem (see COUNCIL, § 4; Acts 15 4). [illegible] never have been [illegible], and the Judaizing Christians in it could never [illegible] the Gentiles and the Council or their [illegible] the law of Moses (Acts 15 5), it would [illegible] and knowledge in the case of Cornelius [illegible] such [illegible] were contrary to the [illegible]. In his controversy with Peter at Antioch (Gal 2 11-16) Paul could [illegible] to the [illegible], but he [illegible] of it. [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] transfer to some [illegible] of Jerusalem. As to the [illegible] himself explained [illegible] unexpected [illegible] Christians, [illegible] circumstances and character of [illegible] should not be denied [illegible] of them, he did not, at a [illegible] date, [illegible] to be in [illegible] II. If the Council [illegible] the Council the [illegible] would have [illegible] in Peter's preaching the gospel [illegible] to Cornelius and his household *in* [illegible]. This, however, is precisely what we have been contrary to the [illegible] adopted at the Council as laid down in Gal 2 9, which settled that he should continue his missionary activity to Jews. (On the importance of this principle, see COUNCIL, § 6.)

2. Narrative irreconcilable with Council of Jerusalem.

As the story of Cornelius must thus be returned, if anywhere, in its present place, before the Council of Jerusalem, its chronology can be allowed only on condition that it is acknowledged not to possess the important bearing on questions of principle which is claimed for it in Acts. 11 1-1[illegible].

3. Credibility of narrative as an incident.

(*a*) To meet this requirement, it is usually thought sufficient to say that the conversion was an 'exceptional case' (e.g., for example, Renan, *Saint Paul*[14], chap. 3, p. 44). This may be true in the sense that Peter converted Land hitherto no more Gentiles; but, unless at the same time it is denied that in the case of Cornelius Peter's action proceeded on a divine revelation and command, the reference to the exceptional character of the case has no force. The conditions of missionary activity which God had revealed to Peter in the case of Cornelius must surely, when Paul also began to employ them, have been acknowledged by the original Church; and thus the controversy resulting in the Council of Jerusalem could never have arisen. On this ground [illegible], then, to begin with, Peter's vision at Joppa is [illegible]; and aversion from miracles has nothing to do with its rejection. The whole account seems to be influenced by reminiscences of the story of the summoning of [illegible] (Nu 22 [illegible]); see Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, 193-9 ['94].

(*b*) It is further urged (so again Ramsay, *St. Paul*[4]),

ch. 3 § 1 and 16 § 3, pp. 42 f. and 375, and *Exp.*, 1896, 2 200 f.) that Cornelius according to Acts 10 2 22 is was a semi-proselyte—*i.e.*, gave a general adhesion to Judaism, without being circumcised or yielding definite obedience to the details of the Mosaic Law;[1] but neither does this contradict our text. The fact is, as stated in Acts 10 28 11 3, that Cornelius and his house, according to Jewish and Jewish-Christian ideas, were unclean; and if, notwithstanding this, God had commanded his admission within the pale of the Christian Church, the command had essentially no less significance than it would have had if he had previously been quite unattached to Judaism. Ramsay (41) says, it is true, that Peter 'laid it down as a condition of reception into the Church that the non-Jew must approach by way of the synagogue (10 35) and become "one that fears God."' But Peter does not say this until after he has been taught by God in a vision. Without this instruction it would have been incumbent on him to exact, as conditions precedent, acceptance of circumcision and submission to the entire law (10 14). As soon as the divine command is recognised as a historical fact the dispute at the Council of Jerusalem becomes, as already stated, an impossibility.

(c) On one assumption alone, then, will it be possible to recognise a kernel of historical truth in the story of Cornelius: the assumption, namely, that he was a full proselyte, circumcised, that is to say, and pledged to observance of the entire Law. Such a supposition, however, is in direct contradiction of the text (10 28 11 3). It would be strange indeed if, in order to make the narrative credible, one had first to change it in so important a point. It would be necessary to depart still further from the text if it were desired to put faith in what is said in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20 11), according to which Peter did not convert Cornelius at Cæsarea to Christianity at all, but merely freed him from a demon's possession. It is not intrinsically impossible that here we have a fragment of good tradition preserved from some ancient source (see SIMON MAGUS); but, on account of its combination with manifest fancies (see below, § 6), to trust it would be unsafe.

All the more urgent becomes the question whether the narrative in Acts is derived from a written source.

4. Sources. Of the scholars enumerated under Acts (§ 11) the majority assume that it is, and point out verses in ch. 10, the proper connections of which (they say) have been obliterated by the final redactor of the book.[2] They further emphasise the point that in the narrative by Peter (11 5-17) certain details are not given precisely as in ch. 10. Still, even the most serious of these differences—namely, that in

[1] That this is the meaning of the phrase σεβόμενος [or φοβούμενος] τὸν θεόν is shown in Schürer *GJV*, ET 4 111 *ff.*; also *SBAW*, 1897, Heft 13, 'Die Juden im bosporanischen Reich,' especially 19 *f.* = 218 *f.* of the volume; see also PROSELYTE.

[2] 10 36 *f.*, however, ought not to be reckoned among these: no redactor would have introduced such violent abnormalities into his text. The words from ἀρξάμενος ('beginning') down to Γαλιλαίας ('Galilee'), or, it may be, to Ἰωάννης (end of *v.* 37), are absolutely foreign to the construction, and certainly ought to come between ὃς ('who') and διῆλθεν (EV 'went about') in *v.* 38, whether it be that they originally belonged to this place, or that they originally stood on the margin as a reminiscence by a very early reader from Lk. 23 5 or Acts 1 22. In 10 36 the reading of WH ('[He] sent the word unto . . . Lord of all. Ye know the word which': cp RVmg.) is unquestionably a copyist's attempt to remove the difficulties of the construction; but their marginal reading (τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν, etc.; 'The word which' as in EV) it is as difficult to make dependent on the οἶδατε (ye know) of *v.* 37 as it is to construe in apposition to the whole sentence in *vv.* 35. If we refuse to suppose that before *v.* 36 some such words as 'you also hath he thought worthy to hear' have fallen out before τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν, etc. (the word which [he] sent), it will be necessary to take τὸν λόγον ὃν ('the word which') down to διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ('by Jesus Christ'), as a marginal explanation of τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας ('the word which was throughout all Judæa'), where ῥῆμα (RV 'saying') is wrongly understood in the sense of 'word' instead of the Hebraising sense of 'event, occurrence' as in Lk. 2 15; and οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος ('he is lord of all') will be a further addition.

ch. 11 the Holy Spirit fell upon Cornelius and his household at the very beginning of Peter's discourse (*v.* 15)—admits of explanation: 10 14-41 may have been supposed to represent only a comparatively small part of what Peter meant to say. Were it necessary to make a choice between ch. 10 and ch. 11, it would be the worst possible course to try to see in the latter the source from which the fuller narrative of ch. 10 was originally derived by amplification (so Wendt, *ZTK* 1891, pp. 230-254, esp. 250-4). That principle-determining character which, as we have seen, can in no case have attached to the assumed event is imparted precisely by the justification which in ch. 11 the event receives before the church of Jerusalem, and against this it is of no avail that Wendt chooses to attribute some of the strongest passages, such as 11 1 and 11 18, to the latest redactor of Acts.

More important than any of the indications hitherto dealt with is the clue supplied in 10 44-47 11 15, 17. The 'speaking with tongues' of Cornelius and his household is here placed on a level with that of the apostles at the first Pentecost after the resurrection, but is not yet (as it is in the other passage) described as a speaking in the languages of foreign nations: it is undoubtedly meant, as in 1 Cor. 12 14, to be taken simply as a speaking in ecstatic tones (see GIFTS). Certainly this representation of the matter does not seem as if it had been due to the latest redactor of the book as a whole.

In favour of the credibility of the narrative, however, nothing is gained by all this search for a written source. It is a great error, widely diffused, to suppose that one may *ipso facto* take as historical everything that can be shown to have stood in one of the written sources of the NT authors. As far as the source was in substance identical with what we now have in the canonical Acts, it is equally exposed to the criticisms already offered. There is one assumption which would escape the force of that criticism—the assumption, namely, that Cornelius was a full proselyte (§ 3*c*); but it cannot possibly by any analysis of sources be made out to have been the original tradition.

All the more remarkable is the clearness with which the tendency of the narrative may be seen.

5. Tendency. The initiative in missions to the Gentiles, which historically belongs to Paul, is here set down to the credit of Peter (see ACTS, § 3 *f.*). According to the representation given in Acts, it was preceded by the conversion of the Samaritans (8 5-25), who, however, were akin to the Jews, and consequently not Gentiles (Schürer, *GJV*² 5-7, *ET* 3 5-7). It had been preceded also by the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (8 26-39); but he had not thereby been made a member of any Christian church. The really difficult problem was this: In what manner ought Jewish Christians to live together in one and the same church with Gentile Christians, who did not hold by the Mosaic Law? This question is brought by Peter, in the case of Cornelius, on the basis of a divine revelation, exactly to the solution which in reality it was left to Paul to achieve after hard battle at a much later date (see COUNCIL, §§ 4, 7). With a certain reserve, which bears witness to right feeling for essential historical truth in spite of all unhistoricity in the narrative, the author attributes no more conversions of Gentiles to Peter; and even the conversion of Cornelius himself is in some measure toned down by the previous Jewish sympathies with which he is credited. There is thus a further step left. It is not till later, in Antioch, that the gospel is preached to Gentiles who had not previously stood in any close connection with Judaism, and the new step is taken (as in the case of the Samaritans) in the first instance by subordinate persons, and not sanctioned by the authorities at Jerusalem till after the event (11 19-24). None the less are mission to the Gentiles and the abolition of the distinction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians so essentially vindicated in the

case of Cornelius that Peter has necessarily [illegible] covered their real initiator as far as [illegible] The narrative, accordingly, is incomplete [illegible] 2 11-21. In Galatians the historical Peter [illegible] of Jewish Christian prejudice not [illegible] withdrawn from table-fellowship [illegible] with Gentile Christians, and thereby exposed himself to the sharp censure of Paul (see COUNCIL, § [illegible]). In Acts he has completely overcome the [illegible] before Paul begins his Christian activity. It is not necessary on this account to suppose that the [illegible] of Acts freely invented the whole story [illegible] the name of Cornelius; but, considering [illegible] he brings it into the service of his theory, we have little prospect of ultimately being able to retain more than a very small kernel as historical.

According to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20 1; see above, § 3 c) and Recognitions (10 55) Cornelius took the side of Peter as against Paul. When Simon the Sorcerer (*i.e.*, Paul, see SIMON MAGUS) had stirred up all Antioch against Peter, Cornelius comes upon a mission from [illegible] Peter and arrives at an understanding with the [illegible] of Peter, at their request, to set abroad [illegible] that his imperial commission has reference to the arrest of Simon. Thereupon Simon makes his escape to Judæa. Thus Cornelius here plays the part which in Acts 21 11 23 21-11 is assigned to [illegible]

6. Later traditions.

According to the '*ὑπόμνημα* on the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul,' attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes, Cornelius is consecrated by Peter bishop of Ilion; according to the Greek *Menæa* (13th Sept.), he is sent by Peter to Skepsis on the Hellespont (Lipsius, *Apokryph. Ap.-Gesch.* ii. 1 47, and [illegible]). According to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (3 [illegible]) and Recognitions (*ibid.*), Zacchæus was consecrated first bishop of Cæsarea by Peter; in *Ap. Const.* vii. 46 1 Zacchæus is succeeded by Cornelius.

P. W. S.

CORNER (פֵּאָה). Lev. 19 9 27 21 5: (1) of a field: cp CLEAN, § 6; (2) of the beard: see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 5, MOURNING CUSTOMS; (3) of a garment (כָּנָף, κρασπεδον), Nu. 15 38 RV^mg.: see FRINGES.

CORNER, ASCENT OF THE (עֲלִיַּת הַפִּנָּה), Neh. 3 31 RV. See JERUSALEM.

CORNER GATE (שַׁעַר הַפִּנּוֹת). Zech. 14 10. See JERUSALEM.

CORNER-STONE (in Job אֶבֶן פִּנָּה: λιθος γωνιαιος; in Is. פִּנָּה, λ. ακρογωνιαιος, and so in NT; in Ps. זָוִית κεκαλλωπισμεναι; Aq. επιγωνια, Sym. γωνιαι?). (*a*) Job 38 6; (*b*) Is. 28 16 1 Pet. 2 6 Eph. 2 20 (without λιθος); (*c*) Ps. 144 12.

In (*a*) the phrase '*pinnah*-stone,' EV's 'corner-stone,' is parallel to אֲדָנֶיהָ, 'its foundations' (or bases), just as in Jer. 51 26 'a stone for a *pinnah*' (אֶבֶן לְפִנָּה) is parallel to 'a stone for foundations' (אֶבֶן לְמוֹסָדוֹת). In (*b*) we find the same connection between פִּנָּה, *pinnah*, and the foundation-stone. Clearly, therefore, the traditional rendering 'corner-stone' for אבן פנה is unsuitable. Indeed, the word פִּנָּה elsewhere only in some cases means 'corner' (see Ex. 27 24 Ezek. 43 20 45 19 Job 1 19 Prov. 7 8). Besides this, the architectural term ראש פִּנָּה in Ps. 118 22 (λ. ακρογωνιαιος in 1 Pet. 2 6 cp Eph. 2 20); but not in Mt. 21 42 and parallel passages, Acts 4 11 1 Pet. 2 7) evidently means, not 'corner-stone,' but 'top-stone of the building,' and 'battlement' is RV's rendering of פִּנָּה in 2 Ch. 26 15 Zeph. 1 16 3 6.

In spite of tradition, therefore, it would seem that אֶבֶן פִּנָּה means, not a corner-stone, but a principal stone (cp פָּנִים, Ass. *pinu*, 'front'), one selected for its solidity and beauty to fill an important place in a building, whether in the foundation or in the battlement. Hence the metaphorical sense of פנה, 'prince,' 1 Ch. 29 9, Is. 19 13 (so point), 1 S. 14 38 Judg. 20 2. (*c*) The third EV passage (Ps. 144 12) with the word 'corner' is extremely obscure in MT. That Jewish maidens could be likened either to 'corner-stones' (EV, Del.) or to 'corner-pillars' (Hastings, We. in *SBOT*, comparing the

[illegible] Ps. 12 8 [illegible] the [illegible] Hosea of the [illegible] power of self-adaptation [illegible] Jewish people, verified in them [illegible] אבן פנה, but in 1 Pet. 2 6 we seem to [illegible] the traditional sense 'corner-stone' [illegible]

CORNET. For Dan. 3 5 *ff.* (קֶרֶן) and 1 Ch. 15 [illegible] (שׁוֹפָר) see MUSIC, § 5a. For 2 S. [illegible] (חֲצוֹצְרוֹת), see MUSIC, § [illegible].

CORONATION. [illegible] an efficient mode of investiture with royal functions (1 S. 10 1 1 K. 1 40). It is only in the case of Joash that [illegible] the preceding the anointing (2 K. 11 [illegible]). 2 S. 1 10 refers to an older custom of delivering to the successor the personal adornment of the dead king; see CROWN. Perhaps too [illegible] occurred near or on a particular *massebah* or ceremonial stone, as in the case of Abimelech [illegible] that EV's rendering the 'pillar that was in Shechem' (Judg. 9 6) is correct, though the final letter of מצבה has been lost or removed (see Moore, *ad loc.*). Joash too is said to have stood 'by the pillar as the manner was' (2 K. 11 14); but here the word for 'pillar' is different (עמוד), and we should perhaps follow RV^mg. and Klostermann in rendering 'platform' (cp 2 K. 23 3 RV^mg.).

After the anointing the people greeted the new king with clamour (trumpets (1 K. 1 34 2 K. 9 13 2 K. 11 14 [illegible]). In the case of Joash and Absalom (2 S. 15 10 1 K. 1 34) trumpet sounds were the signal of accession, though they may have been simply an element in the popular expressions of joy (1 S. 11 15 1 K. 1 40), which included hand-clapping (תָּקַע כָּף, 2 K. 11 12 Ps. 47 1 [2]) and the exclamation 'Live the king' (יחי המלך, 1 S. 10 24 2 S. 16 16 1 K. 1 34 39 2 K. 11 12). Sometimes there was a procession with music; the new king rode on the royal mule (1 K. 1 33 38) and finally took his seat on the throne.

It is possible that 'today' in Ps. 2 7 refers not to the birth but to the coronation of the king. See Baethgen, Che. *ad loc.* The latter inferences from the superscriptions referring to the coronation of the Egyptian queen Hatshepsut (Naville, *Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, iii., pp. 1-8). See Wendel's essay on [illegible] (*Z.D.M.G.* 48 [1894] 1-[illegible]) and Diehl, *Ecrits sur Byzance*, Grenoble, [illegible].

I. A.

CORRUPTION, MOUNT OF (הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית), 2 K. 23 13, RV^mg. 'mount of destruction.' See DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF.

COS (κως [ΑℵV]), 1 Macc. 15 23. See COOS.

COSAM (κωσαμ [Tr. WH]), fifth from Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3 28). See GENEALOGIES, ii., § 3.

1 According to Rabbinic views, not all kings were anointed; but the [illegible] such a [illegible] designation of kings. [illegible] of growing with age, see Is. [illegible] (cp *SBOT ad loc.*).

2 L. Oliphant (*Haifa*, 112) conjectures that the (artificial) foundations in the lower part of Palestine [illegible] at Hebron [illegible] Holy Sepulchre near Haifa [illegible] very [illegible] antiquities.

3 [illegible] wrongly written Hatsarim (see HAZAR, § 5).

COSTUS (קֹשֶׁט; ΙΡΙΣ [BAFL]; *costus*). Ex. 30 24 RV^mg. [in Ezek. 27 19 Vg. *iuncti*, EV ; ΚΑΙ ΙΡΙΔΙΑΣ 'and irises'] See CASSIA, INCENSE, § 6.

COTTAGE. 1. For Is. 1 8 (סֻכָּה) and 24 20 (מְלוּנָה) see HUT, § 1; for Ps. 76 2 (EV ; RV^m) the [illegible] (מְעוֹנָה) is probably a cottage, or [illegible] dwellings (Delitzsch, *Comm.* [illegible] Rudolphi in Kau. *HAT*; and Schwally, *Z ATW* [illegible]).

[illegible] we may also read with We. the reading of [illegible] with the meaning 'Philistia shall become dwellings for [illegible]'.

COTTON[1] **or Fine Cloth** (RV^mg.), or GREEN [illegible] (EV ; בַּד; ΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ [illegible]; Esth. 1 6). The Heb. word, which [illegible] in Arab., Arm., Gr., and Lat., is derived from Pers. *kirpās* and ultimately from Sans. *karpāsa*, 'the cotton plant.'[2] As a derived word it means, in the [illegible] fine cotton cloth which came from India and also such stuffs as are named 'Cilicia.' The [illegible] home of the cotton [illegible] were known to the Greeks as early as Herodotus [illegible] and Alexander that first [illegible] with the use of cotton fabrics. The earliest known occurrence of καρπασος, *carbasus* in Greek or Latin is in a line of [illegible] (219 [illegible]) [illegible] Greek [illegible] 150 § 71) and the author of the *Periegesis* [illegible] Quintus [illegible] but other references in classical writers show that the word [illegible] used a wider sense, and could [illegible] in the loose [illegible] This it was used of fine Spanish linen or cambric (Pliny [illegible] § 21) of the awnings of theatres[3] (Hor. [illegible] *Epist.* 3 7 [illegible], etc.) and of robes of fine material (Ov. [illegible] 11 77, etc.); see these and other passages discussed in Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, [illegible] 7). We must, therefore, be [illegible] as to the material of [illegible] 1 8 [illegible] the [illegible] of Esth. 1 6, [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] in Gen. [illegible] 1 [illegible] doubtful meaning of the word in Sanskrit, the presumption [illegible] in favour of cotton muslin. *Karpās* certainly does [illegible] material, not a cotton (the latter is a Jewish idea, [illegible] Vg.).

Asian cotton in ancient times (like most modern cotton) was derived from the cotton *plant*, *Gossypium herbaceum*, L., perennial in the tropics, but elsewhere annual, which had its first home in India, but by the time of Alexander had spread to Bactriana (De Candolle, *Orig. of Cult. Plants*, 323 *f.*). The cotton *shrub* (*Gossypium arboreum*, L.), on the other hand, which, though little known to the ancients, is described in one place by Pliny,[4] had its first home, according to modern investigation, in Upper Guinea, Abyssinia, Somaliland, and Higher Egypt (*ib.*, 325 *ff.*). This, brought down from the Sudan, was probably the earliest cotton cultivated in Lower Egypt. Prosper Alpinus saw it in Egypt in the sixteenth century (*ib.*, 327). It was afterwards displaced by the Indian *G. herbaceum*.

For Gen. 41 42 Ex. 25 4, RV^mg. (שֵׁשׁ, *šēš*; EV FINE LINEN, AV^mg. SILK) cp Pr. 31 22, AV^m. see LINEN (7); for Is. 19 9 RV^mg. (שְׂרוּקִים, *śrūqīm*), see LINEN (5). S. M. W. T. L.-D.

COUCH (מִטָּה), Amos 3 12. See BED, § 2.

COULTER (אֵת; ΣΚΕΥΟΣ [BAL]), 1 S. 13 20 *f.*, elsewhere rendered 'ploughshare' (ΑΡΟΤΡΟΝ [BAQ]), Is. 2 4 Joel 3 10 [4 10] Mic. 4 3. See AGRICULTURE, § 3.

COUNCIL.

1. רִגְמָתָם, *rigmāthām*, Ps. 68 27 [28] (EV^mg. 'their com-

[illegible]

2. מוֹעֵצָה, *mōʿēṣāh*, 2 S. 23 [illegible] (ΒΟΥΛΗ [illegible]) [illegible]

1 Ch. 11 25 (ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΑ [BMAL]) [illegible] David, at the head of [illegible] 1 S. 2 14 (RV 'council,' AV 'holding,' ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΝ [BAL]; Dan. [illegible] ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΑΣΤΑΙ 'people in [illegible]'; cp H. and *Z ATW*, 16 129, who shows that the Sab. מוֹעֵצָה is 'specifically a place of oracle'; it is not only of a council or meeting (cp [illegible] Assembly [19], [illegible] 'Council,' 'Counsel'; Am. 3 7 [illegible] cp Ps. [illegible]).

3. συνέδριον, the supreme council, Mt. 5 22 Jn. 11 47 Acts [illegible] συνέδρια in pl. (Mt. 10 17 Mk. 13 9) are the tribunals; cp [illegible] (AV [illegible] Mt. [illegible] Gospel, § [illegible] and; cp Syn.).

COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM. The [illegible] the most important occurrence of the [illegible] the one that bears the most [illegible] more conclusively the [illegible] possess in Gal. 2 and Acts 15, the more necessary it is to adopt a careful method for its investigation. The first question that arises is whether both accounts refer to the same occurrence. In order to answer this it is needful to discuss the times of Paul's [illegible] to Jerusalem.

In Gal. 1 [illegible] very [illegible] and Jerusalem [illegible]

1. Paul's Journeys to Jerusalem in Gal. and Acts.

[illegible] time fourteen years [illegible] visit (or, less [illegible] conversion. [illegible] genuineness of the epistle to the Galatians [illegible] but gave unqualified acceptance to this statement.

Paul's evidence going to show that little [illegible] in his age the shipping of commercial apostles. He [illegible] devoted to the interests of truth to meet in all [illegible] would be [illegible] in contact with them. M[illegible] Lys. open to naturally were aware of all [illegible] have promptly expected the tidings to the G[illegible].

Now, the journey mentioned in Acts 9 26 must hesitatingly be identified with that in Gal. 1 [illegible] though the narrative of Acts contains not the [illegible] hint that it was not made until three years after [illegible] conversion, and had been preceded by a [illegible] Arabia and a second sojourn in Damascus.

a. It would seem, then, that the second journey recorded in Galatians (2 1) must coincide with the [illegible] in Acts 11 30, which, according to Acts 12 25, did not go to Jerusalem.

The famine during the reign of Claudius (by which the [illegible] was occasioned occurred in Palestine before 48, at the earliest [illegible] 41–54, as the narrative of Acts appears to imply [illegible] time of the death of Herod Agrippa I., and, if the conversion of Paul occurred shortly after the death of Jesus, at [illegible] not much more than a year after, the appearance of Christ in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (*i.e.*, 28–9 A.D.); [illegible] remains the interval of seventeen (or, at least, [illegible]) recorded by Gal. 1 18–2 1 between Paul's conversion and the famine, cp CHRONOLOGY, § 74 *ff.* Thus, the account of the journey in Acts requires correction only in one point. The [illegible] were sent not before but after the beginning of the famine.

Still, since it mentions no object for the journey besides the sending of alms, the narrative of Acts [illegible] be charged with having passed over in complete silence the conference mentioned in Gal. 2 1–10.

This is no trifling matter. It is remarkable that a conference upon the same subject should follow in Acts 15, but a report of the discussion within the next few years is not given. We observe, too, that no reference is made in Acts 15 to a prior decision. The journey mentioned in Acts 11 27 [illegible] as far as Paul is concerned, may, on other grounds, be considered open to the suspicion of having been undertaken the circumstances recorded in Acts 20 2 17 (cp 1 Cor. [illegible]

[illegible]

1 The word is used in a concrete sense ('obedient ones') in Is. 21 1; cp Mt. [illegible] כל מעון בדרגיה, 'all Dalban was [illegible]

2 That it extended over the whole world (οἰκουμένη) is an error of Acts.

Rom 15 25 f.), and of having been transferred, whether by mistake or purposely, to a far too early position in the narrative [illegible] Mosaic.

A. In order to avoid recognising the contradiction between Gal 2 [illegible] 15 [illegible] have assigned the Council of Jerusalem to the journey recorded in Acts 18 22. They ignore the objection that on this view Paul in Galatians suppresses important facts so far as to pass over two journeys to Jerusalem without mention.

c. On the other hand, it is a mistake to suppose that Acts 18 22 does not imply a visit to Jerusalem at [illegible]

Although *ἀναβαίνω might* signify the journey up from the shore [illegible] of Cæsarea, a man could not possibly be said to go [illegible] from a seaport town to an inland city like Antioch. Thus we are bound to supply "to Jerusalem" [illegible] as did many interpreters even when denying the historical reality of the journey. On this last point, however, we cannot in fairness appeal to the negative evidence of Galatians. True, it is [illegible] as to this journey; but its historical review never reaches the point at which mention of it would have come [illegible] review, after describing the occurrence at Antioch (2 11-21) the writer passes on to enumerate and thence to practical questions, entirely losing sight of his original purpose, which was to enumerate all his personal encounters with the original apostles. It may, indeed, be thought remarkable that Jerusalem, if intended, is not mentioned in Acts 18 22; but this does not warrant the assumption now to be mentioned.

d. Some critics have assumed that the Council of Jerusalem was really held on this occasion (Acts 18 22), and not earlier—the author, having purposely transposed it to an earlier date, would express himself as briefly and obscurely as possible when he came to the point at which it really occurred.

This assumption has the advantage of bringing not only the first (Acts 11 f.) but also the second (Acts 18 22) missionary journey within the first seven or eight years after Paul's conversion, thus providing material to fill up a period otherwise inexplicably barren of events. It cannot, however, be urged in its favour that Barnabas was personally known to the Galatians and the Corinthians, and that he cannot have been separated from Paul (Acts 15 36-40) until after the second missionary journey, during which the communities in Galatia—*i.e.*, Old Galatia (see GALATIA)—and in Corinth were established; for the passages Gal. 2 1-11 1 Cor. 9 6 are perfectly intelligible on the assumption that Barnabas was known to the readers by report alone.

The assumption of such a transposition is entirely wanting in probability.

The motive prompting the writer to transpose the Council of Jerusalem to an earlier date is supposed to have been the desire to bring the whole of Paul's missionary work from its beginning within the scope of the decree of the apostles (Acts 15 23 f.); but, had this really been the writer's intention, he would have introduced the council not before Acts 16, but before Acts 13. What should have hindered him from so doing, if it be assumed that he allowed himself to make free with his materials in this way at all, is not apparent.

e. Others actually transpose the journey described in Acts 13 f. so as to make it come between the Council of Jerusalem and the separation of Barnabas from Paul, and therefore after Acts 15 34.

Their strongest reason is the fact that Paul mentions only Syria and Cilicia as his places of residence up to the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. 1 21). This is hardly conclusive, for, although Paul was pledged to enumerate all his meetings with the original apostles, he was not bound to mention all the provinces in which he had resided without meeting them. In any case, even if the transposition of Acts 13 f. and Acts 15 1-14 be accepted, this gives no support to the assumption mentioned under *d*, since for that assumption the writer of Acts has put the two sections exactly in the wrong order: his supposed purpose, as well as the motive of historical accuracy, would have led him to put 15 1-34 before 13 1-14 28.

f. It is only by very bold treatment of the different sources of Acts, by which the accounts of Paul's journeys in Acts 11 f. 15 18 become merely the result of an erroneous combination of the writer's authorities, that Clement (*Chronol. d. Paulin. Br.* 1893) contrives to identify Gal. 2 with Acts 21, and Joh. Weiss (*St. u. Kr.*, 1893, pp. 480-540; 1895, pp. 252-269), on the contrary, with Acts 9 and (at the same time) with Acts 15 1-4 12. It is, in fact, quite impossible to deny the identity of the events related in Gal. 2 and in Acts 15. See CHRONOLOGY, § 74.

In view, however, of the doubts cast upon Acts, it is

an error of method to make that book the basis [illegible]

2 Gal 2 1-10 the primary passage

[illegible] the suggestion of the present [illegible] It might even seem well to begin by laying [illegible] the text from Galatians alone. A method, however, would prevent certain questions from [illegible] together. It is however of considerable importance to take Gal 2 1-10 as the starting point, because that passage alone throws any really clear light upon the [illegible]

Peter was no uncompromising Judaiser. Before the dispute at Antioch recorded in Gal 2 11-21 he had [illegible] with Gentile Christians. [illegible] abandoned this practice after the arrival of the followers of James, he could not, accustomed as he was to adopt the attitude of a leader, [illegible] representatives of circumcision has a good motive. And he not himself recognised their position as the right one. He must in his inmost heart have still been continuing to attach some importance to the Mosaic laws relating to food. Thus he could not yet have attained to that liberty in principle which belonged to Paul. This freedom Paul consequently assumed to be present in Peter, as it was in him [illegible] in which case he could attribute Peter's antagonism only to hypocrisy. Critics have softened the charge of hypocrisy into a charge of inconsistency, such as is very frequently to be observed at times of transition in natures that have no very firm grasp of principles.

Different from Peter's position was that of Ja[illegible] Whether the "certain" [illegible] were [illegible] him in order to recall Peter to [illegible] attempted to do this on their [illegible] commission [illegible] does [illegible] equally well be [illegible] Peter, the leader of the apostles [illegible] have submitted to their [illegible] behind them the authority of James [illegible] of James as distinct from that of P[illegible] been that a man born a Jew was still under [illegible] obligation even as a Christian to observe the whole of the Mosaic Law. It cannot be supposed that he upheld this obligation only as convenient for the time, or even merely as a beautiful custom; a motive of the most serious kind must have been actually held out to Peter, if he was to submit to be driven to so absolute a renunciation of brotherly intercourse with the Gentile Christians.

As we are not informed of any answer from Peter to Paul's reprimand in Gal 2 14-21, it is commonly (though very rashly) assumed that Peter admitted his error. That Paul should record an exculpatory answer from Peter, however, was hardly to be expected, if only for the reason that he must have thought it inconclusive. Still, even if Peter was thought to have yielded, the others who shared his opinion did not yield. Otherwise, why is the scene at Antioch followed so quickly by the entrance of the Judaising party into the churches founded by Paul in Galatia and Corinth, in complete contravention of the agreement in Gal. 2 9, and by the nearly successful attempt to induce the Galatians to adopt circumcision (Gal. 5 2 f. 6 12 f. 4 10) and to alienate the Corinthians from Paul altogether (2 Cor. 11 4 12 16 13 5 5 12 f. 7 5-16)? How could so important and persistent a movement—it had already been encountered by Paul on two separate occasions, both in Galatia and in Corinth (Gal. 1 9 5 1 1 Cor. 9 1 2 Cor. 11 4)—have been carried on if it had been opposed by the first apostles? Whence came the letters of recommendation which, according to 2 Cor. 3 1, these emissaries brought with them? As they formed the ground upon which the suspicion against P[illegible], one who had never known Jesus (1 Cor. 9 1) proceeded, what weightier credentials could they have contained

than the statement that their bearers represented immediate disciples of Jesus? Would the sceptical Corinthians have been satisfied if the authentication had come (let us say) from Ephesus, or from some other town outside Palestine?

How comes it, again, that even at the end of the second century the pseudo-Clementine homilies (17 19) represent Peter as reproaching Simon (under whose name Paul is there attacked (see SIMON MAGUS) for having called him a κατεγνωσμένος (Gal. 2 11; RV 'stood condemned')? This shows how deep a wound was inflicted on Judaising Christianity by Paul's bold attack on Peter. For this reason, not a word is said in Acts about the scene; though it is quite inconceivable that the author had no knowledge of it (see ACTS, § 6). Further, in the place in Acts where this scene ought to have been mentioned there is recorded a similar dispute (παροξυσμός; Acts 15 39) between Paul and Barnabas (see BARNABAS), who, according to Gal. 2 13, had gone over to the side of Peter. This dispute, however, does not turn on any question of principle. It was merely a personal matter (Acts 15 36-40). The conjecture is a tempting one that this scene, if not an invention, is at least an interpolation, based on some written source, introduced for the purpose of effacing the memory of the more important quarrels.

We are now in a position to investigate the Council of Jerusalem itself. It was occasioned, on the part of Judaistic Christianity, by the appearance of the 'false brethren,' who had made their way unauthorised into the Pauline and other churches, seeking to spy out and to suppress the freedom from the Mosaic Law that had there been attained (Gal. 2 4). As this cannot have been in Jerusalem, we may accept the statement of Acts (15 1, cp 14 26) that it was to Antioch they came. Up to that time no such intrusion had occurred, although the circumstances at Antioch cannot have long remained unknown to the leaders at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, not improbable that the new and sudden aggressive movement proceeded from recently converted Pharisees, even though the statement to this effect in Acts 15 5 is made without reference to 15 1, and therefore appears to come from another source.

4. Occasion of the council.

Paul was prompted to go to the council of the apostles by a revelation (Gal. 2 2). Probably it came to him not as a bolt from the blue, but only after the question to be decided by the council had already stirred his soul to its depths. No less than his entire life-work—that of bringing the heathen to Christianity without binding them by the Mosaic Law—was at stake. According to Acts (15 2), he and Barnabas were deputed to go to Jerusalem by the church at Antioch in consequence of a fruitless discussion there. This motive for the journey is not, of course, absolutely incompatible with the revelation mentioned by Paul; but it is in any case significant that Paul speaks only of the revelation and Acts only of the delegation. Whatever the motive, what is it that Paul can have gone to Jerusalem in search of? A tribunal to whose verdict he would voluntarily submit, whatever its tenor? By no means. He had from a higher authority his gospel of freedom from the Law, and cared very little for the original apostles (Gal. 1 6-9 15-17 2 5 f.). Or did he expect to find among them assistance against the 'false brethren'? We think that he did not; if he did, his expectation was not justified by the event (see below, §§ 7, 8). The purpose with which he went to Jerusalem was to discover the source from which the 'false brethren' drew their support. He intended to take that support away from under them, and, in order to do so, it was necessary that he should appear in person. 'Lest by any means I should be running or had run in vain' (Gal. 2 2; μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον) is not an interrogative; Paul would never have made the justification of his work dependent on the judgment of the original apostles.

Were the conferences at Jerusalem public, or were they private? No clear picture of them is presented in Acts—perhaps because the account is compiled from various sources.

5. Public or private discussions?

A general assembly is set before us in Acts 15 4. We may suppose the private assembly mentioned in 15 6 to have been on another day (though the author says nothing as to this). Suddenly, however, in 15 12, 'all the multitude' (πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος) is present; and it reappears in 15 22 as responsible for the final decision, although in 15 23 this is attributed to the apostles and elders only. Paul, on the other hand, in the words κατ' ἰδίαν, 'privately' (Gal. 2 2), passes from a public to a private conference, as also probably in 2 6 for the discussion about the circumcision of Titus (2 1-5) can most easily be supposed to have occurred in a public assembly, in which expression was also given to the position which the original apostles did not themselves finally adopt.

So far there is no inconsistency between Galatians and Acts: both know of meetings of both kinds. The crucial question, however, is, Was any final decision arrived at in a public assembly?

If the decision was not in Paul's favour, the claims of truth and of prudence alike must have led him to mention it. Much, however, of what is recorded in Acts, e.g., the speech of Peter (15 7-11), points very clearly to a decision in Paul's favour; and to pass this over in silence would have been folly.

The picture presented in Acts, therefore, of a decisive public assembly is entirely incorrect.

The case is similar with what is said, or implied, as to Paul's attitude towards the original apostles. According to Acts, he holds quite a subordinate position. He is allowed to state his case, but not to take part in the debate; he has simply to submit to the decision. According to Galatians, he debates as with his equals. Indeed, he even refers to the original apostles ironically as 'of repute,' 'reputed to be pillars,' 'to be somewhat' (οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι; εἶναί τι; 2 2 6).

6. Paul's attitude to the original apostles.

Even if it be granted that the title, 'pillars' (οἱ στῦλοι) may have been originally applied to them by their adherents as a term of honour, the phrase 'reputed' (οἱ δοκοῦντες) cannot have been so used. It is explicitly derogatory. The most that can be done to soften the force of Paul's irony is to conjecture that he did not invent the expression until the incident at Antioch had diminished his respect for them.

Paul took Titus as his companion of set purpose. The uncircumcised assistant of his missionary labours would serve as an 'object-lesson' in support of his fundamental principle. An attempt was made to procure his circumcision; but, owing to the opposition of Paul and Barnabas, it had to be abandoned.

7. Question of circumcision of Titus.

This is clearly the meaning of Gal. 2 3-5, and only the most violent feats of critical ingenuity can find any other explanation of the passage. One interpretation is that no attempt whatever was made (οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη) to procure the circumcision of Titus. If so, why the opposition of Paul and Barnabas? Again, the attempt was made, yet not on grounds of principle, but in the interest of Paul, to save him from daily defilement. How could he avoid defilement from other Gentile converts, with many of whom he associated daily? Perhaps, on account of the 'false brethren,' Paul did, after all, of his own accord, allow Titus to be circumcised. Did he hope thereby to maintain the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2 5) that no man need be circumcised? It has even been proposed to follow the Greek text and the Latin version of D with Irenæus, Tertullian, and other Western fathers in omitting the negative (οὐδέ) in Gal. 2 5 (whether 'to whom,' οἷς, also be omitted is of less importance), as if Paul could have been so blind as to consider compliance at the most critical moment to be harmless, because only temporary (πρὸς ὥραν). It is, on the contrary, probable that after 2 5, to complete a sentence beginning with 2 4, we ought to supply not 'we did give place' (οὐκ εἴξαμεν), as if, had the false brethren not appeared, Paul would have been prepared to comply, but 'on account of the false brethren) it was all the more necessary to offer a strenuous opposition.' For at the outset they had demanded the circumcision of all Gentile converts even. As it is expressly stated in Acts 15 1 5, it is the more certain that it necessarily presupposed by the negative (οἱ δέ) of Gal. 2 3. Nothing worse occurred, and not even Titus was compelled to be circumcised. The worst thing that might have occurred was, according to 2 2, have been that Paul should have run (εἰς κενὸν δράμεν)—*i.e.*, that a decree should have been passed prohibiting the admission of Gentiles into Christianity without circumcision.

Thus the demand for the circumcision of Titus appears

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as a compromise proposed for the first time when the original proposal for the circumcision of all Gentile converts met with insuperable opposition from Paul and Barnabas. The very circumstantiality of a conference that passed through so many aspects is enough to show that these proposals could not possibly have been made without at least the moral support of the original apostles. Had the latter been on Paul's side from the first (it has been held that they are to be included in the subject of 'gave place,' εἴξαμεν), any attempt of the kind must have been instantly frustrated by their authority.

It is, therefore, useless to construe Gal. 2 4 as a reason subsequently introduced to explain 2 3, as though the circumcision of Titus was refused by all parties alike, for the reason that it was demanded by the 'false brethren' alone. Considerations of language also render inadmissible the other interpretation, which supplements so as to read 'and indeed on behalf of the "false brethren" . . . it was said that he ought to be compelled to be circumcised (ἠναγκάσθη without ὅτι).' The importance attached to the memory of the case of Titus is best shown in Acts; his name is never mentioned at all, those who accompanied Paul to the conference being 'Barnabas and certain others' (τινες ἄλλοι, Acts 15 2; see Acts, § 9). It is not going too far, therefore, to say that the original apostles were at the outset undecided in their attitude; indeed, if we may judge by what occurred soon afterwards at Antioch, this understates the case.

In harmony with this attitude was that which they adopted towards the subsequent mission to the Gentiles.

8. The apostles and the mission to the Gentiles.

Paul's practice of admitting Gentiles as members of the Christian Church without circumcision cannot have obtained the sanction of the other apostles at the outset. Assent was wrung from them with difficulty. Indeed, they did not give way on any ground of principle; otherwise their behaviour in the dispute at Antioch would have been impossible. They gave way only because of the divine verdict as shown by the event (ἰδόντες . . . γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Gal. 2 9; cp Acts 15 4 12), to which they submitted perforce, though without recognising its underlying justification. Peter and James, therefore, cannot have expressed themselves, even approximately, as in Acts 15 7-21 they are said to have spoken. Had what Peter (15 7 f.) enjoins in regard to Cornelius really occurred, there would have been no Council of Jerusalem at all (Acts, § 4).

Peter is further said (15 9) to have declared that God had removed the difference between Jews and Gentiles by purifying the hearts of the Gentiles, as though in the eyes of a Jew the impurity of the Gentiles were impurity of the heart alone. He is, moreover, represented as saying (15 11) that his hope of salvation was through the grace of God alone, whereas at Antioch he maintained that the observance of the Law was necessary to salvation. Finally (15 10), he calls the Law a yoke intolerable even to the Jews; yet at Antioch he again submitted himself to it. He calls it a tempting of God to put the yoke on the Gentiles also; yet at Antioch he broke with the Gentiles because they did not take it on themselves, thus putting moral pressure upon them to 'Judaise' (ἰουδαΐζειν; Gal. 2 14). In short, the speech of Peter is so eminently Pauline that Weizsäcker found it possible to believe that the author of Acts took the speech of Paul, as set forth in Gal. 2 14-21, as the foundation for its composition.

[illegible] on the other side that the author did to some extent [illegible] estimate the positions of the speakers in [illegible] the speech of James is [illegible] preserved. He [illegible] Christ has in 15 14, however, [illegible] just as and just [illegible] as that in 15 7 f. James cannot possibly have employed the quotation from Amos unless it be maintained that the discussion was carried on in the language of the hated foreigners; for in the original it is not said that the residue of men and all nations to whom God's name had been made known should seek the Lord—it is only said that the Israelites should again attain to political domination over Edom and the other nations that had at any time [illegible] to Paganism it he implies that the imposition of the whole Mosaic Law upon the Gentiles is a burden to them from which, as being such, they ought to be relieved (15 19). Furthermore, he did not make the positive proposal of 15 20. See below, § 10.

The result of the conference, according to Galatians, was a 'fellowship' (κοινωνία) (2 9). What the precise extent of the κοινωνία was can be learned only by inference from the incidental facts.

9. Result of Council according to Gal.

A division of missionary districts was arranged. The reason why the original apostles desired to carry on their work only among the Jews can be gathered with absolute certainty from the situation of affairs which had been brought about. The separation of the missionary districts had been the result of the conference concerning the circumcision of the Gentile converts. Had the circumcision of these converts been decided on, the original apostles need have felt as little cause to shrink from missions to the Gentiles as a Jew had to shrink from the work of winning proselytes. As the sequel at Antioch shows, what they found intolerable was the idea of that intimate daily association with uncircumcised brethren which would have become unavoidable if missionary work had been engaged in by them without circumcision of the Gentiles. That was the reason why they abandoned this part of the work to Paul and Barnabas. To look for the reason of the separation of missionary districts in differences of aptitude for winning other Gentiles or natural Jews is to misapprehend the causes that were really at work. Such consideration, as those mentioned, may have had some concurrent influence; but how could the scene at Antioch have been possible if difference of aptitudes had been the sole or even the chief cause of the separation? Not a word is there said about Peter's missionary work; the only question is whether he is prepared to eat at the same table with Gentile converts.

It is equally certain that the separation of districts was intended in an ethnographical, not in a geographical, sense. Had the original apostles undertaken to labour for the conversion of the Gentiles as well as for that of the Jews in Palestine without insisting upon circumcision, they would immediately there have to deal themselves face to face with all the difficulties which had caused them to avoid the Gentile countries and continue their efforts to the land of their fathers. The separation had no purpose unless missions to natural Jews were to be assigned to them as their province. Conversely, Paul and Barnabas were, of course, to go only to men of Gentile birth. Jews seeking salvation whom they met in Gentile countries they were bound to turn away, referring them for guidance to itinerant Jewish-Christian missionaries. This might have led to the further consequence that in one and the same town there would have arisen two Christian communities, one of Jews and one of Gentiles. Association at meals, as well as at the Lord's Supper, would have been impossible between them. This intolerable state of affairs, however, was exactly what the [illegible] contrived to avert; and this success was regarded by Paul as the highest triumph of the view of Christianity which he advocated. It is very reasonable to ask how he could have had any [illegible] arrangement by which, in the churches he had founded, the wall of separation between Jewish and Gentile Christians, which it had cost so much labour to destroy, was again raised up. To fall back on the view that the separation was intended to be geographical would, however, be wrong. A separation on such a basis the apostles, as has already been shown, could not possibly have accepted. It would be necessary to draw the conclusion that the statement of Galatians must be pronounced unhistorical, and the epistle itself non-Pauline, were there really no other way out of the difficulty. Before taking this step, however, we shall do well to remember that men have often enough agreed upon a compromise without having formed any adequately clear conception of its consequences. The Christian church would speedily have fallen asunder into two separate communities, the one of Jewish and the other of Gentile Christians, had

[1] It was the LXX that first read יִרְשׁוּ instead of יִירְשׁוּ, perhaps אָדָם instead of אֶדֶם, and making שְׁאֵרִית אָדָם, etc., subject instead of object; and only a few MSS of the LXX have gone so far as to supply the now lacking object, without any support from the original, by interpolating τὸν κύριον.

no agreement been reached. Neither of the parties was able to abandon its view: each felt itself under a strict religious obligation to maintain its own principles. There must, therefore, have been the greatest eagerness to grasp at any formula that presented itself as a solution. 'We to the Jews, you to the Gentiles,' appeared to be a formula of the kind, and joy in the renewed sense of brotherhood may have blinded men's eyes to the impracticability of the proposal. This would happen all the more readily if the formula was so loose that each party could understand it in a different sense. In the absence of more precise definition, the geographical interpretation must have seemed to Paul as obviously the correct one as the ethnographical interpretation appeared to the other apostles—to Paul, who became not merely to the Gentiles a Gentile, but also to the Jews a Jew, that he might by all means win some, and, in order to save those belonging to his own race, would willingly have been accursed from Christ (1 Cor. 9 20 f. Rom. 9 3; cp BAN, § 1). In the scene at Antioch the misunderstanding revealed itself only too clearly; but this does not prove that there was no misunderstanding at Jerusalem. Even in the aspect under which the matter had to be presented at the conference at Jerusalem, the unity sought for was limited. The 'right hand of fellowship' (δεξιὰ κοινωνίας) which they held out to each other was at the same time a parting handshake. According to their fundamental principles, the Jewish Christians neither would nor could have any very intimate communion, any really brotherly intercourse, with the Gentile Christians. It is worthy of notice that the support of the poor is represented in Gal. 2 10 less as being the only demand made upon the Pauline churches than as being the only bond by which the two halves of Christendom were to be kept together.

There is, however, no necessity for assuming that these alms from the Gentile Christians were like temple dues, or intended to express a position of inferiority as compared with that of Jewish Christians. In view of the notorious poverty of the church at Jerusalem (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5), it would have been unreasonable to require reciprocity, and doubtless Paul was glad to evince his goodwill on such neutral ground. For the rest, it was quite impossible that the Gentiles should be treated by the Jews as having equal rights and full citizenship in the kingdom of God. The OT promises applied only to the chosen race and to those who had been received into it by circumcision. The Jewish Christians had made the concession—from their point of view a concession of real magnitude—of sanctioning the mission to the Gentiles without circumcision; but it was not to be supposed that this could be granted except on the basis that this class of converts was to hold somewhat the same position as that of the semi-proselytes (σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν) among the Jews; they figured only as a 'younger branch in the kingdom of God.' In no case could the original apostles have set the same value on the conversion of these Christians of the second class through the agency of Paul as on their own missionary activity. It is remarkable that Gal. 2 8b does not run, on the analogy of 2 8a, 'unto the apostleship of the Gentiles' (εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν). Freedom of construction is, of course, a characteristic of Paul's style, and thus 'unto the Gentiles' (εἰς τὰ ἔθνη) also may be explained as a case of brachylogy. Still, it is noteworthy that—e.g., in 1 Cor. 9 1—he does not base any appeal on the fact that apostleship (ἀποστολή) had been conceded to him by the original apostles. How effective—if open to him—this appeal would have been against the Judaizers at Corinth who called his apostleship in question, and set up those very apostles as the supreme authority! The truth is that he does not appear to have received such recognition. Thus he would seem to have been recognised only as a fellow-worker, in the Christian field, not as a fully accredited apostle.

According to Acts, the result of the Council was t decree in 15 23-29. Nevertheless, as long as the wor

10. The decree in Acts.

'imparted nothing to me' (ἐμοὶ . . . οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο), in Gal. 2 6, a allowed to stand, we shall be pr cluded from accepting this finding as a formal decre Whether the words mean 'The δοκοῦντες imparte nothing further to me' (so according to 1 16), or th 'They made no further rejoinder to my communicatio (so according to 2 2), is immaterial. Their meaning made clear by 'contrariwise' (τοὐναντίον) in 2 7: 'N only did they say nothing unfavourable to me, but als they pledged themselves to fellowship with me.' W cannot better convince ourselves of the certainty of th conclusion than by examining the attempts that hav been made to avoid it.

Theologians have done their utmost to maintain that Pa was justified in using the words ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, inste of mentioning the decree of the apostles, because the decree w known to the Galatians already, or because he did not want put a weapon into the hand of his opponents, or because t decree was only temporary—perhaps, not binding at all, b merely having reference to a custom, the object of which h been even discovered to be the protection of the Gentiles again trichinosis. In the last of these methods of evading t interpretation stated above, all idea of a formal decree havin been promulgated is given up; but even if the agreement on t substance of the decision had been only verbal, Paul could n have said, ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο.

Apart from this, the dispute at Antioch conclusivel disproves the historicity of the decision, whether in th form of a regular decree or not. It is clear that any suc arrangement, had it been come to, would have had th effect of rendering it possible for Jewish and Gentil Christians to associate with one another at meals. I (as is stated in Acts 16 4) Paul and Silas continued t enforce the decree during their next journey, we ar bound all the more to suppose that it came into forc at Antioch immediately after its promulgation there In that case, James and his followers had no reason fo taking offence at Peter's eating with Gentile converts.

If, then, we are forced to admit that no arrangemen of this nature was made at the Council at all, there ar many who would like to retain the opinion that Pau was substantially in favour of such an arrangement This, however is a mistake. The four prohibitions ar

11. Its prohibitions.

taken, either from the seven 'Noachi precepts' (as they are called in th Talmud), by means of which a *modu vivendi* is said to have been arrived at between the Jew and the 'sons of Noah' (the Gentiles), or directly fron the original ordinances on which those are based (Lev. 17 10-18 30), which likewise were promulgated, not f the Israelites alone, but also for the foreigners in the midst. The latter source is the more probable, fo the Talmud prohibits actual unchastity; but it canno be doubted that, had such a prohibition appeared to b at all necessary in Acts 15, the prohibition of murder a of theft would also have been adopted from the Talmu In its association with ordinances so far from being common to all mankind, so peculiarly Jewish, as th prohibition of blood, of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, and of the flesh of anim sacrificed to idols, it is much more likely that t interdict upon what is here called πορνεία refers t marriages within the degrees of affinity forbidden in Le 18 6-18 (cp BASTARD). Moreover, as the passage in Leviticus lies at the foundation of Acts 15, in a gene way only, it is possible that marriages with Gentiles may have been included; these were prohibited by 3 4 16 Dt. 7 3 Ezra 9 2, and would have made it quite possible for a Jewish Christian to enter the house of a Gentile who had contracted such a marriage.

Now, as to Paul's view in regard to eating things s ficed to idols, we have full and exact information. general rule (1 Cor. 8 10. . . Rom. 14 14) he allow it is to be avoided only in cases where it might offence to a weak Christian who mistakenly thinks t the Levitical prohibition of it is of perpetual obl

Paul does recognise, it is true, one exception, which he mentions in 1 Cor. 10 14-22, though, curiously, not in the exactly similar case in 8 10 (cp DEMONS, § 8); but even this passage contains no prohibition of the practice excepting at a religious ceremony of this kind. In the decree of Acts, on the contrary, the eating of things offered to idols is, it need hardly be said, forbidden in all circumstances, just as to partake of blood, or of the flesh of animals that have died or been strangled, is forbidden. Here the prohibition turns on the nature of the thing itself (cp ἀλίσγημα, Acts 15 20): the soul was thought to reside in the blood (Lev. 17 11 14), and to eat the soul would have been an abomination. Now, as Paul does not concur in the decree of the apostles on the question of eating animals sacrificed to idols, it would not be wise to assume his agreement in regard to the prohibition of blood and of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, about which we have no expression of opinion by him. As to the question of marriage, he carried on an uncompromising warfare against unchastity of every kind (1 Cor. 5 6 12-20); but unchastity does not appear to have been what was intended in the decree of the apostles. Marriages with unbelievers, on the contrary, he did, it is true, advise against (1 Cor. 7 39), but in no case on grounds of principle. Otherwise he could not have enjoined that a Christian married to an unbelieving spouse should continue the relation if the other consented; nor could he have declared that the unbelieving spouse was sanctified by marriage with a Christian, and that even the children of a mixed marriage were holy (1 Cor. 7 12-14). The children were not baptised; if they had been, their sanctity would have been a consequence of their baptism, and not deducible from their connection with their parents simply. Accordingly, if Paul discourages marriages with unbelievers for the future (7 39), his reason cannot have been that they were in themselves wrong, but only that they were incompatible with the deeper spiritual sympathy of true spouses. On these grounds we are obviously still less entitled to assume that Paul would have pronounced to be wrong all marriages within the degrees of affinity, down to that with a sister-in-law, forbidden in Lev. 18 6-18, except in those cases which are manifestly contrary to nature, as, *e.g.*, that given in 1 Cor. 5 1-8. On no single point, therefore, does Paul even express substantial agreement with the restrictions imposed by the decree of the apostles.[1]

The last attempt to rescue some remnants of credibility for Acts connects itself with 21 25. Here Paul is acquainted with the decree of the apostles as if it were something new. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile this with the representation of Acts 15; but it is suggested that, if the latter has to be abandoned on account of Galatians, it may be possible to retain at least what is said in Acts 21. On this view the apostles issued the decree simply on their own responsibility, without consulting Paul; and this version of the matter was derived by the author from one of his sources. Unfortunately, the source of this passage (at least, according to all attempts hitherto made to distinguish the sources of Acts) is made out to be the same as that of Acts 15 20, or of 15 28 *f.*, or of both those passages. To avoid this conspicuous failure in the argument, J. Weiss deletes from the account in 15 5-11 13-31 (for 15 1-4 12, see above, § 1 div. *f*) all references to Paul and Barnabas (15 22-28) as editorial additions, and assumes that in the original source 15 5-11 13-33 related only to the conference of the original apostles among themselves, which is then called to mind in 21 25. Apart from the extreme boldness of this assumption, it is to be remarked that this particular source is considered by Weiss himself, as well as by all other critics of the sources of Acts, to be untrustworthy. In particular, the verse in question (21 25) has been actually taken to be an interpolation, and in fact is so little necessary to the context that if it were wanting its absence would not be noticed. Read with the context, it causes no difficulty; but the context itself is not historical (see ACTS, § 7). In any conceivable view, therefore, suspicion is thrown on the verse by a critical examination of the sources. In the absence of any confirmation, it certainly does not possess enough of internal probability to justify its acceptance.

In fine, it appears that the Tübingen school is not without justification in maintaining that the decree of the apostles is a fiction invented by the author for the purpose of promoting a union of Jewish and Gentile Christians. Only, in the second century it would have been little calculated to secure this object. The assumption is that these regulations were new at the time of writing. Now, they contain very stringent restrictions upon the freedom of the Gentile Christians in the interests of the Jewish; but the Gentiles were at that time so largely in the majority and so full of the consciousness of their title to membership in the Church, that they would hardly have acquiesced in such restrictions then. Besides, the regulations contained in the decree of the apostles must, in their essence, have been actually in force at the time of the composition of Acts (see ACTS, § 16), however little they may have been so in the first century.

The Epistle of Barnabas (3 6 4 6) betrays traces of this in the complaint that Christians believed themselves bound to observe the Mosaic Law, and from the middle of the second century there is evidence of this on all hands (*Did.* 6 3; Justin, *Tryph.* 46; *Clem. Hom.* 7 4; *Epistle from Lugdunum of the year* 177, in Eus. *H.E.* v 1 6; Irenæus, *adv. Haer.* i 26 2 (Eb. I, § 12)); Tertullian, *Apol.* chaps 7 9; Min. Felix, *Octav.* 30; Cyp. *Hom.* 7 *f.* 8, and *Ecclesiast.* 4 30; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 25 (Cod. S[illegible] Eus., ed. Sylburg, 62, 98, 219 *f.*); Origen, *c. Cels.* v 8 (4) 1; *Orac. Sibyl.* 2 296).

Possibly the first traces of such a custom or of an attempt to introduce it are to be found in Rev. 2 14 20-25, where the writer speaks only of meat offered to idols and of πορνεία.

The solution of the question would thus seem to be that the author of Acts, finding this custom in his own day, assumed in simple faith that it must date back to the time of the apostles, and (by a bold process of combination) represented its establishment as being the settlement of the dispute which he knew to have raged in those early times. His reverence for the apostles and the assumption (to him a matter of course) that complete harmony had prevailed among them supplied colours for the picture which differs so widely from the truth. In any case, the gradual rise of the custom itself finds its explanation in the effort to establish a *modus vivendi* between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Only, it was due not to the commands of the strict Jewish Christians of the Church of Jerusalem, men who could not be supposed to have been so blind to the character of such a portion of the Law, but to the demands of the Jewish Christians of the Dispersion, who had on their own side long agreed to regard themselves from that obedience to the Law, which they could not, nor their fellow-Christians ever, expect of them.

In conclusion, we have to point out the origin of the subject that the Council of Jerusalem did not possess the importance which is comparatively [illegible] it. It had far less influence upon the history of primitive

12. Conclusion.

[1] Some scholars have applied the modified view that these restrictions were at all events of many of very local importance among the Gentile Christians, many of whom had previously been semi-proselytes to Judaism, and would therefore have naturally continued to obey these ordinances as Christians; and these would have been followed by the other Gentile converts. But only church, however, concerning which we have any information in this connection proves the contrary. To Corinth Paul had to contend with the very worst needs of unchastity, and with practices in regard to things offered to idols that went too far even for him; and mixed marriages were quite usual. It is hardly possible to believe that things could have been so completely different elsewhere, even if Corinth was exceptionally bad in these respects.

Christianity than the dispute at Antioch, which speedily undid everything that the Council of Jerusalem had achieved. The discussion of the question has led to elaborations of the highest value for a knowledge of the position of parties among the early Christians. These were not, as the Tübingen School assumed, only two. They were at least four: the parties (or, as they should rather be termed, the 'schools') of Paul, of Peter, of James, and of the 'false brethren.' Thus, even from the earliest period, there were the intermediate positions between extreme parties, which, according to the Tübingen School, only arose from compromises in the second century. Primitive Christianity presents a picture far more rich in detail and in colour than that [illegible] supposes. Its critics must be prepared to take into account the finest distinctions of shade.

The [illegible] subject was initiated by the Tübingen school: Baur (*Paulus*, 1845); Schwegler (*Nachapostolisches Zeitalter*, 1846), Zeller (*Apostelgesch.*, [illegible]).

13. Literature. (2) [illegible]). The later phases of the [illegible] are represented by Lipsius (Schenkel's *Bibel-Lex.*, [illegible], 'Apostel-streit,' and *Hand.-Comm.*, 2); Weizsäcker (*JDT*, 1873, pp. 212-34, and *Hist. Zeitalter*); Pfleiderer (*JPT*, [illegible], pp. 5-14, 341-65, and *Paulinismus*); Holtzmann (*ZWT*, 1872, pp. 439-464, and 1873, pp. 159-163); Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, in various articles, the latest in 1890, pp. 138-149, with a new edition of the text). Of an apologetical character are the [illegible] of J. Ch. K. v. Hofmann (*Ev. Zeitschr.*, 1857, [illegible] ed., 1873-74); Carl Schwarz (*Die apostolischen Streitigkeiten*, 1861, and in *Theol. Studien*, 1863); Ap. Krenkel; Zahn (*Einleitung*, [illegible]); Lipsius (*Zeitschr. f. wissenschaftl. Theol.*, 1871); Otto (the last [illegible]); Kern (*Theol. Vorträge*, [illegible]); Grimm (*St. Kritiken*, 1858, pp. 4[illegible]). Cp M. W. Jacobus (*Christ. and Rel. Review*, 1897, pp. [illegible]). P. W. S.

COUNSELLOR, EV twice COUNCILLOR (4, below). Frequent in EV in a general sense, without any official meaning, or, more specifically, of the king's personal adviser or advisers, for which the technical term is מזכיר (EV RECORDER); see GOVERNMENT, § 21.

The following terms come into consideration:

1. יועץ, יועצים, as a title, applied to Ahitophel (2 S. 15 12; 1 Ch. 27 33), and Jehoiachin (1 Ch. 27 32 אישׁ מבין יועצים). Why Zechariah (יועץ) is styled 'wise counsellor' (יועץ שכל) in 1 Ch. 26 14 is hard to say; the text is probably faulty. יועץ may mean 'counsel' or 'advice' (see context); similarly in Is. 1 26 (cp 41 28; Ch. 2 10). It is otherwise used generally; cp Ex. 18 19; Pr. 11 14; Is. 3 3, etc. ℭ & 𝔖 renders by βουλευτής; so in Is. 19 14, 42 17, and more often in 𝔖 συμβουλος. In Sir. 37 15 ℭ & 𝔖 applies the term συμβουλος to Ben Sira (10 6), apparently read in 2 יועץ for יועיל; in ℭ's addition in 1 K. 2 46 (in the other place, ὁ σύνβουλος τοῦ βασιλέως) (HP [illegible] ζαμ[ε]χουρ) ποιος Ναθαν; in Ps. 119 24 the [illegible] HP [illegible] Σακχουρ; Nathan is mentioned in 1 K. 4 5 as the king's friend (see MI); see ZAKKUR, 1. The Aram. equivalent יְעֲצָיָא (pl. with suff.) in Ezr. 7 14 ℭ is used in reference to the seven counsellors of the Persian king; cp the seven princes of Media and Persia in Esth. 1 14.

2. קַדְבְּרָא, *dadbarā*, 1 Ch. 1 [illegible], pl. Dan. 3 2 3, the Pers. *dadbara*, 'judge,' 'lawyer,' 'official authority.'

3. הֲדַבְרָא, *hadabrā*, pl. Dan. 3 24 27 4 36 [33] 6 7 [8], an unknown Aram. official title. No doubt a compound of the Pers. *bara* (cp above); the first part of the name is too corrupt. There is not much [illegible] that it pertains to the [illegible] of the king's [illegible]; see COURT, *ad loc.*, and cp L. M. [illegible] *Jesaja*, 23.

4. βουλευτής, Mk. 15 43; Lk. 23 50 RV 'counsellor,' applied to Joseph of Arimathæa (Gen. 50 4; see GOVERNMENT, § 21).

5. σύμβουλος, lit. 'a co-adviser,' Rom. 11 34 (quoting Is. 40 13), συμβουλος, [illegible] also in Rev. Apoc., cp Ecclus. 6 5 37 7 *f.*, and 42 21 (where H [illegible]).

COURT (חָצֵר, αὐλή), 'an open enclosure' used commonly in EV with reference to the TEMPLE [*q.v.*] (Ex. 27 9 Ezek. 8 16 and often) also of the court of a house (2 S. 17 18), or palace (1 K. 7 8); see HOUSE, § 2. In the 'court of the guard' (RV, AV '[illegible] of the prison') [illegible] 32 [illegible], see JEREMIAH, 2.

[illegible] Is. 24 1 EV [illegible] RV [illegible], is used [illegible] (Gen. [illegible]). In MI [illegible] חצר (see Ex. 16 34 [illegible]; [illegible] K. 20 4 [illegible] AV [illegible] PV [illegible] as the Kt [illegible] for which the Qr. correctly presents דֶּגֶל 'court' (of the tabernacle; see AV, RV[illegible]). Finally, 'court' in Am. 7 13 AV is [illegible] in a different sense, with reference to the royal 'palace' (so RV).

A later designation of the temple court is עֲזָרָה, *'azārā* (2 Ch. 4 9, along with חָצֵר, and 6 13 †; αὐλή), a word of uncertain origin common in MH, not to be confused with the equally obscure עֲזָרָה, EV 'settle,' RV[m], better, 'ledge,' viz. of the altar (Ezek. 43 14-20 45 19 †).

In NT αὐλή is applied to the sheepfold (Jn. 10 1 16) and the temple enclosure (Rev. 11 2). Elsewhere (in the Gospels) RV regularly reads 'court' for AV 'palace' (e.g., Mt. 26 3 69; Mk. 14 54 66) or 'hall' (Mk. 15 16; Lk. 22 55), and nowhere recognises (with Meyer, etc.) the classical usage of αὐλή, to denote a house (or building).

The 'fore-court' (Mk. 14 68 RV[m]), προαύλιον, is the first of the two (or more) courts which the large buildings contained: see HOUSE, 1.

COUSIN (ἀνεψιός; Col. 4 10 RV, AV 'sister's son'), in classical Greek a 'first cousin' or 'cousin' generally; also 'nephew,' 'niece.' In Nu. 36 11 it renders בְּנֵי דוֹד: Tobit is called the ἀνεψιός of Raguel (Tob. 7 2, so 9 6, 𝔖).

In Lk. 1 36 the word (συγγενής, συγγενεία) is quite general. RV 1 58 'kinsfolk' also AV, 'kinswoman,' pl. 'kinsfolk.' In 1 Esd. 8 37 42 2 Macc. 11 21 (RV 'kinsman') it is a title given by a king to one whom he desired to honour.

COUTHA, RV CUTHA (ΚΟΥΘΑ [A], om. BL), a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) 1 Es. 5 31 (Ἀμουσαιοι); mentioned in Ezra 2 22 Neh. 7 34, whose name may possibly be connected with CUTHAH (2 K. 17 24).

COVENANT. The word בְּרִית (*bĕrīth*) probably occurred about 285 times in the original OT. It

1. Terms. constant rendering in ℭ is διαθήκη (συνθήκη, Dan. 11 6, ἐντολαί [B] or προστάγματα [A], 1 K. 11 11). Διαθήκη is used in a few instances for a kindred term. Yet it is safe to assume that in the original Hebrew texts of Ecclesiasticus, 1 Maccabees, Psalter of Solomon, Assumption of Moses, Jubilees, Judith, the Apocalypse of Ezra, and Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, בְּרִית was used at least several times where our versions give διαθήκη, συνθήκη, or an equivalent.

Aquila, Symmachus usually, Theodotion frequently [illegible] with συνθήκη. Both words are found in Wisdom, Sirach, [illegible] Maccabees. The NT writers, Philo, the Vulgate, [illegible] have always διαθήκη, and this is [illegible] in early Christian literature. The Targums translate [illegible]; the Peshitta of the OT gives ܩܝܡܐ, but in Mal. 2 5 (10) it translates διαθήκη, the method adopted [illegible] the NT. In [illegible] διαθήκη, or simply בְּרִית.

It is [illegible] that the Assyrio-Babylonian is the only cognate language in which the word has been found.

2. Early history of word bĕrīth. *Bĕrīth* means: (1) fetter; (2) alliance, covenant; (3) firmness, solidity. Fetters were placed upon the captive, the vanquished enemy, the representative of a conquered city or country, to hold him in the [illegible] power over him; in chains he received his sentence, or the decree touching his home and property (Sennacherib, ii. 71; 5 R. 2. 109 etc.). A fettered rival might be put under obligations and made an ally; enforced subordination might, by a metaphor, be designated 'enchainment.' This [illegible] extended to every alliance, even where [illegible] to denote a mere [illegible] the [illegible] Kadashman and [illegible] Kadashman-Enlil [illegible] the [illegible] material obligation cannot have been [illegible] the connection of ideas [illegible] royal word of judgment or assertion [illegible] when strengthened by an oath, which could not be broken. A 'fettered' [illegible]

[1] In Palm. בילשע

was one firmly built, a 'fettered' place, one surrounded by solid walls, 2 K 38, 15-17 (cp *birtu*; fortress, fortified town, from the same root, Shalm. ob. 34, and see Del. *Ass. HWB*, 185).

3. Primary meaning in Heb.

From the Amarna correspondence we know that some time before the Hebrew invasion a Babylonian dialect was written, and undoubtedly also to some extent spoken, in Palestine. The Israelites may therefore have become acquainted with this term through the Amorites. In the nomadic state, the priestly oracle by the casting of lots, the בְּרִית probably sufficed. Agricultural and city life called for increased civil authority. It is possible that בְּרִית in the sense of 'binding ordinance,' 'sentence,' was adopted to supply the need of a corresponding word to designate the judicial decision of a ruler.

In the E document narratives the denominative כָּרַת occurs with the signification 'to appoint' (1 S. 17 8). The noun was still used by the author of Ecclesiastes to denote the sentence pronounced by a judge (38 33). The fact that the denominative was attached to the word at all times was that of a binding decree is better accounted for by this Babylonian derivation than by recourse to the Arabic *barā* 'to sever.' It also yields a satisfactory explanation of the early appearance of בְּרִית in the sense of 'alliance,' and its occurrence with the signification of 'community,' 'nation.' On the other hand, the sometimes-observed ceremony of passing between the severed pieces of an animal in making a solemn pledge may have been an inheritance from the nomadic period. In the phrase כָּרַת בְּרִית, possibly testifying to its date, the verb throws no more light upon the noun than in the Greek ὅρκια τέμνειν; whilst the secondary meaning of כָּרַת, 'to decree' (cp the gloss to Hag. 2 5), bears witness to the primary and persistent significance of בְּרִית.

The classical distinction between διαθήκη (*diathēkē*, will) and συνθήκη (*synthēkē*, agreement) was not entirely lost in Hellenistic Greek.

συνθήκη is exclusively used of a political alliance in 1 and 2 Macc. Aquila's preference for συνθηκη cannot be explained by prejudice; its use by Symmachus was evidently dictated by considerations of style; even Theodotion's conservatism did not prevent him from abandoning at times the uniform rendering of the oldest Greek version. In view of this, the deliberate choice of διαθηκη by the Alexandrian translators can scarcely have been due to anything else than a consciousness of the fundamental meaning of בְּרִית. This likewise applies to the independent rendering of the word by קְיָם in the Targums.

(i.) *Civil.*—In civil life the Hebrews seem to have employed the word to denote sentence, decree, ordinance, statute, law, pledge, testament, alliance, covenant, community, nation.

4. Specialised significations.

A successful leader against the enemy was in early Israel designated a judge (שׁוֹפֵט), because the foe was regarded as a transgressor, the victory as a judgment, and the valorous chief as the natural arbiter in internal feuds (cp GOVERNMENT, § 17). Even the king was a judge as well as a warrior, 1 K. 3 16 *ff.* [J], 1 S. 8 20 [E]. When this unity of the judicial and administrative functions ceased, the old term designating the decision of a ruler remained in legal phraseology. A collection of judicial decisions (מִשְׁפָּטִים) was called a bērith-book, Ex. 24 7 [E], the sentence was termed a bērith (Eccles. 38 33). But it also continued to denote the victor's decree affecting the condition of a city that capitulates to him, Jabesh, 1 S. 11 1 [J]), a territory that is ceded to a victor, represented by Abner, 2 S. 3 12 *f.* 21 [J]), a rival kingdom that is forced to come to terms (e.g., Benhadad's, 1 K. 20 34 [E]), or a kingdom reduced to a state of dependence (*e.g.*, Zedekiah's, Ez. 17 13-19); and it was applied to the ordinance, statute, law, or constitution imposed by a king upon his own people, as David's (2 S. 5 3 [J]), Josiah's (2 K. 23 3), Zedekiah's (34 31 *ff.*), Antiochus's (Dan. 9 27 'he shall impose severe regulations on the many during one week'). Such a royal declaration was considered inviolable: a king would not go beyond his word in severity, nor fail to fulfil his promise. The Jabeshites regarded themselves as safe, if Nahash would solemnly declare his willingness to rule over them as his servants. Antiochus is severely censured (Is. 33 8) for himself violating the constitutional rights he had granted (1

Macc. 6 58, 2 Macc. 11 27 *ff.*). Thus the people formed themselves into a community. The captives pledged themselves to Ezra (Ezr. 10 3); in 2 K. 11 4 the princes of the guard (cp the 'princes of the land' in Ezekiel) and officers are made to swear to David (Ezr. 10 5 *ff.*, cp Neh. 10 29). Nigal's oath to Saul's relations (1 S. 20 7) shows how the wife of the husband's oath was binding upon him. Jephthah's oath (Jud. 11 30 *ff.*) was a vow, a promise to God, as well as a covenant. Social development, however, added another meaning to the idea of covenant, namely, to emphasize the obligations that arise from it. The testator's death bequeaths a solemn pledge even before witnesses (Heb. 16 *f.*, MLJ 240). In the same way the word could be used of the wife (Ezr. 2 14 בְּרִית אֲרוּסִים seems to be a phrase for 'the promise for God'; the same phrase is in the Hebrew attached to Jer. 16 8 'for the sake of thy promise' and possibly also in Ezekiel 25). A covenant was binding upon his children. Especially the last paternal decree, the testament, was inviolable. Whether it was a disposition of property or a pronouncement of blessings and curses, deemed effectual in antiquity, it was termed a bērith (Gal. 3 15, Heb. 9 16 *f.*, cp Ecclus. 44 20, passim), and had the nature of a promise.

(ii.) *International.*—Between nations equal in power a treaty contained or promised aids for a gift in return. To persons, to municipalities, to religious relations, pledges are exchanged. In this way political alliances may arise with mutual obligations. The best example of such a covenant is that between Solomon and Hiram (provided the Deuteronomistic note, 1 K. 5 26 [12], can be relied upon). Of this nature were probably also the agreements between Hezion and Abijah, Benhadad and Asa, and Baasha and Ben-hadad, and Baasha, Tebrah and Ibni, 1 K. 15 19 [J]). The treaty with Assyria (Hos. 12 [11]) was certainly intended as an alliance of this kind, though Hosea had reason to complain that out of such alliances there grew only new rights, *i.e.*, demands (10 14). Such a league with Rome was of the same character (1 Macc. 14 24, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7 1).

(iii.) *Tribal.*—Since the relations of tribes were thus frequently regulated by covenant, it is strange that such a basis should sometimes have been assumed without sufficient foundation. When the once peaceful Arabic neighbours began to push the Edomites out of Mount Seir, Obadiah looked upon this as a breach of covenant on the part of Edom (7). The simultaneous attack of several peoples on the Jewish commonwealth described in 1 Macc. 5 1 *ff.*, seemed to the author of Ps. 83 to be the result of an alliance against Yahweh and Israel. If Amos 1 9 is in its right place (see AMOS, § 9 *ad fin.*), Tyre is charged with forgetting the covenant of brothers' with some other city or people, probably Philistia; Kittim is the basis of the charge against Zeb. 11 14 *f.* probably does not bear a change in the policy of the Egyptian pharaohs as regards the Gentiles, rather than that Israel's relations with neighbouring states, as the consequence of internal feuds, exists. It is also natural that Israel should be held to have some latent justification for the aggressive conduct of its foes and demands. In the Negeb there were Edomites, Kenites, and Kenizzites, who had to be reckoned with. Israel's territory in Gilead was regarded as proof of an agreement between Edom and Jacob securing to the latter the rights of cattle on Mount Seir (Gen. 36 11 [P]). Certain remarkable facts in the history of the Gibeonites (see GIBEON) gave rise to the story told in Josh. 9 *ff.* 15 *ff.* [H] 9 11 [H]), a story which shows how undeserved such claims were, if the natives were considered in a larger sense. When [illegible]

1 1 Macc. 8 17, 2 Macc. 4 11 are scarcely historical.

phetic teaching had led to a recognition of the baneful influences upon the life of Israel of Canaanitish modes of thought and worship, the warning took the form of a prohibition of alliances projected into the period previous to the invasion (Dt. 7 2 Jud. 2 2 [Dt.] Ex. 23 32 [E] Ex. 34 12 15 [J]). Gen. 14 13, though found in a late Midrash, may reflect the memory of a long dominant Canaanitish majority in Hebron, since, with all the glorification of Abram, the three chiefs Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner are designated as בעלי הברית, 'holders of the pledge.' To legitimatise the Davidic dynasty, Jonathan was represented as having abdicated the throne in favour of David, while Saul was still alive, on condition of remaining next to the king in rank (1 S. 23 17 *f.* [E]). Such an action on his part was then accounted for by the story of a still earlier Yahwè-bĕrîth of friendship (1 S. 18 3 [E_2]), referred to again in 1 S. 20 8 16 [R]. The friendship itself is sufficient to explain David's kindness to Jonathan's family; but the passage testifies to the custom of pledging friendship by an oath and a solemn ceremony.

(v.) *Bĕrîth* = '*nation*.'—In Dan. 11 22 נגיד ברית is the title given to Onias III. This probably means prince or ruler of the nation. The ברית קדש, Dan. 1 28 30, is the holy nation against which Antiochus Epiphanes directed his attention and his fury; and עזבי ברית קדש are the apostates who abandoned the holy nation and lived like the Gentiles (cp 1 Macc. 1 15, also Judith 9 13 1 Macc. 1 63). These renegades are called מרשיעי ברית, Dan. 11 32; 'those that bring condemnation upon the nation,' are responsible for its misfortunes. This significance should probably also be given to the word in Ps. 74 20 (Hitz., Che.). The מלאך ברית, Mal. 3 1, may be the angelic representative of the nation. At a somewhat earlier period in some inserted passages in H. Is. (see ISAIAH, ii. § 16, Che. *SBOT*) ברית seems already to occur in this sense. The context indicates that ברית עם, Is. 42 6 49 8, is meant to designate Israel as an independent organised community (lit. 'a commonwealth of a people').[1] Until Israel had regained its status of independence it could not rebuild the ruined cities, or restore the land to its former glory. This meaning may possibly be traced still further back; BAAL-BERITH (*q.v.*), as the Elohist designates the god of Shechem, may mean 'god of the community.' The word used of the city-kingdom of Shechem in the seventh century (cp Ass. *birtu*, בירה, fortified town) may well have been applied to the ardently desired kingdom of Zion at the end of the sixth.

(vi.) *Metaphorical.*—Metaphorically ברית is used in Job 31 1 of the law that Job has imposed upon his eyes that they shall not look upon a virgin; in 40 28 [41 4] of the pledge which Leviathan is not likely to give, that he will allow himself to be captured and become a slave; and in 5 23 of Job's agreement with the stones of the field that they shall not prevent the cultivation of his land.

5. Religious sanction.

No important transaction was done in antiquity without religious sanction. The oath and the curse were extensively used in judicial proceedings, legislative enactments, and political treaties. Before passing sentence, the judge pronounced a curse or adjuration to arouse the conscience and elicit a confession (1 K. 8 31 [D] Nu. 5 21 [P] Lev. 5 1 [P] Prov. 29 24 Mt. 26 63). A pledge or promise was made more binding by a curse (אלה, Ez. 17 16 Deut. 29 11 [12] 20 [21]). To set forth symbolically this curse, animals were cut into pieces, and the person giving the pledge passed between the severed parts, signifying his readiness to be thus destroyed himself, if he should fail to keep his promise. It is to be observed that in the only passages where this ceremony is referred to (Gen. 15 and Jer. 34 18 *f.*), there is no question of an alliance, and only one party passed between the pieces (cp Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeris belli Trojani*, i. 15). Whether this custom was observed also in the conclusion of treaties, as was the case in Babylonia, if Ephrem was correctly informed (*Comment.* to Gen. 15), is uncertain, and there seems to be no justification for connecting this rite in particular with an agreement between two parties, or for supposing ברית to have been the name of a ceremony of which it was an essential part. In most instances no doubt the oath sufficed. Sometimes the right hand was given in addition (Ez. 17 18, 2 Macc. 13 22), or a handshake took the place of the oath (Ezra 10 19 Prov. 6 1 17 18 22 26). It is possible that during the oath salt was sometimes thrown into the fire to intensify by the crackling sound the terror-inspiring character of the act, originally to render more audible the voice of the deity in the fire, hence the salt-bĕrîth (Lev. 2 13 [P] Nu. 18 19 [P] 2 Ch. 13 5). As vows were taken and agreements made at some shrine, the numen dwelling in the sacred stone or structure was the chief witness (Gen. 31 48 [J] 50 [E] Josh. 24 27 [E] 2 K. 11 4 23 3), and a sacrificial meal preceded or followed the act (Gen. 26 30 [J] 31 46 [J] Ex. 24 11 [J] 2 S. 3 20 [J]). The sprinkling of sacrificial blood upon the worshipper, a survival of the custom of sharing it with the deity, appears to have disappeared early from the cult. But it may have continued longest in the case of persons taking a solemn pledge, as is suggested by its use in the installation of priests (Ex. 29 20 [P] Lev. 8 23 [P]). This would account for the term bĕrîth-blood (Ex. 24 8 [E]). Where an alliance was desired presents were offered by the party taking the initiative (Gen. 21 27 [E]; probably the sacrificial animals; Hos. 12 2 [1] *b*).

6. Divine 'bĕrîth.'

Since a decree, pledge, or compact was thus, as a rule, ratified by some sacred rite at a sanctuary, the word ברית readily assumed a religious significance, and was applied to a solemn declaration of the deity.

(i.) *In J, E, and early Prophets.*—In the earliest Judæan narrative Yahwè gives to Abram a promise that his descendants shall possess Palestine and symbolically invokes upon himself a curse, if he shall fail to keep it (Gen. 15 18 [J]; cp Gen. 24 7 [J]). When Moses is reluctant to leave the mountain-home of his god and pleads for an assurance that Yahwè shall go with him, a solemn promise is given him (Ex. 34 10 *a* [J]; add, with Ⓖ(Lucian), אתי). The original context can scarcely have been anything else than a declaration that Yahwè will accompany his servant, probably in 'the messenger,' the מלאך יהוה. This promise was no doubt also referred to by the Elohist, though the importance of the ark in his narrative (cp Nu. 10 33 *f.* [E]) renders it probable that Yahwè's presence was here connected with this palladium. After the subjugation of the Canaanites by the first kings of Israel the question arose as to the justice of this deed. Israel's right to the land was then established by the fiction of a promise given to the mythical ancestor. A religious problem of grave importance was how Yahwè, whose home was on Sinai, or Horeb, could manifest himself at the Palestinian sanctuaries. The solution was that he had pledged himself to go with Moses in 'the messenger.' The story of Elijah's visit to Horeb was probably written early in the eighth century. ברית occurs in the sense of commandment (1 K. 19 [illegible]). This is also the meaning of the term in Dt. 33 [illegible] (Blessing of Moses), as the parallel אמרתך shows, and Josh. 7 11 [E]. Hosea uses the word to denote an injunction of Yahwè upon the beasts of the field not to harm Israel (2 20 [18]), and a commandment of Yahwè in general (8 1; possibly also 6 7). It is noticeable that this prophet, who through a sad domestic experience learned to apply the figure of a marriage to Yahwè's relation to Israel, never employs bĕrîth in the sense [illegible] ברית בעל is probably [illegible] the law of the husband, and the idea of a covenant w[illegible]

[1] Cp פֶּרֶא אָדָם 'a wild ass of a man,' *i.e.*, a wild man, Gen. 16 12. So in the main Duhm, though his conception of ברית is different. Dr. Kraetzschmar (*Die Bundesvorstellung*, [illegible]) and Kosters explain 'a covenant with the people'—*i.e.*, one in or through whom my covenant with the people is realised.

Yahwè had not yet been formed. The covenant with death, the compact with Shĕōl (Is. 28 15 18), appears to be an alliance with the powers of the nether world, implying mutual stipulations. Men who preached the destruction of Israel and Yahwe's independence of the people, would not be likely to characterize the existing relation by a term current in necromancy.

(ii.) *Deuteronomist.*—Even the transformation of the Yahwistic and Elohistic narratives of the Horeb-bĕrîth, in the reign of Manasseh, by which the promise given to Moses became a solemnly imposed law (the Decalogue of J, Ex. 34 15-26, and that of E, Ex. 20 1-17), and the judicial decisions of the bĕrîth book, Ex. 20 22-23 33, became divine injunctions, does not contemplate an alliance. In the law promulgated by Josiah in 621 (not likely to be found outside of Dt. 12-26; but see DEUTERONOMY, § 5 *f.*) the word does not occur. But this law was designated at the outset as a bĕrîth-book (2 K. 23 2 21). It seems to have been intended to take the place of Ex. 20 23 *ff.* The promise to Abraham is strongly emphasised by the Deuteronomistic writers and enlarged to one given to Isaac and Jacob as well (Dt. 4 31 7 12 8 18 2 K. 13 23 [Dt.]; cp also Dt. 1 8 35 6 10 18 23 7 8 8 1 etc.). At a time when Judah was in imminent danger of losing its heritage, faith took refuge in this divine assurance, manifesting Yahwe's love, and justified by the obedience of the patriarchs (Dt. 4 31 10 15 Gen. 26 4 *ff.* [Dt.]). One writer of this school declares that Yahwè announced on Horeb his bĕrîth consisting of the ten words (Dt. 4 13 5 2 *ff.*), and that this bĕrîth was written on tablets of stone (9 9) and placed in the ark (see ARK, § 1 *f.*, 3, 9). Another author made the Josianic code the basis of a covenant concluded in the fields of Moab (Dt. 29 9 12 14 21 [8 11 etc.] 26 17-19; cp the later gloss 29 1 [28 69]). Here the idea of a compact between Yahwè and Israel involving mutual rights and obligations is fully developed. Yahwè pledges himself to make Israel his own people, distinct from, honoured above all others; Israel declares that it will make Yahwè its god and obey his commandments. This conception was subsequently transferred also to the Horeb-bĕrîth; cp Judg. 2 1 *ff.* [Dt.].

(iii.) *Jeremiah and Ezekiel.*—Jeremiah does not seem to have participated in this development. He used bĕrîth only to designate Josiah's law, which he regarded as having been given through Moses at the time when Yahwè brought Israel out of Egypt (11 2 *f.* 6 8 10 34 13). It is evident from the context that הפר ברית (11 10) indicates not the disannulment of a covenant, but the breaking of a law by disobedience, the law still remaining in force. Ezekiel, on the other hand, not only employs ברית in the sense of 'law' (20 37: 'the fetter of the law,' 4 17), but also applies it for the first time to the conjugal relation of Yahwè and Israel (16 8 59 60). Marriage is here based on mutual pledges: it is a covenant. According to Ezekiel's view of history, Yahwe had entered into such an alliance with Israel in Egypt, but the people had by a long career of unfaithfulness forced its dissolution (16 59). Yet he hopes that in the future Yahwè will renew his intimate relations with Israel. There will be no covenant, however (for Israel's pledge cannot be trusted; 16 61), but a gracious dispensation of Yahwè (16 62), everlasting (37 26), and full of prosperity (34 25), ushered in by the restoration of the Davidic rule and the temple-service (37 25 26).

(iv.) *Early Zionists.*—How ardently the next generation expected that the fallen tent of David would be raised up again, may be seen in the appendix to Amos (9 11 *ff.*) and in the more pregnant form given to the promise 2 S. 7 16 [E₂] in 2 S. 23 5 (ברית עולם). Such hopes may have been awakened by the honour shown to Jehoiachin by Amil Marduk in 561, and may have attached themselves to his son SHESHBAZZAR (*q.v.*). They were naturally encouraged by the sympathetic tone of Deutero-Isaiah's message (Is. 40-48), even though this writer himself knows no other Messiah than Cyrus. With the

freer intercourse between the holy city and the Jews of the dispersion, possible after the Persian conquest (cp Zech. 6 10), and the appointment of Sheshbazzar, and after him of Zerubbabel, as governor, the Second Isaiah's evangel was brought to Palestine and changed the comfortless lamentations of the native population (Lam. 3) into songs of redemptive suffering (Is. 42 1-4 49 1-6 50 4-9 52 13-53 12), or of future restoration (the Zion songs in Is. 49-55). It was felt that by the accession of a king of the old dynasty, a living witness would appear of Yahwe's faithfulness to David (Is. 55 4 *a*), a restorer of the territory once possessed (Is. 55 4 *b* Mic. 4 8 13 5 1), a variety of the promised dispensation of everlasting peace (Is. 54 10 55 3), and that Zion would thus become again an organised community (ברית עם), able to build up what had fallen into ruins, to attract the exiles to their spiritual home, and to teach the nations the manner in which Yahwe should be worshipped (Is. 42 6 49 8).

(v.) *Haggai, Zechariah, etc.*—The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah bear witness to the strength of the royalist sentiment at Jerusalem. The hopes of the Jews proved illusory; but in the midst of disappointment the belief in Yahwe's promises lived on. 'Malachi' felt assured that Yahwe would return, and accounted for his delay by the sins of the degenerate priestly descendants of the faithful and reverent Levi, to whom Yahwe's promise (ברית) of life and prosperity was given (2 1-9), and of those who, fascinated by foreign women, had forgotten the pledge (ברית) given to the wives of their youth (2 14). The author or authors of Is. 56 66 also deplored the marriages with aliens and the survival of forbidden forms of worship, but saw the remedy in the law: the keeping of Yahwè's commandments (ברית) would render the very eunuch fit for membership in Israel (56 4); the distinction of Israel lay in that gracious arrangement (ברית) by which Yahwè's law, proclaimed by men of the spirit and repeated by a mindful people, would be its perpetual possession (59 21), a divine dispensation involving prosperity as a reward of obedience (61 8). The author of Jer. 30 *f.*, however, rises to a far greater height. He looks forward to a new regime based solely on Yahwè's love, which will take the place of the old and less permanent relation (Jer. 31 31 *ff.*). This work may perhaps be assigned to the time of the Græco-Persian war, when the writer confidently looked for extraordinary proofs of Yahwè's pardoning grace (see JEREMIAH, ii. §§ 7 [iii.] 8 [ii.]).

(vi.) *P.*—The conception of the bĕrîth as a gracious act on the part of God, by which he binds himself to a certain course of action in reference to Israel and the world, implying the bestowal of blessings and the revelation of his will, becomes dominant in the Priestly Code. The bĕrîth or engagement is here carried back to Abraham and Noah. Beside the Noah-bĕrîth (Gen. 9 1-17) there is no room for an Adam-bĕrîth; beside the Abrahamic (Gen. 17; cp Ex. 2 24 6 4), no need of a Sinaitic. The Noah-bĕrîth secures the stability of earth's conditions and of man's life, and the accompanying law of blood is but a beneficent provision for the preservation of the race; the Abrahamic guarantees to Israel the land of Palestine and a large population, and the command of circumcision implies only a distinction conferred upon this people from which all further favours flow. The sign in the sky and the sign in the body are constant reminders to the deity of these merciful engagements. By the use of נתן ב and הקים ב ('establish,' occasionally 'maintain') instead of כרת ב the nature of the bĕrîth as a gift, a divine institution, is emphasised. Though the word has thus become a religious *terminus technicus* in this code, it still occurs with the sense simply of commandment, Ex. 31 16 (the law of the sabbath), Lev. 2 13 (the ordinance of the shew-bread), Lev. 2 4 (the injunction concerning salt), or of promise, Nu. 25 12 *f.* (the assurance to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood in his line).

(vii.) *Later writers.*—The author of Jer. 50 *f.* (see JEREMIAH, ii. §§ 7, 8 [iii.]) refers to the Abrahamic dispensation in the spirit of the Priestly Writer (see that vividly expressed passage on the return of the men of Israel and Judah, Jer. 50 4); [1] and Jer. 14 21 reflects the same conception. Ps. 89 29 105 8 10 106 45 111 5 also show the influence of this idea.

On the other hand, in Ps. 25 10 14 132 12, ברית is only a synonym of עדות, and in 44 18 50 16 78 10 of תורה. In Ps. 50 5, כרתי ברית עלי זבח, 'those who pledge their troth to me by sacrifice,' are graciously told that Yahwé will not demand excessive offerings,[2] and in 78 10 the men of the Mosaic period are charged with not being faithful to the pledge given to Yahwé. Besides the Abrahamic dispensation (1 Ch. 16 15 2 Ch. 6 14 Neh. 1 5 9 32 32), the Chronicler particularly emphasises the engagement made with David (2 Ch. 13 5 21 7), but also uses berith of a pledge in general (2 Ch. 29 10 34 32 Neh. 13 29). The Prayer of Jeremiah (Jer. 32 16-44) is quite after the fashion of the Chronicler; in 32 40 the author has in mind 31 31, but interprets the bērith vaguely as a promise that Yahwe will not cease to show mercy to Israel.

The author of Ecclesiasticus (*circa* 200) introduces for the first time an Adam-bērith as an everlasting dispensation (17 12), is led by his biographical interest to mention severally the divine promises to Noah (44 18), Abraham (*v.* 19 *f.*), Isaac (*v.* 22), Jacob (*v.* 23), Aaron (45 7 15), Phinehas (*v.* 23 *f.*), and David (*v.* 25 47 11), and employs the term in the sense of law (24 23 45 5), and of covenant (44 12, based on Is. 28 15, but שאול understood figuratively; cp Wisd. 1 16). The thought of Ecclus. 45 15 (ἐν ἡμέραις οὐρανοῦ, בימי שמים) 25, is further developed in Jer. 33 14-26 (wanting in 𝔊[BNA], but translated by Theodot.; see JEREMIAH, § 11); the divine arrangements as respects the house of Levi and the house of David are as inviolable as the divine arrangements in nature, the laws of day and night, of heaven and earth. Deutero-Zechariah (Zech. 9-14—after 198 B.C.; see ZECHARIAH, ii. § 5) promises deliverance to the Jews of the dispersion on the ground of the faithful observance of the sacrificial cult at the sanctuary by which Israel continually pledges its troth to Yahwe (בדם בריתך, 'because of thy pledge-blood'; 9 11; cp Ps. 50 5). Dan. 9 4 (164 B.C.) refers to God's merciful promise to bless his people. The ברית עולם, Is. 24 5 (*c.* 128 B.C.[3]) is most naturally understood in the light of Ecclus. 17 12, where the Adam-bērith also involves the revelation of God's laws and judgments. In 1 Macc. 2 50 ברית אבותיכם may be a designation of the holy nation, the theocracy, whilst 4 10 probably refers to the promise to the patriarchs, as 2 54 does to that to Phinehas. In Ps. Sol. 10 5, the law appears as a testimony of the eternal dispensation established with the Fathers (9 10). The author of *Jubilees* quotes (6 16) from Gen. 9 12 *f.* and (15 19) from Gen. 17 7, but in his independent use of the term shows no trace of the conception prevailing in the Priestly Code. He introduces the Noah-bērith as a pledge given by the patriarch (the original seems to have read "וכרת ברית עולם רבי, 6 1), which is renewed by the people every year through observance of the feast of weeks (6 17), and the Sinai-berith as a pledge which Moses takes from the people (6 11); he employs the word as a synonym of 'law,' 'statute' (1 10 15 34 24 11 30 21), and possibly uses it also in the sense of 'theocracy' (6 35), where the feasts of the Jewish community are contrasted with those of the Gentiles. 'Arbiter testamenti illius' (τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτης). *Assumption of Moses* [Charles] 1 14, seems to be a translation of מיכיח בריתו (cp Job 9 33), and represents Moses, not as a third party effecting an agreement between God and his people, but as the preacher proclaiming his law (cp Amos 5 10 Prov. 25 12 etc.). This is to be inferred already from the suffix—it is God's bērith—and it is distinctly stated in 3 11 'the commandments in respect of which he was to us a mediator'—*i.e.*, which he was the means of revealing to us (cp 2 7). The Abraham-bērith is mentioned in 1 3 10 4 12 *f.* Enoch 60 6 is a fragment of a lost Apocalypse of Noah; it presents the Noah-bērith as the all-sufficient blessing of the elect.

(ii.) *Gospels.*—Lk. 1 72, which refers to God's promise to Abraham, would seem to have belonged originally to a Jewish Apocalypse of Zechariah current among the Baptist's disciples. Jesus himself does not seem to have used the term in any sense. The thought of a new dispensation, so attractive to his disciples, may not have been foreign to his own mind. If it is not found even where it might most naturally be expected, as in Mt. 21 43, the reason may be that his favourite expression, the kingdom of God, was intended to convey a similar idea. His words at the paschal table have evidently undergone successive modifications and expansions; and it is difficult not to trace Pauline influences. At any rate the declaration, 'This is the new διαθηκη in my blood' (1 Cor. 11 25 Lk. 22 20), seems to be an expansion of the earlier, 'This is my blood of the διαθήκη' (Mt. 26 28, Mk. 14 24). It is not inconceivable that Jesus actually said דדין דם קיסי, meaning thereby 'This is the blood in which I pledge my loyalty' (cp Ps. 50 5 Zech. 9 11). But the Greek translation suggests an Aram. דדין דמי קיסא, in which the last word is likely to be an explanatory addition by a later hand, the original utterance being simply 'This (is) my blood.'

(iii.) *Paul.*—In Gal 3 15 *ff.* Paul compares God's assurance to Abraham with a man's testament (διαθήκη), which cannot lose its validity by any arrangement subsequent to his death, and in addition seeks a proof of the inferiority of the law in the fact that it was given not directly by God himself, but through angels and a human agent (μεσίτης, used as in *Assump. Mos.* 1 14 3 12). In 4 24 he contrasts the present Jewish commonwealth (ἡ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ), deriving its existence as a theocracy (διαθήκη) from the legislation on Sinai with the heavenly society (ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ) from which by spirit-birth the new theocracy derives its life (cp Heb. 12 22). The new form of government (διαθήκη), according to Paul, was possible only through the death of Jesus abolishing the authority of the Law (hence the change to ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι, 'through my blood,' 1 Cor. 11 25), and, as opposed to the maintenance of social order by enforced obedience to external statutes, consisted in a free, love-prompted surrender of life to the divine spirit's guidance (2 Cor. 3 6). The idea of a special arrangement (διαθήκη), still in the future, by which all Israel is to be saved (Rom. 11 26 *f.*), does not introduce a foreign element into Paul's conception of the spiritual theocracy (for it implies only deliverance from sin), but is a concession to particularism, out of harmony with his general attitude, and due to his patriotic feelings (Rom. 9 *ff.*). Paul also uses the word as a designation of the OT (2 Cor. 3 14).

(iv.) *Other writers.*—In the epistle to the Hebrews the Abrahamic dispensation yields to that of Melchizedek. Abraham is introduced only as an example of patient reliance upon God's promises (6 15), and as a representative of a priestly order inferior to that of Melchizedek (7 4 *ff.*); Jer. 31 31 *ff.* is recognised as a description of the often promised new constitution (διαθ. 8 8 *ff.* 10 16); but it is argued that, as a man's testament (διαθήκη) is not valid until after his death (9 16 *f.*), and as consequently the Mosaic constitution possessed no validity until a death had taken place (that of the sacrificial animal), so the better Christian dispensation could not be ushered in except by the death of Jesus (9 15 *ff.*); this departure of Jesus is, therefore, regarded as necessary in order that he might be

[1] Read with Co., ונלוה and insert כי before ברית. Come let us join ourselves (anew) to Yahwè, for a lasting *bērith* cannot be forgotten.'

[2] Cheyne, however, takes Ps. 50 to have been written as an expression of non-sacrificial religion.

[3] Following Duhm. But cp ISAIAH, ii., § 13.

priest—as he could not be on earth (7 11 f.)—in the celestial temple (8 20 9 11), and as such bear the responsibility for the new arrangement (ἔγγυος 7 22), and on God's behalf make it operative (μεσίτης 8 6 9 15 12 24) by sprinkling the blood on men's consciences, thus pledging and devoting them to the new priestly service (10 19, cp Ex. 29 20 [P] Lev. 8 23 [P]). The 'ark of the law' (διαθήκη) is mentioned in Heb. 9 4 (cp Rev. 11 19). In Eph. 2 12 the one great promise is considered as renewed by a series of solemn assurances (αἱ διαθῆκαι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας). Peter's contemporaries are represented in Acts 3 25 as 'sons'—i e., heirs, who might enter into possession of the promise (διαθήκη) to Abraham, whilst in 7 8 the word διαθήκη is used to designate the ordinance of circumcision.[1]

The most recent inquiry into the historical meaning of *berith* is Kraetzschmar's *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament* (96). See also Valeton, *ZATW* 12 1-22 224-260 13 245-279 [92 f.]; Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Israeliten u. Juden zu d. Fremden*, 46, 87 f. 176, 214 [96]; WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2], 269 ff. 312 ff. 470 ff., *Kin.* 46 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, 'Covenant' in the *Expositor*, Nov. '98, pp. 321-336. N. S.

COVERLET (מִכְבָּר), 2 K. 8 15† RV. See BED, § 3

COVERS (קִיׇּלוֹת), Ex. 37 16, etc.; see CUP, 6.

COW (פָּרָה), Is. 11 7. See CATTLE, § 2.

COZ, RV strangely HAKKOZ (קוֹץ; κωε [B^vid^vA], θεκωε [θε superscr.] [B^vid.], κωc [L]) of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 8). The name is probably not connected with Hakkoz. As it occurs nowhere else, perhaps we should read TEKOA (תְּקוֹעַ, θεκωε; cp 𝔊^L^A). See HAKKOZ, TEKOA.

COZBI (כָּזְבִּי), 'deceitful,' § 79; cp Ass. *kuzbu*, 'lasciviousness,' Haupt, *SBOT* on Gen. 38 5; daughter of Zur (Nu 25 15 18), a Midianite, who was slain by Phinehas at Shittim (Nu. 25 6-18, P; χαcβ ε[ι] [BAFL], χοcβια [Jos. *Ant.* iv. 6 10 12]).

COZEBA, AV CHOZEBA (כֹּזְבָה), 1 Ch. 4 22†. See ACHZIB, 1.

CRACKNELS (נִקֻּדִּים), 1 K. 14 3. See BAKEMEATS, § 2.

CRAFTSMEN, VALLEY OF (גֵּי חֲרָשִׁים), Neh. 11 35 EV See CHARASHIM.

CRANE (עָגוּר; cτρουθια [BNAQ]), Is. 38 14 Jer. 8 7† RV. AV by an error [see below] 'swallow.' In Is. 38 14 there is no 'or' between the first two names in MT, and 𝔊^N^A^Q omits *'agur* altogether, rendering the other word (סוּס) correctly χελιδών (see SWALLOW, 2); in the second passage where in MT the same two words occur (Jer. 8 7) the connective particle is again omitted, this time by 𝔊. Hence it has been suggested that in neither place should both words occur (Klostermann, Duhm, etc., omit עגור in Is.); this receives some countenance from the fact that the MT order of the words is reversed in Targ. and Pesh. in Jer. 8 7. The transposition misled most Jewish authorities as to the real meaning of the two words respectively, and our translators followed them. That סוס (or rather סיס: see SWALLOW, 2) means 'swallow' or 'swift' there can be no doubt, and so the words 'crane' and 'swallow' should at least change places (as in RV).

What *'agur* means is somewhat uncertain:[2] probably *Grus communis* or *cinerea*, which is the crane of Palestine. Once it bred in England. The passage in Isaiah refers to it 'chattering';[3] and its powers of giving utterance to loud and trumpet-like sounds both when in flight and when at rest are well known.

Cranes are migratory birds, spending the summer in N. latitudes and the winter as a rule in Central Africa and S. Asia; but some pass the cold season in the plains of S. Judæa. While travelling they fly in great flocks, and at times come to rest on the borders of some stream or lake. They appear to have fixed roosting places, to which they return at night in large numbers. Jeremiah notices the regularity of their seasonal migrations.

N. M.—A. E. S.

CRATES (κρατης [A] -ησας [V]), the name of a former viceroy 'in Cyprus' (ἐπὶ τῶν Κυπρίων), who was left in charge of the citadel (of Jerusalem) by SOSTRATUS in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes: 2 Macc 4 29.

CREATION. 1. *Accounts of Creation.*—It may be regarded as an axiom of modern study that the descriptions of creation contained in the biblical records, and especially in Gen 1 1-2 4a,[2] are permanently valuable only in so far as they express certain religious truths which are still recognised as such (see below, § 25). To seek for even a kernel of historical fact in such cosmogonies is inconsistent with a scientific point of view. We can no longer state the critical problem thus: How can the biblical cosmogony be reconciled with the results of natural science? The question to be answered is rather this: From what source have the cosmogonic ideas expressed in the OT been derived? Are they ideas which belonged to the Hebrews from the first, or were they borrowed by the Hebrews from another people?

1. Critical standpoint.

This question has passed into a new phase since the most complete form of the Creation-story of the Babylonians has become known to us in its cuneiform original. True, the story given in the tablets lies before us in a very fragmentary condition. The exact number of tablets is uncertain. Considerable *lacunæ*, however, have been recently filled up by the discovery of missing passages, and there is good hope that further excavations will one day enable us to complete the entire record. At any rate we are now able to arrange all the extant fragments in their right order (which was not the case a few years ago—and so to recover at least the main features of the connection of the cuneiform narrative. Only a brief sketch of the contents can be given here.[3]

2. Babylonian epic.

The 'Creation-epic' begins by telling us that in the beginning, before heaven and earth were made, there was only the primæval ocean-flood. This is personified as a male and a female being (Apsû and Tiâmat):

Long since, when above the heaven had not been named,
when the earth beneath (still) bore no name,
when Apsû the primæval,—the generator of them,
the originator (?) Tiâmat,[4] who brought them both forth
their waters in one together mingled,
when fields were (still) unformed, reeds (still) nowhere seen—

[1] On the meaning of διαθήκη, see Hatch, *Essays on Biblical Greek*, p. 17.

[2] Lagarde suggested that it means 'bird of passage' (عجر = عكر 'to turn back, return,' *Übers.* 5).

[3] 'The Heb. (צִצְצֵל) properly signifies a shrill penetrating sound, and is therefore more applicable to the cry of the swift than to the deep, trumpet-like blast of the crane.' See the rest of Che.'s note in *Proph. Is., ad loc.*

[1] On *conceptions* of creation, see below, §§ 25-29; on words, see § 30.

[2] It may be observed here that Gen. 2 4a was, originally, the superscription, not the subscription. Schr., in his reproduction of the two narratives of the primitive story, rightly restores it as the heading (*Studien zur Kritik der Urgesch.*, 1863, p. 17). In that case the priestly narrator can hardly have continued with Gen. 1 1, but we agree therefore with Di. (*Genesis*, 17, 20). 'This is the history of heaven and earth when Elohim created them' (בהבראם אותם). Then continue, 'Now the earth, etc. (1 2). 'Then God said, Let light be; and light was.' See Kautzsch's translation (Kau., 2 20).

[3] Cp. Del. *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos* (02); Jensen, *Kosmol.* 280-330; Zimmern, in Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 365 f. (14.-c.), and Bail, *Urgeschichte des Alten Test.* 1-21 (c.). The metrical divisions are well marked. The epic is mainly composed in four-line stanzas, and in each line there is a pause.

[4] [Ass. *Mummu Tiâmat*. In line 17 of this first tablet we meet (most probably) with a god called Mummu. The name corresponds to the Μωυμις of Damascius (see below, § 15, end), and is rendered by Frd. Del. in *L.* 4, 'the Creator.' This is by no means certainly right; for the grounds see Del. 110. Pinches renders, 'Lady Tiâmat (*Exp. Times*, 5 [98]). But Jensen warns us that there is an other *mummu*. At any rate, the supposed connection with מום must be abandoned.]

long since, when of the gods [not one had arisen,
when no name had been named, [no lot [been determined],
then were made the gods. [. .].

Thus the world of gods came into being. Its harmony, however, was not long maintained. Tiamat, the mother of the gods, was discontented with things as they were, and from hatred (it would seem) to the newly produced Light, rebelled against the supreme gods, and drew some of the gods to her side. She also for her own behoof produced monstrous beings to help her in her fight. This falling away of Tiamat called for divine vengeance. To reply to the call, however, required a courage which none of the upper gods possessed, till at last Marduk (Merodach) offered himself on condition that, after he had conquered Tiamat, the regal sway over heaven and earth should be his. In a solemn divine assembly this was assured to him. He then equipped himself for the fight, and rode on the war-chariot to meet Tiamat and her crew. The victory fell to Marduk, who slew Tiāmat, and threw her abettors into chains.

This is followed by the account of the creation of the world by Marduk. The process is imagined thus. Marduk cuts in two the carcase of Tiamat[1] (the personified ocean-flood), and out of the one part produces heaven, out of the other earth.[2]

He smote her as a . . . . [into two parts;
one half he took, [he made it heaven's arch,
pushed bars before it, [stationed watchmen,
not to let out its waters he gave them as a charge.

Thus the upper waters of Tiāmat, held back by bars, form heaven, just as in Gen. I the first step to the creation of heaven and earth consists in the separation of the upper from the lower waters by the firmament. Then follows a detailed description of the making of the heavenly bodies ('stations for the great gods').

After this most unfortunately comes a great *lacuna*. We can venture, however, to state so much as this—that the missing passage must have related the creation of the dry land, of plants, of animals, and of men. In support of this we can appeal (1) to separate small fragments, (2) to the account of Bērossus, (3) to the recapitulation of the separate creative acts of Marduk in a hymn to that god at the close of the epic, and (4) to the description of the creative activity of Marduk in a second cuneiform recension of the Creation-story lately discovered (on the various Babylonian Creation-stories, see also below, § 13 *ff.*).

3. Relation to Gen. 1 1-2 4a.

What then is the relation between this Babylonian and the chief biblical cosmogony? We have no right to assume without investigation that the Hebrew myth of Creation appears in its original form in Gen. 1 1-2 4a. The present writer is entirely at one with Hermann Gunkel, whose work entitled *Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*[3] ('95) contains the fullest collection of the relevant evidence, that this myth has passed through a long development within the domain of Hebraism prior to the composition of Gen. 1 1-2 4a. Only with a clear perception of this does critical method allow us to compare the latter document directly with the Babylonian Creation-epic. Then, however, our surprise is all the greater that in spite of the preceding development there is still in the main points, a far-reaching coincidence between the myths. For instance, both stories place water and darkness alone at the beginning of things, and personify the primaeval flood by the same name (Tiāmat = Tēhom). In both the appearance of light forms the beginning of the new order. Whether the production of light in

[1] Jensen denies that Tiāmat is anywhere in the Creation-epic represented as a dragon; she is always, he thinks, a woman. It is, however, not probable that the popular view of Tiāmat as a serpent had no effect on the poet of the Creation-epic. See DRAGON, § 4 *ff.*

[2] [Possibly the head of Tiāmat is referred to at a later point of the story by Bērossus. See below, § 15.]

[3] The sub-title of this work, which will be referred to again, is 'Die religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. i. und *Ap. Joh. xii.* Mit Beitragen von Heinrich Zimmern.'

the Babylonian account was specified as a separate creative act or not (a point on which complete certainty cannot as yet be obtained), Marduk is at any rate the god of light κατ' ἐξοχήν, and, consequently, his battle with Tiamat is essentially a battle between light and darkness. In both accounts the creation of heaven is effected through the divine creator's division of the waters of the primaeval flood, so that the upper waters form the heaven. In the Babylonian epic this division of the waters of the flood is in the closest relation to the battle with Tiamat, nor can we doubt that a parallel description once existed in the Hebrew myth of creation, though it is but faintly echoed in Gen. 1 6 *f.* The list of the several creative acts runs thus in the two accounts:—

BABYLONIAN.	GEN. I, IN PRESENT ORDER.[1]
1. Heaven.	1. Heaven.
2. Heavenly bodies.	2. Earth.
3. Earth.	3. Plants.
4. Plants.	4. Heavenly bodies.
5. Animals	5. Animals.
6. Men.	6. Men.

There is much, however, to be said for the view that the present position of the heavenly bodies after the plants is secondary,[2] and that originally the creation of the heavenly bodies was related directly after that of heaven; the order will then be the same in both accounts. Further coincidences can be traced in points of detail; *e.g.*, the stress laid, in both accounts of the creation of the heavenly bodies, on their being destined to serve for the division of time (see also below, § 6). Can we doubt that, between accounts which have so many coincidences, there is a real historical connection?

4. Distinctively Babylonian background.

We must now inquire how this connection is to be represented. There are two ways which are historically conceivable. Either the Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts are independent developments of a primitive Semitic myth, or the Hebrew is borrowed directly or indirectly from the Babylonian. Dillmann proposes the former view in connection with a remark that the Hebrew story cannot have been simply borrowed from the Babylonians on account of the patent differences between the two narratives. 'There is no doubt a common basis; but this basis comes from very early times, and its data have been developed and turned to account in different ways by the Israelites and the Babylonians.'[3] In reply we may concede to Dillmann that the cosmogony in Gen. 1 cannot have been simply taken over from the Babylonians, and that there are strong *a priori* reasons for admitting the existence of a common stock of primitive Semitic myths. Still, that the Hebrew myth, which is still visible in Gen. 1, was borrowed at a later time from the Babylonians, is the only theory which accounts for the phenomena before us. There are features of the utmost importance to the story which cannot be satisfactorily explained except from the Babylonian point of view.

At the very outset, for instance, why, from a specifically Hebrew point of view, should the waters of the deep be personified at the beginning of all things? Or we may put our objection to Dillmann's theory thus, the question to be answered by a cosmogony is this, 'How did the visible heaven and earth first come into existence?' The answer given in Gen. 1 is unintelligible from the mouth of an early Israelite, for it implies a mental picture which is characteristically Babylonian. As the world stands, every year and every day, so, thought the Babylonian, it must originally have been produced. During the long winter the Babylonian plain looks like the sea (which in Babylonian is *tiāmtu*, *tiāmat*), owing to the heavy rains. Then comes the spring, when the god of the vernal sun (Marduk) brings forth the land anew, and by his potent rays divides the waters of

[1] Most critics, however, reckon eight or seven creative acts. Cp Wellh. *CH* 187 *ff.*; Bu. *Urgesch.* 488 *ff.*; Di. *Gen.* 16, 17.

[2] See Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 14; 'this unnatural arrangement may be explained by supposing that when the framework of the six days was introduced, the plants, for which no special day remained, were combined with the earth, and so came to stand before the stars.'

[3] Di. *Gen.* ('97) p. 11; cp his *Ueber die Hauptstücke der urgeschichtl. Sagen* (Berlin Acad. 1882), p. 427 *ff.*, and Ryle, *Early Narratives of Gen.*, 121.

Tiâmat which previously, as it were, formed a whole, and [illegible] them partly upward as clouds, partly downward [illegible] and canals. So must it have been in the first [illegible] New Year, when, after a fight between Marduk [illegible] the organised world came into being.[1] Or (for Marduk [illegible] the god of the early morning [illegible] conquers the [illegible] chaos of night [illegible] earth, [illegible] heaven [illegible] the first morning of creation. [illegible] myth from [illegible] picture [illegible] is, and Pa[illegible] further a special [illegible] of the early morning sun, such as Marduk is and Yahweh is not.[2]

In short, [illegible] to understand the Babylonian account as, in its origin, a mythical description of one of the familiar natural phenomena of Babylonia [illegible] the key to the problem before us. The [illegible] must have been borrowed directly or indirectly from the Babylonian (cp also §§ [illegible] and 11 [illegible]).

The preceding sections contain (1) an account of the great Babylonian creation [illegible] of this with the great Hebrew [illegible] and a criticism of Delitzsch's theory (§ 3), and (3) an explanation of the Babylonian myth and of its peculiarities (§ 4). Of these § 3 and § 4 relate to [illegible] it is not unbecoming for the present writer to [illegible]. That there is more than one Hebrew cosmogony will be shown presently; we will begin with that in Gen. 1–2 4a. It is a very unfortunate statement of Wellhausen[4] that the only detail in this section derived from myth [illegible] that of chaos in v. 2, the rest being be them due to reflection and systematic construction. Reflection no doubt, is not absent *e.g.*, the framework of days is certainly late but the basis of the story is mythical. Nor can we content ourselves with comparing the data of Gen. 1 with any single mythology, such as the Babylonian. Circumstanced as the Israelites were, we must allow for the possibility of Phœnician, Egyptian, and Persian, as well as Babylonian influences, and we must not refuse to take a passing glance at cosmogonies of less civilised peoples. For some elements in the Jewish Creation-story are so primitive that we can best understand them from the wide point of view of an anthropologist.

5. Mythical basis of Gen. 1 1–2 4a.

The Babylonian parallelisms may be summed up briefly (cp above, § 3). The points of contact are (1) the primæval flood (מים = Tiâmat), (2) the primæval light (Marduk was a god of light before the luminaries were created), (3) the production of heaven by the division of the primæval flood, (4) the appointment of the heavenly bodies to regulate times and seasons, (5) the order of the creative acts (the parallelism, however, in the present form of Gen. 1 is imperfect), (6) the divine admonitions addressed to men after their creation.[5] To these may be added (7) creation by a word (see below, § 7), an idea which was doubtless prominent in the full Baby-

6. Parallelisms: Babylonian.

[1] [The Babylonian New Year's festival called Zakmuk, which has clearly influenced the corresponding Jewish festival, stands in close relation to the cosmogonic myth. For the 'tablets of destiny,' on which the fates of all living were inscribed on New Year's Day, were taken by Marduk from Kingu, the [illegible] consort of Tiâmat (Tab. iv. l 121). In its popular conception, Zakmuk was probably at once the anniversary of creation and the day of judgment. See Karppe.]

[2] Cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* [illegible]; Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 24–26.

[3] The germ of what follows is to be found in the *ZfE*, art. 'Cosmogony,' 1877. The view of the history of myth [illegible] ideas among the Israelites is that which the writer has advocated in a series of works (some of them are referred to later) and which, with a much fuller array of facts, but with some questionable critical statements, has been put forward lately by Gunkel (Gen.). On the general subject of cosmogonies, cp Fr. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire de la cosmogonie de l'ancien Orient*, [illegible], Phi[illegible] 1884, on the Babylonian myths and Genesis.

[4] *Isr.*, E.T. 298.

[5] See the fragment in Del. *Weltschöpfungsepos*, 54 *f.* 111. The admonitions relate to purity of heart, early morning prayer, and sacrifice. The passage on the creation of man has not yet been found; but there is an allusion to this creative act in the concluding tablet.

lonian [illegible] and (2) the creation of man in the divine image, and the [illegible] the [illegible].[1]

[illegible] myth [illegible] of Babylonia and [illegible]

7. Phœnician.

[illegible] older [illegible] Sanchuniathon [illegible] Phœnicians [illegible] which [illegible] Gen. 1 [illegible] Mot [illegible] Baau [illegible] Gen. 1 [illegible] Mot [illegible] Baau [illegible] Mot [illegible] Baau [illegible] Mot [illegible] Baau

heaven, and the other earth. Here we have a point of contact with the Babylonian and also with the Hebrew cosmogony: for the body of Tiamat is, in fact, as Robertson Smith in his Burnett Lectures[1] remarks, 'the matrix or envelope of the dark seething waters of primæval chaos,' and the separation of the lower from the upper waters in Gen. 1 7 is only a less picturesque form of the same mythic statement. These are 'poor and beggarly elements,' no doubt, but then Phœnicia [illegible] what Babylonia possessed, a poet who could [illegible] t, and to some extent moralise, such parts of the tradition as were best worth preserving. We shall see later (§ 28) that Judæa had a writer who in some important respects excelled even the author of the epic.

8. Egyptian.

Egyptian mythology, which had perhaps an original kinship to the Babylonian[2] cannot be passed over, when we consider the close relations which long existed between Egypt and Canaan. The common Egyptian belief was that for many ages the latent germs of things had slept in the bosom of the dark flood (personified as Nut or Nuit and Nun). How these germs were drawn forth and developed was a story told differently in the different nomes or districts.

At Elephantinê, for instance, the demiurge was called Hnumu; he was the potter who moulded his creatures out of the mud of the Nile (which was the earthly image of Nun); or, it was also said, who modelled the world-egg. His counterpart at Memphis, the artizan god Ptah, gave to the light-god, and to his body, the artistically perfect form. At Hermopolis it was Thoth who made the world, speaking it into existence. 'That which flows from his mouth,' it is said, 'happens, and what he speaks, comes into being.' In the east of the Delta, a more complicated account was given. Earth and sky were originally two lovers lost in the primæval waters, the god lying upon the goddess. 'On the day of creation a new god, Shu, slipped between the two, and seizing Nuit with both hands, lifted her above his head with outstretched arms.' Thus, among other less striking parallelisms, we have in Egypt, as well as in Babylonia and in Palestine, the primæval flood, the forcible separation of heaven and earth, and creation by a word, as elements in the conceptions of creation.[3]

9. Iranian.

The subject of Iranian parallelisms has been treated at great length by Lagarde,[4] who argues for the dependence of the Priestly Writer as regards the order of the works and days, on a Persian system, against which, however, in the very act of borrowing from it, this writer protests. It is not probable, however, that the indebtedness of the Jews to Persia began so early; it is not before the latter part of the Persian rule that the direct influence of Persian beliefs (themselves largely influenced by Babylonian) begins to be clearly traceable in Judaism. If we could venture to identify the ARTAXERXES (*q.v.*) of Ezra with [illegible]xerxes II., it would be easier to adopt Lagarde's view. In the present stage of critical inquiry, however, this course does not appear to be advisable. Nor is it at all certain that the Iranian belief in the creation of the world in six periods goes back so far [illegible] to the time of Artaxerxes II. It is referred to only in the late book called Bundehish, and in one or two passages of the Yasna (19 24 5) and the Vispered (7 4), which, on philological grounds, are regarded as comparatively late. Caland, indeed, has endeavoured to show[5] that in the Yasht of the Fravashis (or protective spirits) a poetical reference is made to the creative works of Ahura Mazda, in the order in which these are given in the Bundehish.[6] But what object can we have in tracing the Hebrew account to the Iranian, when we have, close at hand, the Babylonian story, from which the Iranian is plainly derived? The reference, or at least allusion, to chaos

1 Second series (*MS*).

2 Cp Hommel, *Der bab. Ursprung der ägypt. Kultur*, 1892 (*Orient. Lit.*, the Egyptian Nun is connected with Bab. Anum, the god of the heavenly ocean).

3 See Brugsch, [illegible] *Myth. der alten Ägypter*, 22 [illegible] and elsewhere; Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 129 14; Meyer, *Gesch.* 74.

4 *Purim*, [illegible] *Gesch. der Reli.* (27).

5 *ZKT* 23 1901 [illegible]).

6 The order is heaven, the waters, earth, plants, animals, mankind. Light, the light in which God dwells, is itself uncreated—an inconsistency due to Babylonian influence (see col. 950 n. 1). In Job 38 7 there may be a tendency to this belief (see § 21 [c]).

in Gen. 1 2 is at any rate not Iranian; why also [illegible] other features in the narrative be?[1] It would [illegible] be possible to give the epithet [illegible] of ideal perfection to the newly created world in [illegible] Hebrew cosmogony. But it is by no means necessary to do so. Such idealisation would be natural [illegible] by the thought that the evil now so prominent in [illegible] world cannot have lain within the purpose of the divine creator.[2] Besides, Jewish thinkers [illegible] repelled by Zoroastrian dualism. The existence of two primæval antagonistic spirits is not indeed [illegible] to in the rock-cut inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes, but the best scholars agree that it formed part of the old Zoroastrian creed; it is indeed expressly [illegible] in the Gathas (Yasna xxx.). Ahura Mazda, the 'wise knowing Lord,' assisted by the six Amsh. [illegible] creator of all the good things in the world. He is opposed, however, by Angra Mainyu, to whom the material and moral possession of the world is ascribed. All that we can venture to suppose, is a possible indirect influence of the high Zoroastrian conception of Ahura Mazda on the conception of Yahwe formed by the Babylonian Jews. The details of the Jewish Creation-story arose independently of Persia.

10. More primitive mythologies.

Points of contact with more primitive mythologies also are numerous. Abundant material will be found in Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, and vol. vi. of Waitz and Gerland's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. That dry land and animate life, but not matter, had a beginning, and that before the present order of things water had all things in solution, are opinions common among primitive races, and one of the most widely spread mythic symbols is the egg. The expression in Gen. 1 2, 'and the breath of Elohim brooding[3] (מרחפת) over the surface of the waters,' has its best illustration (in the absence of the mythic egg) in a bird, which probably represented the deity as a bird in the common Polynesian representation of Tangaloa, the god of heaven, and of the atmosphere, as a bird which hovered over the ocean-waters, till, as it is sometimes [illegible] laid an egg[4] (the world-egg). This egg is the [illegible] egg, and we may suppose that 'in the earliest form of the [Hebrew] narrative it may have been said "the bird of Elohim"; "wind" appears to be an interpretation.' The forcible separation of heaven and earth (Gen. 1 [illegible]) is illustrated, not only by the interesting Egyptian [illegible] mentioned above (§ 8), but also by the delightful Maori story told by Sir George Grey, and illustrated by [illegible] in a not less delightful essay (*Custom and Myth*, 45). The anecdotal character of myths like these adds their charm. It is only in the last stage of a religion that cosmogonies are systematised,—

> Greek endings, each the little passing-bell
> That signifies some faith's about to die,

though the death-struggle may be prolonged, and [illegible] issue in a higher life.

We have thus seen that the Creation-story in Gen. [illegible]

1 Gunkel less naturally thinks that in the formula, 'And [illegible] saw that it was good,' there is an implied contrast to the [illegible] state called *tôhû-bôhû* (chaos).

2 The word רחף (Piel) occurs only twice, and both times [illegible] Syriac) of a bird's brooding. See Dr. 321, and Driver [illegible] (*Deut.* 32 11, 6001), also We. *Prol.*[6] 395 (רחפי Jer. 23 9, [illegible] be רחפי [Graetz]). Hence the Talmudists compared the [illegible] spirit to a dove (cp Mt. 3 16 Mk. 1 10 Lk. 3 22). The [illegible] nician myth, in the very late form known to us, has [illegible] trace of the bird-symbol; it speaks only of a wind (רוח).

3 Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol.* 6 241. In Egypt, too, the creative act begins with the formation of an egg; but it [illegible] egg of the sun, and nothing is said of a bird which laid the [illegible] (see Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. der alten Ägypter*, 101 *ff.*).

4 *EB* art. 'Cosmogony,' 1877. In 1895 the same [illegible] occurred to Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 8). It is of [illegible] bird that is meant; storm-birds are not uncommon; see [illegible] the Babylonian myth of Adapa, in which the south wind [illegible] represented as having wings, and cp Ps. 18 10 [11]). [illegible]

2 4a is not, as Wellhausen repu[illegible] the product [illegible] considerately in the substratum [illegible] substratum is mainly Babylonian [illegible] Egyptian and even [illegible] excluded. Indeed, for that singular passage [illegible] Egyptian influence, either direct [illegible] (through Phœnician or Canaanitish mythology) indirect, seems to be suggested. We are thus brought face to face with a new problem. How is it that the Priestly Writer, with his purified theology, and his comparatively slight interest in popular tradition, should have [illegible] so much mythology as the basis of his statement that 'God created the heaven, the earth and all that [illegible] the earth, and hallowed the seventh day'?

11. Fuller account of Gen. 1 1-2 4a.

If the Yahwist had given a creation-story corresponding to his Flood-story, the phenomena of Gen. 1 would not be so surprising. The Priestly Writer might thus be taken to have acted consistently by giving an improved version of both traditional stories.[1] But we have no Yahwistic creation-story, except indeed in a fragmentary form, and though the lost portion of the cosmogony [illegible] to J's Paradise-story (based probably on a Canaanitish story) must have differed greatly from the cosmogony in Gen 1, yet it is most improbable that P would spontaneously have thought of competing with J by producing a new semi-Babylonian cosmogony. In the next place it should be noticed that the Flood-story which J has borrowed, directly or indirectly, from Babylon, stands in Babylonian mythology in close connection with the creation-story; the two events are in fact only separated by the ten antediluvian Chaldæan kings and an uncertain interval between creation and the foundation of a dynasty. The list of the ten kings is certainly represented, however imperfectly, by P's [illegible] genealogy (see CAINITES § 3 f.); it is probable therefore that J (as represented by the stratum [illegible]) originally had a creation-story with strong Babylonian affinities, and that P used this story as the basis of his own cosmogony.

12. Lost J₂ original.

Accepting this hypothesis, we are no longer surprised at the echoes of mythology in Gen. 1 1-2 4a. Underneath P we recognise the debris of the cosmogony of J_2. The Priestly Writer did not go out of his way to collect Babylonian mythic data; he simply adopted and adapted the work of a much earlier writer.

The hypothesis is due to the sagacity of Budde,[2] and the more clearly we discern the mythic elements in P's cosmogony, the more probable and indeed inevitable does the hypothesis become. That the old cosmogony has been lost, is much to be deplored; but we can easily believe that it would have been too trying to devout members of the 'congregation' to have had before them in the same book the early and almost half-heathenish recension of a Canaanitish-Babylonian cosmogony produced by J_2 and the much more sober but in all essentials thoroughly orthodox recast of this recension due to the Priestly Writer. Whether the latter found any reference to the sabbath in the older story which might seem to justify his insertion of the divine appointment of the sabbath, we do not know. Jensen finds a reference to the 17th and 14th days of the month in the fifth tablet of the epic (*E.* 17 *f.*), and Zimmern even inserts conjecturally 'on the sabbath' (line 18); but whether any part of this obscure passage lay in any form before J_2, must remain uncertain.

The explanation given by Zimmern (above, § 4) does justice, as no other explanation can do, to the circumstances and the ideas of the ancient Babylonians at a comparatively remote period. If it somewhat closely resembles the explanation of the Babylonian Flood-story, this is no objection. The post-diluvian earth may in a qualified sense be called a new earth, and some mythologies expressly recognise that the present creation is rather a re-creation.[3] Still, it

13. Development of the Epic.

[1] P has in fact given his own Flood-story in which the tradition of J is harmonised with P's theory of the history of cultus. See DELUGE, § 4 *f.*

[2] *Urgesch.* 479-492; *ZATW* 7 *ff.* [illegible]. Cp Bacon, *Gen.* [illegible]

[3] See, *e.g.*, the legend of the (non-Aryan) Santals of Bengal in Hunter's *Rural Bengal*, 150 *f.*

[illegible]

The comparative lateness of the epic (the [illegible] not [illegible] as late as [illegible] in particular the [illegible] as far back as [illegible] Babylonian temples (see NEBUCHADNEZZAR § 2), these 'seas' were in fact trophies of the victory of the young Sun god over the primæval, cosmic sea, with which Tiamat is [illegible] identified. In [illegible]

Other less elaborate creation-stories are known to us; specimens of the very varied traditions which had at least a local circulation [illegible] preserved in fragments of [illegible] revealed to us by [illegible] G. Pinches and his predecessor [illegible] Lamented G. S[illegible] have recognised as worthy of [illegible] *dupšarri*, or scribes, of his library, for it was [illegible] was the discoverer and the first translator of A[illegible] pal's great 'Creation-epic'.

14. Parallel forms.

The Greek-reading world owed it [illegible] with Babylonian mythology to a Greek writing [illegible] of Bel named Berossus (about 280 B.C.). It is unfortunate that we know his [illegible] Χαλδαικά only from very imperfect extracts; but, considering his competence and his unique opportunities of consulting ancient documents, we cannot afford to neglect these extracts. One of the most important of them is a fragment of a cosmogony. Its resemblances to statements in both the creation-stories of Genesis, especially the first, are obvious. Among them we may mention (1) the description of the primæval darkness and water, (2) the name Θαυτέ[2] (cp [illegible]), translated θαλασσα, which is given to the woman who ruled over the monsters of chaos,[3] and (3) the origin ascribed to heaven and earth, which arose out of the two halves of the body of Θαυτέ, cut asunder by Bel, while the creation of man by one of the gods at Bel's command, who mixed with clay the blood which flowed from the severed head, not of Bel, but of the dragon Tiamat,[4] may be compared, or contrasted, with Gen. 2 7.

[1] See Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.* 2 497; Budde, *Urgesch.* [illegible]

[2] According to Robertson [illegible] 6 [illegible]. The text has [illegible]

[3] Cp those monsters with the 'helpers of Rahab' in [illegible] 9 13 RV, and with the 'four beasts' which come up [illegible] the 'great sea' (Dan. 7 2-4). The latter passage is [illegible] The powers of evil will again be let loose and rule up[illegible] but will at last be overcome (cp ANTICHRIST, § 4).

[4] The correction of ἑαυτοῦ (twice) in the text of Berossus (Syncellus, 52 *D*) is due to Dindorf; [illegible] noticed first by Stucken (*Astralmythen* [illegible]). The [illegible] translated by Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1 107, and [illegible]

The theogony of Damascius[1] (6th cent. A.D.) is at first sight of less importance. It shows, however, more clearly than the Berossian fragment that the essential features of the story of the epic were well known, for the two chief mythic names mentioned by Damascius—viz. Ταυθὲ and Απασων—are plainly derived from Tiāmat and Apsū, whilst the only begotten son of this couple is Μωμις, which corresponds to the obscure name Mummu in the epic (Tab. I, *ll.* 4, 13; see above, § 2, second note).

We now turn to the cuneiform records, among which the so-called Cuthaean cosmogony (*KB*[vi] i 149 *ff.*)[2] is not to be included. (a) The chief of these is the great Creation-epic, of which the reader has already heard. Its place of origin was, of course, Babylon, as appears from the fact that its hero is the god Marduk, who was the patron of Babylon. Obviously this is only one of several local versions of the primitive myth. In the original story Bel of Nippur was, no doubt, the great god who overcame Tiāmat, and prepared the way for creation. The priests of the other sacred cities, however, had to protect the interests of their patron deities, and local creation-myths were the result.

16. Three cuneiform stories.

(b) In another version of the myth,[3] the fight between the divine champion and Tiāmat occurs after the creation, and is waged for the deliverance of gods and men alike. 'Who will set forth (to slay) the dragon, to rescue the wide earth and seize the royal power? Set forth, O God SÚ'IL, slay the dragon, rescue the wide earth and seize the royal power.' An extravagant account is given (in the manner of the Jewish Talmud) of the dragon's size, and it is said that when the dragon was [illegible] three words [illegible] This may suggest the [illegible] and a [illegible] in Dan. 12 7 Rev. 12 14.

(c) A much fuller and, if we assume its antiquity, more important narrative is the 'non-Semitic' one translated by Pinches in 1890 from a bilingual text discovered by G. Smith.[4] It is a mixture of creation- and culture-myth, and as a culture-myth we have already had occasion to refer to it (see CAINITES, § 3). The creation story is given only in allusions. It is stated that once upon a time there was no vegetation, and 'all the lands' of Babylonia [illegible] Then there arose a movement in the sea, and the most ancient cities and temples of Babylonia were created. Next the subordinate deities [illegible] Anunnaki were created, after which Marduk set a reed on the water, formed dust, and poured it out beside the reed. Then, 'to cause the gods to dwell in a delightful place, he made mankind (cp Gen. 1 26 *f.*) with the co-operation of

and heaven out of the two parts of Ομορ(ω)κα (with whom the reporter of Bērōssus identifies Tiāmat). It stands to reason that the severed head spoken of in connection with the creation of man must be Tiāmat's, not that of the Creator, though Eusebius already had before him the reading ἑαυτου (see Budde, *Urgesch.* 479). The passage is therefore not a statement of the kinship of God and man (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 43), though it is of course to be assumed that the god spoken of made man in his own physical likeness (cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 11 9). Strange to say, the name Ομορ(ω)κα seems to have come into the text of Bērōssus by mistake. For most likely it is a corruption of Ma'ānā (Gasteiner, *Babylonia and Bibl.* 5; cp J. H. Wright, [illegible] 1 [illegible]). The story, however, is only [illegible] the theory [illegible]

[1] See [illegible] *KB* [illegible] *Kosm.* [illegible]

[2] See [illegible] *KB* [illegible] 1-107, [illegible] The story relates to the mythological history of a king of the primitive age, and is not cosmogonic.

[3] See Zimmern's transl. in Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 417-41[illegible]. The [illegible] classic this tablet also [illegible] the history of Asurbanipal.

[4] [illegible] *Proceedings* [illegible] *Babylonian Chronicles* [illegible] (Cuth. no. 1 5 114). A. Jeremias [illegible] and so that [illegible] Cuthean priests, composed [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] (*Babylon. Inf.* 110); but the priests certainly [illegible] it [illegible] altogether.

[5] On the name 'land of reeds and canals,' given to S. Babylonia on the vases of Esaganna, king of Erech, before 4000 B.C.; [illegible] Chaldaean reeds, Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 5[illegible].

the goddess Aruru (whom we shall have to refer again, col. 940, n. 4). We are allowed to infer that this waste of water had been converted into a fruitful plain by the industry of the newly created men acting under the direction of the gods; and to these gods ascribed the greatest of all human works, the erection of the sacred cities of Babylonia with their temples. Thus the most characteristic part of the Babylonian myth—viz., the fight of the sun-god with Tiāmat—is conspicuous by its absence. The reader should note this, as it illustrates one of the two chief Hebrew cosmogonies (see below, § 20 [c]).

The statement that the myth which underlies Gen. is of Babylonian origin may now be supplemented thus:

1. The epic of Asur-bāni-pal's library stands at the height of a great mythic development. We can therefore presume that we have recovered the exact form of the Babylonian myth on which the narrative in Gen. (or the earlier narrative out of which that in Gen. has grown) is based.

17. Provisional result.

2. Since there were several creation-stories in Babylonia, it is *a priori* probable that other stories besides that referred to may, either as wholes or in parts, have influenced the creation-stories in Palestine.

These reasonable inferences suggest two fresh inquiries. We have to ask, 1. What is the earliest date at which the adoption of Babylonian myths by the Israelites is historically conceivable? and 2. What evidence have we of the existence of other Hebrew creation-myths than that in Gen. 1-2 *ff.*, some of which may even enable us to fill up incomplete parts of that narrative?

19. Date of naturalisation.

In reply to the first question it is enough to refer to recent studies on the Amarna tablets. The letters of Babylonian envoys sent to kings and governors in Western Asia to Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. prove that, even before the Egyptian conquests and the rise of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonian culture had spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. 'Religious myths must have formed part of this culture.'[1] It is therefore in the highest degree probable that Babylonian creation- and deluge-myths penetrated into Canaan before the fifteenth century B.C., and as soon as the Israelites became settled in Palestine they would have opportunities enough of absorbing these myths.

At the same time it should be noticed that there are also several other periods in Israelitish history when either an introduction of new or a revival of old myths is historically conceivable.[2] The *first* is the time of David and Solomon. The former appears to have had a Babylonian secretary (see SHAVSHA); the latter admitted into his temple a brazen 'sea' (representing, as shown already, the primæval *tehōm* or tiamat) and a brazen serpent (representing the dragon; see NEHUSHTAN). The *second* is the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when Aramæan, Assyrian, and neo-Babylonian influences became exceedingly strong, and were felt even in the sphere of religion. The *third* and *fourth* are the exilic and post-exilic periods, when (see *c*, § [illegible] Job and Is. 40-55) there was a revival of mythology within the religious organisation of Judaism could be [illegible] but not put down.

In reply to the second question (as to the evidence for other cosmogonic stories in the OT), we must of course be satisfied with very meagre references. Such we can find [illegible] pre-exilic and in post-exilic writings. Pre-exilic references occur in (*a*) Gen. 49 25, in (*b*) Judg. 5 [illegible], and especially Ps. [illegible] (*c*) the introduction to the Eden-story; post-exilic

20. OT. refs. to other cosmogonies: pre-exilic.

[1] Chr. *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1891, p. 964.

[2] This has been repeatedly shown by Cheyne (see e.g., *Jesus and Solomon*, 76-78; *OPs.* 202, 263-270, 279, 391); cp Gunkel, *Schöpf.*, which, in spite of some critical defections (see notice, *Crit. Rev.*, July 1895), is too ingenious and instructive not to be recommended to advanced students.

(*d*) Job 15 7 *f.* (*e*) 38 4-11 (*f*) Prov. 8 22-31 (besides the passages on the DRAGON).

(*a*) The phrase in the Blessing of Joseph, 'the flood (תהום) couching[1] beneath' (cp Gen. 7 11), is certainly the echo of a Tiamat-myth, and (*b*) the 'stars from their roads' (a Babylonian phrase[2]) in Judg. 5 20 of a myth like that in the fifth tablet of the epic.

(*c*) Gen. 2 *b*-7 needs more special, even if brief, treatment. It runs thus, the original introduction of the Eden-story having been abridged by the editor of J[1] P: '[illegible] Yahwe [Elohim] made earth and heaven. Now there were no bushes as yet upon the earth, and no herb yet sprouted forth, for Yahwe [Elohim] had not caused rain upon the earth, and there was no man to till the land; but a flood[3] used to come up from the earth and water the face of the ground; then Yahwe [Elohim] formed man dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils breath of life, and man became a living being.'

Evidently this belongs to the second section of a mythological introduction to history, and its details are all of Babylonian origin. Lower Pinches non-Semitic creation-story, § 16 [illegible] it describes, though with mythic coloring of its own, the phenomena witnessed by the inhabitants of Babylonia. The extremely small rainfall in Lower Mesopotamia was remarked upon by Herodotus (i. 193); consequently, without the careful control of the yearly inundation of the Euphrates and the Tigris the land would be either marsh or desert. Water-plants there must have been for a season even in the most desolate tracts; but the myth-writers imagine a time when even reeds had not yet appeared, and when 'all the lands were sea' (myth. 7 10), since 'a flood used to come up out of the earth' (Gen 2 6). Next, the Hebrew writer tells us that Yahwè formed man out of dust (2 7), just as in the myth (*ll.* 20 *f.*), Marduk, with the help of the potter-goddess Aruru,[4] makes man (no doubt out of clay) and somewhat as, in the story of Bêrossus (see above, § 15), one of the gods forms men out of earth moistened with Tiamat's (not Bêl's) blood. The sequel in the Hebrew story has obviously been abridged. There must have been some reference to the peaceful subjugation of the yearly flood, otherwise how could Yahwe have 'planted a garden (or park) in Eden' (v. 8)? So in the old myth we hear next that Marduk made the Tigris and the Euphrates 'in their places,' the reeds and the woods, and the green of the fields (*ll.* 23-26). Besides this affinity of its contents to the non-Semitic Creation-myth the Yahwistic passage has a striking resemblance in form to the first tablet of the Creation-epic, which, as it now stands, is of course a Semitic work.

On (*d*) Job 15 7 *f.*, (*e*) 38 4-11, (*f*) Prov. 8 22-31 we must be brief.

In (*d*) we have apparently a reference to a more heroic πρωτόγονος than the Adam of the Yahwist (like

21. Post-exilic.

the Yima of the Avesta and the Mani of New Zealand mythology, and some-but like the Adapa of a Babylonian myth),[5] who shared the privileges of the divine or semi-divine members of the council of Elohim. This first man was an embodiment of absolute Wisdom, and it is noteworthy that the

[1] The name suggests a wild beast (Gen. 49 9). The same epithet (*nâḫis*) is given to Nergal, the god of the nether world, in the Gilgameš-epic (Tab. xii., in Jeremias, *Vorstellungen*, [illegible]).

[2] מסלות. Bab. *alkâte*, plur. of *alaktu* (אלך = ארח). Cp *ša ina šamê ilkat-su-nu* 'the way of the stars of heaven' [illegible].

Ass. *edû* (*âdu*), 'flood, waves, high tide' (so Frd. Del. Lyon. Hommel). The cylinder inscription of Sargon says [illegible] works [illegible] causing the waters to flow everywhere like a flood.'

[4] Aruru probably means 'potter' (Jensen). In the Gilgameš-epic (6 34) this goddess kneads Eabani out of clay (ṭîṭu). The priest puts 'dust' (עפר) for 'clay' (חמר), but we find the latter word in Job 33 6, מדר קרצתי (the same root קרץ is used [illegible]).

Cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 659 *ff.*

same word עצב 'to be brought forth,' is used of this wondrous personage and of the Wisdom who is described in Prov. 8 [illegible] and that, equally with the Wisdom of Proverbs, [illegible] existence before [illegible] The myth has a very Babylonian [illegible] only belong to the same [illegible] North, the 'first man' of [illegible] who was said to have [illegible]

In [illegible] we find the single notion (v. 5) that the stars are older than the earth. In the creation-story the creation of the stars as 'stations for [illegible] of the dragon of chaos and the creation of heaven and earth out of the carcase of Tiamat. The Hebrew poet, however, does not perhaps consider the story, or even its purified offshoot in Gen. 1, to be a [illegible] He [illegible] Is 26 7, 'dew of lights' and the [illegible] 'sea daughters,' in the Avesta. He [illegible] that the ocean once on a time resisted Yahwe, and was forced into obedience (cp Ps. 104 [illegible]). Of a [illegible] he has nothing to [illegible]

In (*f*) Prov. 8 22-31 we find the same careful restriction of the mythological element. The mysterious caprices of the ocean still suggest a primeval rebellion on its part against Yahwe; but this is described in the simplest manner. Of a time when chaos reigned supreme we hear nothing. Yahwe and Wisdom were together before the earth was.[2] In fact the new quasi-mythic representation of Wisdom was incompatible with the antique Babylonian cosmogony.

These passages seem to show that there was a great variety of view in the post-exilic period respecting the best way of [illegible] Some writers seem to have refused the dragon-myth (except in the palest form); others seem to have found it symbolically useful. To this we shall return presently (§ 23). There is a remarkable phenomenon to speaking the previous time which has a great claim on our attention. Though both Babylonian and Canaanitish cosmogony (§ 1) [illegible] there is an almost complete silence respecting such myths in the pre-exilic prophetic literature. There is, in fact, only one passage (Amos 9 [illegible]) that remotely suggests the existence of a creation-myth. This obscure passage has been considered elsewhere (see SERPENT, § 3 *f.*), and it may suffice here to point out that mythology did not come naturally to the early Israelites, and that one great aim of the prophets was to recall their countrymen to old Israelitish [illegible]: Solomon who affected foreign fashions was no true Israelite. We need not be surprised, therefore, at the scanty references in the greater prophets to such figures of the Babylonian and Canaanitish myths as the Dragon, the Cherubim, the seraphim. It is to a historical writer that we are indebted for the information that there was a brazen serpent, symbolising probably [illegible] (see NEHUSHTAN, § 2; in Solomon's temple). [illegible] post-exilic writers, as to the Chaos-dragon, to the subjugation of the primeval sea by Yahwe, and to some other features of mythic tradition, [illegible]. Nor was the spring of mythic imagery dried even in still later times, as the apocalyptic writings

See DRAGON, RAHAB, SERPENT, ANTICHRIST, [illegible] DESOLATION, ABYSS, ARMAGEDDON, [illegible]

[illegible] it is a

[illegible] mythology, the [illegible] Asgard is in the highest region of the universe, in the north towards the pole, [illegible] Persian [illegible] of Ahriman is the inferior [illegible] at the Deluge (Darmesteter, [illegible]).

[illegible]

See Che. *Jewish Rel. Life*, Lect. iv., and cp Gunkel, [illegible] 93 *f.*

mistake to assert that the Israelites had, from their entrance into Canaan onwards, a fully complete creation-myth, in which Yahwè took the place of Marduk, and *Leviathan*, *tannin*, *rahab*, etc., that of the dragon Tiamat. This theory has indeed been vigorously defended by Gunkel; but it is liable to grave critical objections. It is a significant fact that Amos (see last §) has little if any comprehension of the mythical serpent (נחש), and that the Israelites who worshipped in Solomon's temple completely misunderstood the true meaning of 'Nehushtan,' while from the time of the Babylonian 'exile' unmistakable references to the dragon-myth abound. This implies, not of course that there was not previously a Hebrew dragon-myth, but that a revival of mythology had brought the old myth into fresh prominence. It is probable that before the 'exile' the cosmogonic myths of the Israelites at large were in a very fragmentary state, and that if the myth on which the creation-story of Gen. 1 is based then existed (as it most probably did), it was uncomprehended by the people, and had no influence upon their thoughts. It appears, however, that, from the last pre-exilic century onwards, increased contact with Syria and (especially) Babylonia brought about a reawakening of the mythological interest, and that the myths which at a very early date had been derived by the Israelites from the Canaanites, were revived by religious writers (not prophets, at any rate in the proper sense of the word) and adapted to general use. This was done, sometimes with a rougher, sometimes with a gentler hand, but always without any dangerous concession to antiquated, naturalistic religion—a grand result, which the Babylonian priests, noble as their own higher religion was, never accomplished. To inquire into the cause of this success belongs to the history of Jewish religion.

23. General result.

The question has been raised whether Gen. 1₁-2₄ᵃ is, or is not, a poem. The theory was first propounded by d'Eichthal, *Texte primitif de la premier récit de la Création* (75), who found a true poem, composed of perfectly regular strophes, which had been distorted by the editor (32 *ff.*). Briggs (*Old Test. Student*, April '84) added to this the discovery of a metre (five tones in each line with cæsura). The possibility of this is established by the undoubted existence of metre in the Babylonian creation-epic (see Del. *Weltschöpf.*); but unless we had before us J_2's form of the creation-story, how could we expect to restore without arbitrariness the true Hebrew metre?

24. Gen. 1₁-2₄ᵃ a poem?

II. *Conceptions of Creation.* It has been shown above that there circulated in Judah in the regal period at least two mythic stories of creation (cp § 22), both of which were directly or indirectly of Babylonian origin. It is still with the former that we are specially concerned for the present. That there is no clear reference to this myth in the fragmentary remains (cp below, § 29) of the pre-exilic prophets, is, no doubt, a fact which has to be accounted for; but when we consider the Canaanitish-Babylonian origin of the myth we cease to be surprised at it. Certainly Isaiah and the other great prophets believed in the creatorship of Yahwè, but they could not have given their sanction to even a sanitized edition of any of the grotesque and heathenish myths of the Canaanites and the Babylonians. Why, then, it may be asked, did they not, like the Second Isaiah (Is. 40 ff.), preach the creatorship of Yahwè without any mythic ornament, then? The answer is, that their object was not to teach an unprovoked theology, but to meet those dangers which threatened, they believed, to involve good and bad Israelites alike in one common ruin. The pre-exilic prophets were preachers of judgment: the truth they had to announce was that Yahwè was not merely the god of Israel, but also the moral governor of the world

25. Doctrine of creation late.

who would punish all guilty nations, and more especially the most favoured nation, the Israelites. It was for the late exilic and the post-exilic prophets and other religious writers, whose function was, not so much threatening as edification and consolation, to draw out the manifold applications of that other great truth that Yahwè is the creator of the world.

On the pre-exilic conception of creation, therefore, not much can be said. There were, no doubt, hymns to Yahwè as the creator; but the divine creatorship was not a central truth in that early age, and could not have been expressed in a form congenial to the later worshippers. We have, however, a fragment of a song in the Book of Jashar (1 K. 8₁₂ *f.*), which the narrator who quotes it ascribes to Solomon. With the help of the LXX we may restore it thus:—

26. Pre-exilic traces.

> The sun did Yahwè settle in heaven,
> But he said he would (himself) dwell in dark clouds.
> I have built a lofty house for thee,
> A settled place for thy perpetual habitation.[1]

Here Yahwè is described as the creator of the sun. He is therefore greater than the solar deity Marduk, the creator in the Babylonian cosmogony. None of the heavenly bodies serves Yahwè as a mansion; dark clouds are round about him (cp Ps. 97₂ 18₁₁, עקבי again). It is of his condescension that he dwells in Solomon's temple, which will therefore be as enduring as the sun in the firmament (cp Ps. 78₆₉). Considering that Solomon (it would seem) put up in the temple a trophy of Yahwè's victory over the Dragon of chaos (see NEHUSHTAN), it is conceivable, though scarcely probable, that a hymn to the creator which contained these four lines was actually written for use at the dedication of the first temple. At any rate, even if not of the Solomonic age, the fragment is presumably pre-exilic, and confirms the idea that the creation of the world (*i.e.*, the world known to the Israelites) was early spoken of as a proof of Yahwè's greatness. Nor can we be surprised that some scanty reference to Yahwè as the Maker κατ' ἐξοχήν is traceable in pre-exilic proper names (see NAMES, § 5, and cp the Bab. and Ass. names Sin-bani, Bel-bani, Bel-ibni).

It was the Second Isaiah, however, so far as we know, who made the creatorship of Yahwè a fundamental Jewish belief. Is. 40 gives the key to the later doctrine of creation. Living after the collapse of the ancient state, and amidst new scenery and other men, gifted moreover with a tenderly devout spirit and a rich poetic imagination, the Second Isaiah felt what was needed to regenerate Jewish religion—a wider view of the divine nature. To him Yahwè was far too high for the common sacrificial cultus, far too great to be merely a local deity; both nature and mankind owed their existence to Yahwè. He had indeed chosen Israel for a special possession; but it was for purely moral ends. Therefore Israel's fall could not be for ever; Israel's and the world's creator would certainly, for his own great ends, restore his people. Let Israel then look up to him as the creator of all things, and therefore also as the Redeemer (גאל) of Israel. However the Second Isaiah does not stop here. He rectifies some of the notions which were presumably current among the Israelites, notions, now awaking to a fresh life under Babylonian influence. Israel was, no doubt, one of the young gods of the nations; but Yahwè was not, like Marduk, according to the old myth, one of the youngest of the gods. 'Before me (Yahwè) no god was made' (Is. 43₁₀). N

27. II Isaiah.

1. The passage is given in a fuller form in ⅏BAL after [illegible] (Chap. 11 MT), with a [illegible] and a [illegible] [illegible] 'Thus [illegible] Solomon [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] the latter, 'Surely it is written [illegible] βιβλίου τῆς ὠδῆς.' In line 1 read ἔστησεν—הכין, with ⅏ [illegible] rather than ἐγκαίνισεν which Klo. prefers, and in line 2 ἐν γῇ [illegible] ἐν γραφῇ. Cp [illegible], Books of Sg. § 3.

could it be right either to make an image of Yahwè if he were no better than the sun-god Marduk, or to say that other Elohim helped Yahwè, as they were said to have helped Marduk in the work of creation (Is. 40 18, etc. 44 24). Whether there was really a chaos at the beginning of all things, he does not explicitly say. He does tell us, however, that there is not a trace of chaos (tohû) in the earth as it came from Yahwè, the inference from which is, that both in history and in prophecy God's dealings are clear and comprehensible, and designed for the good of man (Is. 45 18 f.). He pointedly declares that Yahwè not only formed light but also made darkness (Is. 45 7), whereas the old cosmogony of J₂ (see § 12) ascribed only light, not darkness, to the creative activity of Elohim.

The Second Isaiah does not assert that the creatorship of Yahwè is a new truth. All that he professes to do is to unfold the meaning of one of the great truths of primæval tradition (Is. 40 21; see *SBOT*). His view of creative activity is a large one. Creatorship consists, he thinks, not only in bringing into existence that which before was not, but also in the direction of the course of history (41 20 45 8 48 7). He affirms that both men and things are 'called' into existence by Yahwè (41 4; cp 40 26 44 26 48 13); but he does not refuse to speak also of Yahwè's hand (48 13 cp 40 22, etc.), or of his breath (44 3 cp 40 24), as the agent of production. Ease and irresistibleness are two leading characteristics of Yahwè's action, and hence it is that the Second Isaiah prefers (though less distinctly than the Priestly Writer) the conception of creation by the voice to that of creation by the hand. Creation by the voice is also a specially characteristic idea of Zoroastrianism;[1] but the Jews probably derived the idea, directly or indirectly, not from Persia but from Babylonia. No more striking expression of it could be wished for than that contained in the following lines from the Creation-epic (Tab. iv.)

> Then in their midst they laid a garment,
> To Marduk their first-born thus they spoke:
> Let thy rule, O Lord, surpass that of the gods,
> Perishing and becoming—speak and let it be!
> At the opening of thy mouth let the garment perish;
> Again command it, then let the garment appear!
> He spoke with his mouth, and the garment perished;
> Again he commanded it, and the garment reappeared.[2]

28. P. Did the Priestly Writer really believe in a pre-existent chaos, out of which the world was made? Or is the retention of chaos in his cosmogony simply due to educational considerations? Considering the line taken by the Second Isaiah, and still more by the later wise men, we may venture to class the reference to chaos in Gen. 1 2 with those other concessions to popular superstition which make Ezra's law-book an ecclesiastical compromise rather than an ideal standard.[3] A similar remark applies to the other mythic features in the cosmogony; all that the Priestly Writer really cares for are the religious truths at the base of the story, such as the creatorship of Yahwè, the divine image (surely not, according to P, physical) in man, and the fundamental cosmic importance of the sabbath.

29. Later writings. The later writings show that the teaching of the Second Isaiah and the Priestly Writer was not thrown away. Two of the most beautiful psalms (8 104) are suggested by the priestly cosmogony, and in Ps. 33 9 148 5 creation by the word of God, without any mention of chaos, is affirmed with emphatic conciseness. The fragments of the older prophetic writings were deficient in references to creation; the post-exilic adapters and supplementers of prophecy have remedied this defect (see *e.g.*, Am. 4 13 Ho. 12 5-26 5 22*b* 10 12 31 [illegible] whilst the Book of Joshua is pervaded by the belief in the Creator. The Prose of Wisdom, too (Prov. 8 22-31), gives [illegible] portrait of the

[1] The Avesta, however, connects creation with the recital of a certain potent formula called Ahuna-vairya (Honover). Gen. 1 [illegible] was nothing of spells.

[2] [illegible]

[3] But cp Smend, *AT Religionsgesch.* [illegible]

activity of the Creator, who requires no sabbath rest, [illegible] Nothing is said here of man. In the Book of Jubilees [illegible] who instructs us as to the creation of the world out of matter is the author of the Book of Wisdom (11 17 [illegible] ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης). He is evidently the [illegible] but Philo, but to him, not in his [illegible] he appears to have been influenced by contact with Jewish interpretations of Gen. 1. In 2 Macc. 7 28 we find the statement that the world and its contents were made οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων (a grandiose phrase which reminds one of Heb. 11 3) and is of importance when taken with a belief in ἄμορφος ὕλη, and, in two passages in *Apoc. Ezr.* (6 38 [illegible]) God is addressed thus, 'O Thou [illegible] that hast commanded from the beginning that which did not yet exist, and they obey thee' (21 4), and 'with a word thou didst make that which was not' (48 8). Parallel passages in N.T. are Rom. 4 17, Heb. 11 3 (where the verb κατ ἐξ φαινομένων is not to be confused with ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων). We must not, however, overlook the fact that in one of the latest books of the O.T. a doctrine to the same effect occurs. In 2 Pet. 3 5 the earth is described as 'compacted out of water and by the word of God.' Here water obviously means that portion of the chaotic waters which was used in the framework of this, according to Gen. 1, the firmament emerged at the fiat of Yahwè. The importance given to the Logos in Jn. 1 and to the Son of God in Heb. 1 [illegible] as the organ of the creative activity is lost to view in the later conception (see LOGOS). On the doctrine of the restitution of heaven and earth see DIVINE, § 19.

30. Words for 'create.' בָּרָא (Aram. [illegible]) [illegible] Ps. [illegible] Dn. [illegible] 17) [illegible] בָּרָא to [illegible] Ex. [illegible] Nu. [illegible] be [illegible] adapted [illegible] K. 1 [illegible] בְּרִאתִי (בְּרִיאָה) is assigned to R. [illegible] Dn. Ums. Is. 45 7a (Ann. [illegible] Ass. § 12; Isaiah [illegible] § 1; Jer. [illegible] [illegible] or to [illegible] Dn. [illegible] (where בָּרָא stands of the [illegible] of man) is [illegible] (cp Dn. [illegible] § 1). In spite of these facts, it would be rash to say that the [illegible] in J (see [illegible] § 1) [illegible] the word בָּרָא [illegible] to Ass. [illegible].

קנה 'to [illegible]' Gen. 14 19 22 (Creator of heaven and earth); ὃς ἔκτισε (AD[illegible] Dn. 2 [illegible] (the father that made thee); ἐκτήσατο (BAE[illegible]). Pr. 8 22 (Yahwè's creation of Wisdom, ἔκτισεν (BRAℵ). Ps. 139 13 (thou didst create my reins); ἐκτήσω (BRAℵ). All these passages are late; but see [illegible] title Cyrus, § [illegible], and Eve, in Gen. 4 1 (ἐκτησάμην (AD[illegible]) I have produced, rather than ἐκτησάμην [ADEL]), a marginal use (the Creator) Yahwè' (קוֹנֵה יהוה?).

עשה, 'to make,' Gen. 2 4 (J); Is. 45 7 [illegible] 'to form,' Gen. 2 7 (J); Is. 43 7 Jer. 10 16 Am. 4 13 [illegible] 5. 12 1.

H. [illegible] §§ 1 4; 4 K. [illegible] §§ 5 30.

CREDITOR (נֹשֶׁה). 2 K. 4 1. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16.

CRESCENS (ΚΡΗΣΚΗΣ [Ti. WH]), a companion of Paul who had gone to Galatia (2 Tim. 4 10). In the *Ap. Const.* (7 46) he is named as bishop of the churches of Galatia, among those bishops who had been ordained in the lifetime of the apostles. The [illegible] some authority (ℵ C, etc. Ti.) for reading Γαλλίαν

[1] Cp Is. 5 17, and contrast Gen. 2 [illegible].

[2] [illegible] (Hoffm.). He [illegible] water [illegible] have been [illegible] pre-existent [illegible] Sc. [illegible] § 1 [illegible]).

[3] [illegible] *Ἰουδαϊκῶν* [illegible] ὡς ἐν μύθοις [illegible] (Philo). [illegible] some [illegible].

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible] *Ἑλληνικῶν* [illegible] *ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*.

[6] [illegible] *Ἑλληνικῶν* [illegible] *ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*.

[7] [illegible]

[8] [illegible] *Ἑλληνικῶν Ἐξηγεσίς*, [illegible]; Geiger, *Urschrift*, [illegible].

instead of Γαλατίαν in 2 Tim. 4 10. Gallia is a natural emendation, possibly a right interpretation, of Galatia—'in accordance with the later usage as regards Gaul, both Galatia and Gaul having in St. Paul's time usually, if not always, alike been called Γαλατία by the Greeks' (WH). Cp GALATIA.

In the list of the seventy apostles compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus (see *Chron. Paschal.*, Bonn Ed., 2 121) Crescens is enumerated as 'bishop of Chalcedon in Gaul' (Χαλκηδόνος τῆς ἐν Γαλλίᾳ); in the list drawn up by Pseudo-Hippolytus he appears as 'Crisces bishop of Carchedon in Gaul.' According to the Pseudo-Sophronius, who enumerates Timothy, Titus, Crescens, and the Ethiopian eunuch immediately after the twelve apostles, he was founder of the church of Vienne in Gaul. The Latin church commemorates him on June 27; the Greek on July 30 (along with Silas, Andronicus, and Epænetus). See Lipsius, ...

CRESCENTS (שַׂהֲרֹנִים), Judg. 8 21 26 RV (AV 'ornaments'), Is. 3 18 RV (AV 'round tires like the moon'). See NECKLACE.

CRETE (Κρήτη: mod. *Candia*), the largest island in the Ægean sea, of which it is also the S. limit.

Crete extends 140 m. from W. to E., consisting of an irregular ridge of mountains which fall into three distinct groups, the central and loftiest (mod. *Psiloriti*) being the Mount Ida of the ancients. The N. coast is broken into a series of large bays and promontories; on the S. there are few harbours, and only one considerable bay—that of Messara, under Mt. Ida. The physical character of Crete is succinctly described by Strabo (475, ὀρεινὴ καὶ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἡ νῆσος, ἔχει δ' αὐλῶνας εὐκαρπους).

Lying at almost equal distance from Europe, Asia, and Africa, Crete was one of the earliest stages in the passage of Oriental civilisation to the W. In historical times it was of little importance—chiefly as a recruiting ground for mercenary troops (Pol. 31 26, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4 3; cp 1 Macc. 11 31)[1]. Quintus Metellus reduced the island in 67 B.C., and it was combined with the Cyrenaica to form one province—senatorial under the emperors.

Jewish Jews were early connected with Crete (cp the story of Glaucus in Joseph. *Ant.* 5 2 1 of the Jews were originally fugitives from Crete). In G 2[a] of Ezek. 25 16 and Zeph. 2 5 [BNAQ] Κρῆτες is used for the 'Cherethites' or 'Cherethians' (כְּרֵתִים) of EV, and Κρήτη [BNAQ] in Zeph. 2 6 for כְּרֵת, which, however, is certainly not Crete, but denotes 'land of the Cherethites'—*i.e.*, Philistia. Κρῆτες also occurs in G of Ezek. 30 5 apparently for פּוּט. See CHERETHITES; and, on the hypothesis connecting the Philistines with Crete, CAPHTOR, PHILISTINES. Gortyna (near modern *H. Deka* in the Messara, the only considerable plain in the island) is mentioned as containing many Jews (1 Macc. 15 23 cp 10 67), and Philo (*Leg. ad Cai.* 30) says that Crete, like all the Mediterranean islands, was full of them (cp Acts 2 11 Tit. 1 10 14, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 12 1, *Vita*, § 76).

The account of Paul's voyage to Rome furnishes several geographical details. From Cnidus his ship ran under the lee of Crete (Acts 27 7 ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμώνην), and some time appears to have been spent in the shelter of the Fair Havens. What the apostle was able to accomplish there any missionary work cannot even be guessed; and we are thus left without any information as to the process of the evangelisation of the island. When we next hear of it the gospel has apparently been widely established (see PASTORAL EPISTLES).

The character of the Cretans as gathered from the epistle to Titus, is entirely in accord with what is known from other sources. The epistle (Tit. 1 12) quotes 'a prophet of their own' (*i.e.*, Epimenides, called θεῖος ἀνήρ by Plato, *Laws*, 1 642; θεοφιλής Plut. *Sol.* 12), who stigmatised them as liars and beasts. It was a popular saying that it was impossible to outcretan a Cretan (Pol. 8 21, cp Pol. 6 46 *f.* 8 18 33 16). Polybius (6 40) writes that 'greed and avarice are so native to the soil in Crete, that they are the only people among whom no stigma attaches to any sort of gain whatever' (cp Tit. 1 11, 'teaching things which they ought not for an ignominious gain'—a similar phrase occurs in Tit. 1 7). The repetition of the thought of Tit. 1 7 μὴ παροινῶν, 2 2 νηφαλίους, 2 3 μηδὲ οἴνῳ πολλῷ δεδουλωμένας is equally ominous (certain wine was famous in antiquity; cp Juv. *Sat.* 14 270). Tit. 3 3 bears obvious reference to the turbulence of the Cretans, a characteristic which runs through their history.

For Crete as the 'stepping stone of Continents,' see A. J. Evans on 'Primitive Pictographs from Crete' in *J. Hellen. Stud.* 14 (94). W. J. W.

[1] They were mostly archers: Paus. i. 23 4, Ἕλληνιν ὅτι μὴ Κρήσιν οὐκ ἐπεχώριον ὂν τοξεύειν. Their internal dissensions kept the Cretans in military training: cp Pol. 4 8 2 4.

CRIB (אֲבוּס), Is. 1 3, etc. See CATTLE, § 5.

CRICKET (חָרְגֹּל), Lev. 11 22, RV. AV BEETLE.

CRIME (זִמָּה), Job 31 11; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 1 7.

CRIMSON. תּוֹלָע, *tōlā'*, a word common in the fem. form תּוֹלָעָה, *tōlā'ah*, or תּוֹלַעַת, *tōla'ath*, is used in Ex. 16 20 in the general sense of 'worm' [EV], in Is. 1 18 (EV 'crimson'), Lam. 4 5 (EV 'scarlet') for the crimson dye prepared from the body of the female *Coccus ilicis*, a Homopterous insect belonging to the family Coccidæ.

The female, which grows to the size of a grain of corn, is in the adult or imago stage attached by its inserted proboscis into the leaves and twigs of the Syrian Holm-oak, whose juices it lives on. The male is winged and flies about. The bodies of the females are collected and dried, and from them are prepared the colouring matters known as Cochineal, Lake, and Crimson. Since the discovery of America a Mexican species of Coccus, *C. cacti*, which lives on the India fig, has largely supplanted the first-named species as the source of the pigment, and at the present day both have lost their commercial value owing to the invention of aniline dyes. In old literature the name Kermes (see below) is frequently used for Coccus.

Other names for this colour are שָׁנִי, *šānī* (Jer. 4 30 RV 'scarlet', elsewhere EV 'scarlet'; see COLOURS, § 14) and the late equivalent כַּרְמִיל, *karmīl*[1] (2 Ch. 2 7 [6] 3 14[2]). The origin of the termination *-il* in כרמיל is obscure; it can scarcely be explained (as in Ges.[6]) by the Pers. affix *-in*, for there is no word *kirmin* in Pers., nor would it signify the colour if there were.

For Is. 63 1 (חָסִין, RV[mg.] 'crimsoned,' EV 'dyed'), see COLOURS, § 13 *f.* N. M. —A. E. S.

CRISPING PINS (חֲרִיטִים), Is. 3 22. See BAG (2).

CRISPUS (Κρίσπος [Ti. WH]; a Roman name), ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, and one of Paul's converts there (Acts 18 8 1 Cor. 1 14).

In *Ap. Const.* 7 46 he is said to have been ordained bishop of Ægina. In *Mart. Rom. Vet.* he is commemorated on Oct. 4.

CROCODILE. 'Beasts of the reeds' is an alternative rendering (in AV[mg.]) of חַיַּת קָנֶה, Ps. 68 30 [31] (G θηρία τοῦ καλάμου), AV 'company of spearmen,' RV rightly 'wild beast of the reeds.' This means the crocodile (hardly Behēmōth—*i.e.*, the hippopotamus) used to symbolise the Egyptian power. Cp Hupfeld and Del. *l. l.*

According to G the צָב of Lev. 11 29 (AV 'tortoise') was a 'land-crocodile'; see LIZARD, 1. For 'land crocodile,' RV's rendering of כֵּחַ, a kind of lizard (Lev. 11 30), see CHAMELEON, 1. For Jer. 14 6 RV[mg.] (תַּנִּים, AV 'dragons,' RV 'jackals'), see DRAGON, § 4. For Job 41 1 *ff.* RV[mg.] [40 25] (EV 'Leviathan,' AV 'whale,' 'whirlpool'), see BEHEMOTH and LEVIATHAN.

The animal described poetically in Job has generally been identified with the crocodile (see especially Bochart, 3 7 17 *ff.*). Until recent times, when the propriety of

[1] Probably from Pers. *kirm*, 'a worm,' and perhaps akin to our 'crimson' and 'carmine' (see Skeat, *s.v.* 'crimson'). Cp Sans. *krimi*, which is probably identical with our word 'worm' (*ib. s.v.* 'worm'). On the other hand, Del. (*ZLT* 39 5 [1]) may be right in connecting Ar. and Pers. *kirmuz*, from which *carmesinus* and *crimson* are most naturally derived, with independent Turkish root beginning with כ instead of ק.

[2] The word כרמיל seems to have been read for כרכל by G in Cant. 7 5 [6]. See HAIR.

making any zoological identification has been questioned, the chief dissentient has been Schultens. This great eighteenth-century scholar thinks that the arguments for the crocodile and the whale are about equal, and that the poet does not seem to have [illegible] description. The [illegible] however (*Hist. Nat.* [illegible]) [illegible] as a naturalist [illegible] the crocodile [illegible] name Leviathan [illegible] position be adopted, the characteristic [illegible] the difficulty of capturing or taming [illegible] its formidable row of teeth, its impervious [illegible] gleaming eyes, its violent snorting, and its immense strength. All come out with [illegible] Riehm (*HWB*) [illegible] question whether the poet may not [illegible] crocodiles in [illegible] near Cæsarea is believed to have [illegible] ately,[1] and, as the climate of this region [illegible] sembles that of the Delta, there is [illegible] prising. Still, though Pliny (*HN* 5.1) [illegible] as the Crocodile [illegible] codilon, we have no evidence that [illegible] there in biblical times. A [illegible] a strange story of the Israelites [illegible] been brought there [illegible] Mandeville designates the [illegible] Budde's elaborate [illegible] another view (connecting [illegible] myth-lore) see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3.

[illegible] has been [illegible] the Nile [illegible] from the Nile and the Senegal [illegible] in Mauretania and Syria. Late [illegible] (represented in Gk. as [illegible]) [illegible] this, see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* [illegible]

CROCODILE, LAND (לוה). Lev. 11[illegible] RV, AV CHAMELLON (*q.v.*). See also above.

CROCUS (הַכַּרְכֹּם), Cant. 2[illegible], RV[mg.]; EV Rose (*q.v.*).

CROSS. We shall not attempt to introduce the reader to the archæological study of the symbolism of the cross. Interesting as the task would be, it is really superfluous. If there was a time when it could be supposed that between Christianity and the non-Christian religions there was, in respect of the symbol of the cross, an affinity that was divinely appointed, that time is passed. We are no longer tempted to imagine that between the sign of the cross in baptism, and the heathen custom of bearing a mark indicating the special religious communion of the individual, there is a kind of pre-ordained relation. On the other hand, the fact that heathen notions did affect popular Christian beliefs in very early times cannot be denied: the magic virtue ascribed to the cross has doubtless a non-Christian origin. For the evidences it is enough to refer to *Zeitschr. f. Kirchl. Geschichte*, who fully recognises the original purity and simplicity of the earliest Christian view of the cross. His strictly contrasts with the fantastic speculativity of L. von Ransen (*Die Symbol des Kreuzes*, 1856).

1. Nature and use. First, as to the meaning of the Greek word σταυρός, which has a wider range than the word cross by which it is rendered in English. We find it frequently used for the most primitive instrument of execution, the upright stake or [illegible] to which the delinquent was bound when no tree was at hand (cp *Ant.* [illegible] and *Ἀρχαιολ.*). Lev. 1.6 Ch. *Die Kreuz* 4.6 of Christ he was attached (cp HANGING), is well [illegible] the [illegible] and cross (*crux composita*) of various shapes.

[1] Schumacher says that he has seen a crocodile there, but that there are very few crocodiles left (*PEF Q.*, Jan. 1897, p. 1). For a sifting of the evidence [illegible] Tobler, *Reise u. Wanderung nach Palästina* (59), 575 *f.* Cp Rob. *Phys. Geog.* (6), 175 *f.*; Baed. *Pal.*(3) 272.

The origin of the cross is traced back to the Phœnicians. [illegible] associated at [illegible] nearly [illegible] Lib. [illegible] Pliny [illegible] Valerius Maximus, [illegible] Dial. 21, Sat. [illegible] 2 [illegible] Among the first [illegible] [illegible] wrist [illegible] [illegible] *Ecc.* [illegible]

[illegible]

2. Shape. [illegible] as St [illegible] [illegible] *Dialogue* [illegible] [illegible] Νῶε [illegible] Νῶε [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

3. N'i cross. [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and cp the symbolical phrase in Mt. 10 38 16 24) to which he was bound, along the public roads to an eminence (see GOLGOTHA) outside the city gates (Cic. *Verr.* 5 66; Plaut. *Mil. glor.* ii. 4 6). In front of him went a herald bearing a tablet (*titulus*; Suet., *Cal.* 32) of condemnation, or he himself carried the *αἰτία* (cp *σανίς*, Soer. *HE* 1 17; *λευκωμα*, Euseb. *HE* v. 1 44; *λευκωμα*, Soz. *HE* 1 17) suspended by a cord from his neck (Suet. *Calig.* 32; *Domit.* 10; Dio Cass. 54 3; Euseb. *HE* v. 1 44). On arrival at the place of execution the *crucarius* was stripped of his clothing and laid on the ground upon his back. The cross-beam was then thrust under his head, and his arms were stretched out across it to the right and left and perhaps bound to the wood (cp Lucan, *Phars.* 6 543 *f.*; Plin. *HN* xxviii. 4 11), the hand being fastened by means of a long nail (cp *cruci figere, affigere*). Already, before or after the arrival of the condemned (see Cic. *Verr.* v. 6 12, and cp Polyb. i. 86 6; Diod. xxv. 5 2; Jos. *BJ* v. 11 1) the upright stake had been firmly fastened in the ground. The cross-beam was then, with the help of ropes (cp perhaps Plin. *HN* xxix. 4 57) and perhaps of some other simple contrivance, raised to its place on the stake. Here it was hung provisionally, by a rope attached to its ends, on a tam nail or notch,[1] while the body was placed[2] astride the lower peg on the stake, and the legs bound. The beams were then probably bound and nailed together at the point of intersection. Nails like those already used for the hands would be employed to fix the feet (Lk. 24 39, cp Plautus, *Mil. gl.* ii. 4 13; Just. *Dial.* chap. 97, Fest. *Ed. Mü.* 3 11, etc.), which were only slightly elevated above the ground. The nails were driven through each foot either in front, through the instep and sole, or at the side, through the *tendo Achilli*.[3] The body remained on the cross until it decayed (Hor. *Epp.* i. 16 48; Lucan, *Phars.* 6 543), or (from the time of Augustus) until it was given up to the friends of the condemned for burial (Quintil. *Decl.* 6 9; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 5 2). Soldiers were set to watch the crucified (Cic. *Pro Rabir.* 4 11, Petron. *Sat.* 3; Quint. *Decl.* 6 9; Mt. 27 36; Jn. 19 23). Death resulted from hunger (Euseb. *HE* v. 1 50; or pain (Seneca, *Ep.* 101). To alleviate the latter the Jews offered the victim a stupefying draught (Mk. 15 23; Mt. 27 34; Bab. Sanh. *f.* 43 1). Breaking of the legs (σκελοκοπία; see § 6) was a distinct form of punishment among the Romans (Seneca, *De Ira* 3 32; Suet. *Aug.* 67; cp. however, Origen on Mt. 27 54). M. A. C.

Modern realism takes an interest in these painful details which was unknown to primitive Christianity and to the evangelists. From an archæological point of view this may be justified; but it is necessary to point out that the evangelists are entirely indifferent to the archæology of the circumstances of the Passion. All indeed that they seem to care for is (1) the opportunity which the Cross gave for Christ to make fresh disclosures (speech) of his wonderful character, and (2) the proofs which the Passion gave, as it appeared to them, of a 'pre-established harmony' between prophecy and the life of Jesus. When the *ἐσμυρνισμένος οἶνος* (wine mingled with myrrh) or *ὄξος* (vinegar) is mentioned, it is chiefly, we may presume, to suggest a connection with Ps. 69 21.[3] So the 'casting lots' doubtless fixed

5. Evangelists' point of view.

1 Jeremy Taylor (*Life of Christ*) and Farrar (*Life of Christ*) assume that the body was hung by the arms, which were after wards nailed fast to the cross. Cp Jn. 20 25, the expressions *ἐν τοῖς ἥλοις*, *ἐν τῷ τύπῳ*, *διὰ μέσων τῶν χειρῶν*, etc.

2 See Plin. *l.c.*, Dr. Irving, *Ex Oriente lux*, 1882, where this part of the Scripture is illustrated. For the two tales of Pliny, see Wünsche, in H. Laible, and Meyer, Orbis Romanus, Laibach, etc., 1884, that only one leg was fixed.

3 This seems to be plain from the expression in Mt. 27 34 (WH, RV) 'wine mingled with gall.' The allusion is to Ps. 69 21 (אבל, 'gall' would never have come in [illegible] Ps. 69 21, [illegible]).

4 Mt. 27 46 is taken) is a fellow psalm to Ps. 69. See also Lk.

itself in tradition because of the parallelism of Ps. 2[illegible]. The only NT passages in which accounts of sympathy with the physical pains of Jesus are displayed are [illegible] 22 44 and Heb. 5 7, especially the former. Here great reserve is noticeable. Though Westcott (1751) quotes several ancient writers who state sweat, in some circumstances, to be tinged with blood,[2] yet the early writer of Lk. 22 44 *f.*[3] confines himself with saying that the sweat of Jesus in agony was 'as it were clots of blood' (*ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος*). There is no evidence that any NT writer had formed the idea that Jesus died of a broken heart, as W. Stroud, M.D., supposed (*Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, 1847)—certainly an idea for which many modern readers of the Gospel would be sorry to find sufficient evidence. The hypothesis is based on Jn. 19 34, where we read that 'one of the soldiers with a spear pierced (*ἔνυξεν*) his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water.' From a critical point of view we can hardly say that the fact that Jesus received this wound after he had breathed his last is established; theorising upon it therefore, with a view to determine the cause of Jesus' death, is excluded. We have reason to believe (see Orig. on Mt. 27 54) that a lance wound was sometimes given to those who were crucified to accelerate death. The probability is (if the kernel of Jn. 19 31–37 be accepted as historical) that the two malefactors first had their legs broken (*crucifragium*) and then received their *coup de grâce* by being pierced with a lance. This is not opposed to the interpretation of vv. 34, for all that the evangelist says is that the legs of Jesus were broken. That the statement of the 'eye witness' (ὁ ἑωρακώς) has come to us in its original form, cannot, however, safely be asserted, because of the impossibility of explaining the 'blood and water' from an internal physiological fact. Perhaps one may suppose that the writer of Jn. 19 31–37 in its present form has accommodated the facts of tradition (the tradition attested by the eye-witness) to his theological needs. There is a theological commentary on the 'blood and water' in 1 Jn. 5 6, where the 'water' and the 'blood' have become, or were, technical expressions for permanent supernatural channels of divine grace, though the commentary (to us (not to its first readers) be as obscure as the text.

[1] With regard to the hypothesis of Dr. Stroud (viz., that death was sudden from rupture of the heart, and that the blood and water were the separated clot and serum of the escaped blood in the pericardial sac, which the spear had pierced), it is sufficient to mention the invariable fact, of which this physician appears to have been ignorant, that the blood escaping into a cavity from rupture of a great organ, such as the heart (aneurysmal aorta) or parenchymatous uterus, does not show the smallest tendency to separate into clot and serum ("blood" and "water," as he takes it). It remains thick, dark-red blood. The notion that the wound was on the left side is comparatively late. It is embodied in some of the newer crucifixes, where the wound is placed horizontally about the fifth interspace; but in most modern crucifixes, and probably in the more ancient, the wound is placed somewhat low on the right side. That it was deep and wide, is inferred from the language of Jn. 20 27, where Thomas is bidden to "reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side"—namely the side of the spiritual body.

[2] The ordinary view of the motive of the soldier (Jn. 19 34), viz., that he wished to make sure of the death of Jesus, is [illegible] a mere conjecture. If, therefore, the expression *ἔνυξεν* ('they thrust through,' in Zech. 12 10 twice) [illegible] the hypothesis that the [illegible] was only a slight one. He adds [illegible] hypothesis thus explains it. [illegible] 'May it not have been, rather than a brutal act, the point of the [illegible] something in the shape of the lance [illegible] [illegible] the same [illegible] of Jn. [illegible] (ὁ τετυφλωμένος [illegible] μου [illegible]) [illegible] is most naturally translated Vulgate [illegible] in Westcott. This too suits Ps. 69.

[3] This is not in the best text, that the expression, Mt. 27 35 is wanting in the best MSS, and [illegible] by [illegible] See Jn. 19 24.

[4] Numerous more or less unauthentic modern instances [illegible] other [illegible]

[illegible] the original text (WH).

coloured wheal, blebs, or exudation, such as the scourging (Mt. 27 26) might have left, or the pressure of the (assumed) ligature supporting the weight of the body might have produced? Water not unmixed with blood from some such superficial source is conceivable; but blood and water from an internal source are a mystery.'—C. C.

Apart from the references to the cross in the evangelical narratives, there are a few passages in which the cross is mentioned, or has been thought to be mentioned, in a manner which has the note of originality.

7. Biblical References.

1. If Sellin (*Serubbabel*, 100) were right in read[ing] יראו אלי אשר דקרו in Is. 53 10 we should get a striking though tacitous anticipation of the cross of Jesus in prophecy. It is this writer's rather strange theory that ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*], whom he idealises in the light of Is. 53 and kindred passages, suffered impalement as the Jewish Messianic king. Unfortunately the sense of 'cross' (σταυρός) for צִיּוּן is justified neither by its etymology (see Ges.-Buhl) nor by usage. *Tiw* means properly a tribal or religious sign, and is used in Ezek. 9 4 for a mark of religious import on the forehead (cp CUTTINGS, § 6) and in Job 31 35 (if the text is right) for a signature. No Jew would have used צִיּוּן for σταυρός, though, the *tau commissa* being in the shape of a T, the cross is often referred to by early *Christian* writers as the mystical Tau.

2. Mt. 10 38 'He that taketh not (οὐ λαμβάνει) his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me'; cp Lk. 14 27 'doth not bear (οὐ βαστάζει) his cross'; Mt. 16 24 'let him take up (ἀράτω) his cross' (so Mk. 8 34 Lk. 9 23). Two views are held: (1) That to take, or take up, or bear a cross was a proverbial phrase for undergoing a great disgrace, suggested by the sight of the Roman punishment of crucifixion; and (2) that though the substance of the saying may be due to Jesus himself, the form, as perhaps in many other cases, is due to the recasting of the saying by a later generation, possibly under the influence of the highly original phraseology of Paul.

3. Gal. 2 20 χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι; 'I have been crucified with Christ' (cp 6 14). It would be difficult to assert that this strong expression was suggested by any saying of Jesus; it has obviously arisen out of the previous statement, 'through the law I died to the law.' The crucifixion of Jesus is of slight interest to Paul as a mere historical event; it becomes all-important through the apostle's mystical connexion with Christ. The crucifixion has an ideal as well as a real character, and the former gives a value to the latter (cp ADAM AND EVE, § 21). On Gal. 3 13 see HANGING. T. K. C.

See further JESUS, § 20 *f.*, and GOSPELS, §§ 12 14; also Brandt, *Die Evangelische Geschichte* ('93), 179 *ff.*; Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 3 409 *ff.*; Meyer, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium* (7th ed., 1898), 488 *f.*; Godet's Commentary on Luke, and, in particular O. Zockler's *Das Kreuz Christi* (1875; *E.T.* 1878). §§ 1-4 M. A. C., §§ 5-7 T. K. C.

CROW (κορωνη). Bar. 6 54. See RAVEN.

CROWN. In considering the crown of the Hebrews the primary signification of the English word, and the origin of the crown itself, must not be lost sight of. Originally crown, garland, fillet, chaplet, and diadem were hardly to be distinguished from one another.

1. Varieties.

As to the form of the Israelite crown we have no certain information. The ancient Egyptian forms of the upper and lower country crowns, the one with high [illegible] slope, the other bottle-shaped (see HIEROGLYPHS, § 43 n.), are less to be thought of than the [illegible] truncated cone with its small pointed elevation in the centre. The latter was worn by the highest [illegible], and may well have been the head-dress of [illegible]

[illegible] RV, with most critics; but the text of v. 34 *f.* is certainly [illegible] (see Beer, *ad loc.*). [illegible] 'my sign' ('my signature') [illegible] improbable expression. Tg. and Vg. are [illegible] 'my crown'.

Hebrew royalty. Another important variety was the DIADEM [*q.v.*], which was worn as a fillet (see TURBAN, 1), or encircled the high imperial hat of Persian sovereigns. From this has probably been derived the high priest's MITRE [*q.v.*, 2]. The Persian hat is perhaps referred to in the late Heb *kether* (כתר) Esth. 1 11 2 17 6 8 and perhaps Ps. 45 9 [10] (Gr. Che.], in Esth. 5 1 δίημα),[1] and in the κίδαρις of 1 Esd. 3 6 (EV 'diadem'). The Hebrews must have been familiar with the ancient custom of distinguishing rulers by special forms of headgear; but in the frequent allusions to the ceremonies of a royal accession (*coronation*) is mentioned only once—in the case of Joash (2 K. 11 12). See CORONATION. Besides the bracelets (צְעִידִים; so Wi's emendation: see BRACELET), we see that the distinctive ornament worn by King Joash was the *nezer* נזר. It means simply 'mark of separation or consecration,'[2] and, originally, was perhaps nothing more than a fillet (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 483 *f.*). In post-exilic literature it [illegible] of the high priest's headdress (see MITRE, 3 4 [illegible] use we are ignorant. It is true that according to 2 S. 1 10 Saul's *nezer* was transferred to his royal David; but we cannot be sure that the statement is [illegible]. The representation that kings went into [illegible] wearing their insignia need not be disputed;[3] but there is [illegible] ground for suspecting that the writer (w[illegible]) [illegible] imagine [illegible] See SAMUEL, 1 S. 4 12). Nowack (*HA* 1 [illegible]) [illegible] Solomon was the first to introduce a royal crown. Certainly David did not [illegible] his son crowned [illegible] though he was to have Solomon's right popularly recognised: 1 K. 1 [illegible], and neither Absalom nor Adonijah went through the rite of coronation when claiming the throne; but it is remarkable that, when so much is said of Solomon's throne (1 K. 10 18), nothing is hinted about a crown. That the *'atarah* (עטרה) was, at least for a limited period, [illegible] insignia of Jewish kings may be taken as certain. It is possible that this also was originally a diadem or [illegible] though in Job 31 36 we read that it could be 'bound' upon the head (עלי), which suggests that it was a turban. In Cant. 3 11 it represents the bridegroom's (Hellenic?) garland.[4] Not only does the [illegible] by a common [illegible] dignity and honour, but also in late passages [illegible] possession implies sovereignty and its loss is synonymous with the king's degradation. A case of the former is Ps. 21 3 [4], 'Thou settest a crown (עטרת) of fine gold on his head' (στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου); of the latter, Ezek. 21 26 [31], 'Remove the mitre (המצנפת κίδαρις), and take off the crown (העטרה στεφανος).' Here we may follow Smend and Bertholet in explaining both mitre and crown of the [illegible] insignia: Zedekiah is to be stripped of all his dignity. For the

[1] It is [illegible] Esther, [illegible] that the decoration of the horse with the kingly [illegible] was [illegible] royal dignity ([illegible] Esth. [illegible] with 1 K. [illegible]). See also [illegible]. In later Hebrew [illegible] the literary word for crown. It is used in the phrase, 'the crown of the law,' a precious crown-shaped [illegible] of the Pentateuch [illegible] of the crowns [illegible] Hebrew [illegible] and in the Talmud as Mishnic sentence (Aboth 4 13), 'There are three crowns: the crown of Torah (Law), the crown of priesthood, and the crown of royalty; but the crown of a good name excels them.' Lagarde (*Gesa. Abh.* 207 13 15) regards כתר as a Persian loan-word; but the root is common in Hebrew. As in most other words for crown, the root-meaning must be 'to [illegible]'.

[2] G uses different words for נזר. In 2 S. 1 10 it has βασίλειον [BA], διάδημα [L], in Ex. 29 6 πετάλον, while in 2 K. 11 12 the word is left untranslated (ναζιρ [B], εζερ [A]; but ἁγίασμα [L]). In the last-mentioned place the Targum and Peshi. have [illegible].

[3] Thenius refers to Layard, *Nineveh*, fig. 18. Rameses put [illegible] the head of the king [illegible] (Brugsch, [illegible]).

[4] In [illegible] which [illegible] captured (2 S. [illegible]) [illegible] to the *ilel* of the Ammonites (see AMMON, 8). For the Talmudic view on this and other passages connected with royal and priestly crowns, see Leopold Low's excellent essay 'Kranz und Krone' in his *Ges. Schr.* 1 [illegible].

priestly עציר (cp Ecclus. 45 12), see MITRE; and f other Heb. words to designate distinguished head-gear, see DIADEM, TURBAN.

Crowns or garlands were worn by brides (Ezek. 16 12 עטרת תפארת) and by bridegrooms (Is. 61 10 פאר, RV garlands).[1] The 'oil of joy' (*ib.*, 7 3) recalls the royal anointing (see CORONATION), and it may be that the bridegroom wore a chaplet as king of the festival. Delitzsch thinks that the bridegroom's *pʾêr* was a turban. Solomon (Cant. 3 11) is represented as wearing a diadem or '*ăṭîrâh* on the day of his espousals (cp CANTICLES, § 9). In the time of Vespasian the bridegroom's chaplet was abandoned (Mish. *Sotah* 9 14). In the Middle Ages the Jews resumed the use of wreaths for brides.

3. Bridegroom's crown.

Josephus asserts that after the return from the exile Aristobulus, eldest son of Hyrcanus I., was the first to put 'a diadem on his head' (διαδημα Ant. 11 1). From Zech. 6 9-15, however, it would appear that Zech. was directed to select from the exiles' gifts enough gold and silver to make crowns (עֲטָרוֹת) or a crown (עֲטָרָה, W. Now.) for Zerubbabel.[2] Josephus was perhaps thinking solely of the Hasmonaean kings; those priest-kings wore 'buckles of gold' on their shoulders, not crowns on their heads (1 Macc. 10 89 14 44, πορπην χρυσῆν; see BUCKLE, 3). The Talmud thinks that Hyrcanus, the 'second David,' wore two separate crowns, one royal and one priestly (*Kidd.* 66 *a*); and Josephus represents a present to this king of a golden crown from Athens (στεφανος, *Ant.* XIV 8 5).

4. Post-exilic and NT usages.

The Gr. στεφανος, which properly denotes the badge of merit as distinct from διαδημα the badge of royalty (see DIADEM), is frequently used by Ⓖ to represent עֲטָרָה; but the distinction between διαδημα and στεφανος was not consistently observed in Hellenistic Greek.

In the NT στεφανος is used of the garlands given to the victors in games (1 Cor. 9 25; cp 2 Tim. 2 5), of the ornaments worn by the 'elders,' etc. in the visions of the Apocalypse (Rev. 4 4 10 6 2 9 7 14 14; here, the Son of Man), and of Jesus' crown of thorns. The last perhaps attracts the Roman rather than the Jewish idea as to the symbolism of the crown; but Jewish ideas on such matters must by that date have been assimilated to the Roman.

In RV 1 Macc. 10 29 11 35 13 37 39 2 Macc. 14 4 (στέφανος) 'crown' (AV 'crown tax') refers to a 'fixed money payment like the Roman *aurum coronarium* (Cic. *in Pison.* ch. 37), in room of the wreath or crown of gold which at one time it was customary, and even obligatory, for subject peoples to present as a gift of honour (cp 2 Macc. 14 4 and § 2 above) to the reigning king on certain occasions' (Camb. Bib. *ad* 1 Macc. 10 29); see TAXATION.

On the *zêr* of the altar (Ex. 30 3 *f.* 37 26 *f.* EV 'crown,' RV^mg. 'rim' or 'moulding'), see ALTAR, § 11; on that of the ark (*ib.* 25 11 37 2), see ARK, § 13; and on that of the table of shewbread (*ib.* 25 24 *f.* 37 11 *f.*), see ALTAR, § 10. Ⓖ renders by κυμάτιον στρεπτὸν and στεφανη.

See CHAPLET, MITRE, TURBAN; and cp GOLD.

E. W. S. A. C.

CRUCIFIXION. See CROSS.

CRUSE. 1. The cruse of water (צַפַּחַת, *ṣappaḥath*) which stood by Saul's head when he was asleep, taken by David (1 S. 26 11 12 16; cp 1 K. 19 6) was probably a small water-jar of porous clay like the *zîr* (see above, pronunciation, *br.*) of the modern Syrians and Egyptians. The porosity of the clay enables the water to be kept cool, and the jar is prized in a drought.

[1] The reading is doubtful. Many follow Hitzig and read יכן כמו פאר (*i.e.*, *Sôṭâh* 110): 'like a priest on who *or his* his coronal.' Crowns, it may be added, are still used in the marriage rites of the Greek Church.

[2] The MT assigns to Zerubbabel, so crown to Joshua the High Priest; but this can hardly be maintained (see Zech. 6 11 AV 11, and cp Kirkpatrick *ad loc.*).

The same vessel was used by the poor to hold oil (1 K. 17 12 14 16), where it is distinguished from the כד or water-jar [AV 'pitcher'] in which the household supply was fetched from the well [Gen. 24 14 *f.* Ⓖ ὑδρία].

In 1 K. 17 *l.c.*, in 19 6 and in Judith 10 5, Ⓖ uses the word κελεύθιον, also written καμψάκης, which, if from καμπω, would suggest the shape of the Roman *ampulla*.

2. The cruse of honey which Jeroboam's wife took as part of her present to Ahijah (1 K. 14 3) was the *ṣappaḥath* or earthenware bottle (see BOTTLE). The Greek translators (Ⓖ^L Aq.) render by σταμνος, a wine jar, which it is interesting to note, is also used by Ⓖ^L for *ṣenṣenneth* (EV 'pot of manna') laid up in the sanctuary (Ex. 16 33). This cruse or jar of manna was of earthenware according to the Targum, but of gold according to Ⓖ (*loc. cit.*).

3. The cruse (צְלֹחִית, ὑδρίσκη) of 2 K. 2 20 *f.*, used by Elisha to hold salt, was probably a flat dish or plate rather than a bottle or jar (cp צַלָּחַת, 2 Ch. 35 13 [Ⓖ εἰσδώσθη]; צִנְצֶנֶת in 2 K. 21 13 ὁ ἀλάβαστρος [B], ἀλάβαστρον [A], τὸ πιξίν [L], PAN).

4. On the cruse (ἡ ἀλάβαστρος; AV BOX, 2) of Mk. 14 3, etc., strictly a jar or phial of alabaster, usually pear-shaped or pyramidal (Pliny, *HN* 9 56), ALABASTER.

A. R. S. K.

CRYSTAL. There can be little doubt that rock crystal is intended by the κρύσταλλος of Rev. 21 11: glass is represented by ὑαλος (see GLASS). Theophrastus (54) reckons crystal among the pellucid stones used for engraved seals. In modern speech we apply the term *crystal* (as the ancients apparently did) to a glass-like transparent stone (commonly of a hexagonal form) of the flint family, the most refined kind of quartz.

In Ⓖ κρύσταλλος represents—

a. קֶרַח, 'frost' or 'ice,' perhaps even in Ezek. 1 22.

b. אֶקְדָּח [אַבְנֵי] (Is. 54 12, EV† 'carbuncles'),—that is, 'stones of fire' (cp Ass. *abnu iṣâti*, 'stone of fire,' *hipindu*), on an assumed derivation from קדח, 'to kindle' (lit. by rubbing): hence the rendering of Aq. λίθ. πρηνισμῶν, Sym. Theod. [λίθ.] γλυφῆς, Vg. *lapides sculpti* [*sculpto*]. LXX and Pesh. have κριστάλλου (קרח?).

c. בְּדֹלַח, EV 'bdellium' Nu. 11 7 (cp Field, *Hexapla*).

d. קִישׁוּר, EV 'vapour' (Ps. 148 8).

For Job 28 17† AV (זְכוּכִית), RV 'glass'; see GLASS.

e. גָּבִישׁ, *gâbîš* (Job 28 18; RV 'crystal,' AV 'pearls') is of obscure origin; cp perhaps Ass. *gabâšu*, 'be thick, massive.'

The RV 'crystal' finds support in the Heb. אַרְגָּבִישׁ, 'hail' (in the relation of meanings see BDB, s.v. גָּבִישׁ), and possibly Lat. *glaciem* (Lat. also בְּרִיעָה [Dan. 2 Ch. 3 5 Vg.]; cp Ochmann, who, like Ar. Pers. *billauri* [see Yule s.v. transp.], takes 'crystal' or even 'glass' as well as 'beryl.' Blau understands 'glass pearls.'

ⓢ^PIRAC transliterates γαβ 15 and so Theod. γαβιε; the Pesh. is too paraphrastic to be of any use; and ὑπερῆφμεια [Syr. Hex., mg. ܚܕܘܬܐ] are appellatives derived from MH גבש, 'to heap up,' גבשושית, 'heap,' 'hill.'

CUB (כּוּב), Ezek. 30 5 RV; AV CHUB (*q.v.*).

CUBIT. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The common term is אַמָּה, '*ammah* (prop. length of forearm; BDB; Ass. *ammatu*, אמה in the Siloam inscr.). Genesis: cp אַמָּה אִישׁ, 'an ordinary cubit' (Dt. 3 11), אַמָּה וָאֶצְבַּע one handbreadth longer than the usual cubit (1 S. 17 40), etc.

גֹּמֶד, *gômed*, Judg. 3 16 [see this to be a short cubit; see Jastrow, see Moore, *JBL* 12 1 4 *f.*].

The NT term is πηχυς, Mt. 6 27 Lk. 12 25.

CUCKOW, RV 'seamew' (שָׁחַף); λάρος [BAL].

[1] Hitz. and Co. delete 'terrible,' הַנּוֹרָא (so ⓢ^HA, but not Vg. Pesh.). It is of course possible that we should read הנורא.

Lev. 11 16 Dt. 14 15†), is mentioned among unclean birds. It cannot be identified with certainty. The Heb. root probably signifies leanness; thus the kindred word שְׁחִפָּה, *shhiphah* (cp Ar. *suhif*), denotes consumption or phthisis. The [illegible] is no settled Jewish tradition, but [illegible] and Vg are very likely right in understanding some kind of aquatic bird, perhaps the tern (*Sterna hirundinacea*, *FFP*, 135). The AV 'cuckoo' comes from the Geneva Bible.

Two species of cuckoo spend the summer in Palestine: *Cuculus canorus*, the widely-spread common cuckoo, which returns from its winter quarters towards the end of March; and the great spotted cuckoo, *Coccystes glandarius*, which arrives rather earlier. Canon Tristram enumerates nine species of tern belonging to two genera found in Palestine, some of which are plentiful along the sea coasts and around the inland waters, especially in winter. The shearwater, *Puffinus*, is another identification suggested for the *Sahaph*. *P. yelkouanus*, an inhabitant of the Mediterranean and other seas, has acquired the name of 'âme damnée' from the French-speaking inhabitants of the Bosphorus, its restless habits having given rise among the Mohammedan peoples to the notion that it is the corporeal habitation of lost souls. N. M. —A. E. S.

CUCUMBERS (קִשֻּׁאִים, *kiṣṣu'îm*; CIKYAI [-YOI B 'I.]. Nu 11 5†) and **Garden of Cucumbers** (מִקְשָׁה, *miḳṣah*; CIKYHPATON, Is. 1 8 Bar. 6 70 [69 ℵ]). Forms analogous to the word rendered 'cucumber' occur in Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Assyrian, and Carthaginian; and probably Gr. σικύη[1] is the same word with the first two consonants transposed.[2] It is thus known that what is meant is some kind of gourd, cucumber, or melon, perhaps primarily *Cucumis Chate*, L. (Low, 330), which is now regarded as a variety of the melon (*Cucumis Melo*; see Hasselquist, *Itr Palæst.* 491).

The cucumber itself, *Cucumis sativus*, originated in NW. India, and certainly the Sanskrit name *sonkasa* looks strikingly like σικυος. It seems clear that the cucumber reached the Mediterranean region pretty early. De Candolle (*Orig. Pl. Cult.* 212) says that there is no evidence that it was known in ancient Egypt; this, however, applies equally to the melon (208).

כַּקִּקָּאָה (for מְקוֹם קִקָּאָה) is simply 'place of cucumbers'; Ar. and Syr. have similar words with the same meaning. Cp FOOD, § 5. N. M.—W. T.-D.

CUMMIN (כַּמֹּן; KYMINON, *cyminum*, Is. 28 25 27 Mt. 23 23†) is the seed of an umbelliferous herbaceous plant (*Cuminum cyminum*, L.) which is used as a condiment with different kinds of food. A native of the Mediterranean region,[3] it was from an early period largely spread over W. Asia.[4] The Heb. name, which is of unknown origin, is found also in Arab., Syr., Eth., and Carthaginian, and has passed into Greek, Latin, and many modern languages, including English.

Cummin is often referred to by ancient writers. Thus two early Greek comedians include it in lists of condiments (Meineke, 3 78 417); Dioscorides (3 60 *f.*) and Pliny (20 14 [57]) describe its medicinal properties, the latter noticing especially its effect in producing paleness—referred to by Horace (*Ep.* I. 19 18, 'exsangue cuminum') and by Persius (v. 55, 'pallentis grana cumini').

The mention of the seed in Mt. 23 23 as a trifling object on which tithe was rigidly imposed by the Pharisees reminds us of the Greek use of κυμινοπρίστης ('cummin-sawer') for a niggard or skinflint (Arist. *Eth. N.* iv. 1 30). In Is. 28 27, where Yahwé's varied discipline of Israel is illustrated by the care and discrimination with which the husbandman performs his appointed task, it is noticed that finer grains, cummin and קֶצַח (see FITCHES), are threshed with staff and rod, the heavier treatment by the threshing wain being reserved for coarser seeds. N. M.

CUN (כּוּן) 1 Ch. 18 8 RV; AV CHUN.

CUNNING WORK, CUNNING WORKMAN. The 'cunning workman,' חֹשֵׁב, is distinguished from the 'craftsman'—חָרָשׁ—in Ex. 35 35 38 23, and the recurrence of the phrase מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב in connection with certain

[1] Theophrastus has σίκυος and συκύη; according to Fraas the former was the cucumber, the latter the melon.
[2] So Ges. *Thes.* s.v.; Lag. *Arm.* 80 1072; *Mitth.* 2 356.
[3] Boissier and Hooker, *Gen. Pl.* 1 930.
[4] Dioscorides knows it chiefly in Asia Minor.

textile fabrics (Ex. 26 1 31 28 6 15 36 8 15 39 8 [P]) suggests some specialised meaning (see EMBROIDERY).

⊕ usually has ὑφάντης or ὑφαντός; Vg usually *fecimentarius* or *opus fecimentarium*, the work of the damask weaver (see WEAVING). Wing (Ex. 26 1 [illegible]) [illegible] 'embroiderer' [illegible] mainly that of the [illegible] is that of the military engineer.

CUP. The seven Hebrew and Greek words rendered 'cup' in EV can be but imperfectly distinguished; see however, FLAGON, GOBLET, MEASURE, POTTERY; also, on Joseph's divining cup, DIVINATION, § 3 [5]; JOSEPH; and on the 'cup of blessing' (1 Cor. 10 16), EUCHARIST, PASSOVER.

The figure of a wine-cup occurs frequently to express the effect, whether cheering (Ps. 23 5) or the [illegible] of wrath (Is. 51 17 [illegible]) of woe, the second of these applications predominates. In the NT the figure describes the sufferings willingly accepted by Christ and his followers (Mt. 20 22 *f.* 26 39, etc.), and is used in the older Jewish sense in Revelation (14 10, 16 19). Nowhere does the term 'cup' stand by itself in the sense of 'destiny'; the use described above never produced what may be called a technical sense of גּוֹרָל, 'cup.' In Ps. 16 5 it is a second גּוֹרָל, meaning 'appointment, destiny,' from גּוֹרָל, 'to number, to determine,' that is used. 'The portion of my (or their) cup' should be 'my (or their) destined portion.' No one can drink 'fire and brimstone,' nor can 'cup' and 'lot' stand as parallel expressions. From the list of passages we designedly omit Ps. 116 13: 'lift up the cup of salvation' should be 'lift up the ensign of victory' (reading נֵס); see ENSIGN.

For *'aggān*, אַגָּן, Is. 22 24 EV, see BASON, 1. For Jer. 35 5, גָּבִיעַ, *gābîa'*, Joseph's silver divining cup, Gen. 44 2 12 *f.*, see above. For the bowls upon the golden candlestick (Ex. 25 31 *ff.*, 37 17 *ff.*) see CANDLESTICK, § 2. For כּוֹס, *kôs*, the common term (Gen. 40 11, etc.), see MEASURE, § 12. For Jer. 52 19, מִזְרָק, *mizrāḳ* (AV [illegible]), see BASON, 4. For Nu. 4 7 RV, see [illegible] AV, [illegible] *tôr*, see [illegible]. The NT term is ποτήριον (cp ⊕ for [illegible]), Mt. 23 25 26.

CUPBEARER (מַשְׁקֶה, lit. 'one who gives to drink'; ΟΙΝΟΧΟΟΣ). In Eastern courts, where the fear of intrigues and plots was never absent, cupbearers were naturally men whose loyalty was above suspicion; they frequently enjoyed the sovereign's confidence, and their post was one of high importance and honour (so, *e.g.*, at the court of Cambyses, Her. 3 34; cp Marquart, *Ind. Iranica*, 55 220). The only reference to cupbearers in Israel is in the unique chapter describing Solomon's court, 1 K. 10 5 (οἰνοχόοις [L] 2 Ch. 9 4). Elsewhere cupbearers are spoken of in connection with Egypt (Gen. 40 1-23 41 9), Shushan (Neh. 1 11 οἰνοχόος [BNℵ*a]), and Nineveh (Tob. 1 22). It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that the Assyrian RABSHAKEH [*q.v.*] has nothing to do with 'cupbearer.'

In Gen. *l.c.*, EV 'butler' (שַׂר הַמַּשְׁקִים, 'chief butler' (40 2 ἀρχιοινοχόος [A' L]). In 7 13 ⊕ aptly uses ἐφιοινοχοοῦσα where the Hebrew has מִשְׁקֶה, 'position, office.' With reference to Neh. 1 11, it is worth noticing that Nehemiah was only one of the cupbearers to Artaxerxes (not *the* cupbearer; cp Fr. Rys's ⊕ finds a reference to male and female cupbearers in Eccles. 2 8 (שָׁרִי וּשְׁרָרוֹת, οἰνοχόοι [ℵ* 8 A] καὶ οἰνοχόαι); but see ECCLESIASTES, § 2. The chance allusion in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 8 1 shows that at the [illegible] of Herod [illegible] in Assyria) the cupbearers were eunuchs (⊕'s εὐνοῦχος above may, of course, be nothing more than an error). See, generally, MEALS, § 11 end.

CURDS (חֶמְאָה), Is. 7 15 RV^mg. See MILK.

CURSE. See BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, BLAS-

[1] Cp Fr. *génie*, applied in a specialised sense to civil and military engineering (*Gingenium*), and the Eng. *engine*.
[2] Ps. 60 1 [3] 75 8 [9] Is. 51 17 Jer. 25 15-17 49 12 Lam. 4 21 Ezek. 23 32-34; cp also Jer. 51 7 Zech. 12 2.

PHEMY, BAN, COVENANT; and cp URIM AND THUMMIM.

On חרם, *ḥérem* (Mal. 4 6 [3 24], etc.), see especially BAN. On שבועה, *shebhu'ah*, Is. 65 15 (RVmg. prefers OATH [*q.v.*]); אלה in Nu. 5 21 (RVmg. 'adjuration'); תאלה [תאלת] Lam. 3 65, מאלה, Dt. 28 20 (RV 'cursing'), חרם, *καταθεμα*, Rev. 22 3 (RVmg. 'anything accursed'), and *κατ ρα*, Gal. 3 10 13; see BLESSING AND CURSING.

CURTAIN. For Ex. 26 1 *ff.*, etc. (יריעה), and Nu. 3 26 (11), etc. (קלע); more usually 'hanging' in AV, generally 'screen' in RV); see TABERNACLE. דק (*καμαρα*; Is. 40 22), RVmg. 'gauze', is properly infin. of דקק, 'to be fine or thin.' The heavens are likened to a fine gauzy expanse. The rendering 'curtain' is loose, and is due, no doubt, to the use of יריעה in the parallel Ps. 104 2.

CUSH. 1. A (non-Semitic) people called Kaśśe is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions as dwelling in the border country between N. Elam and Media (Sennacherib [Lay. Cyl. 164 *ff.*; *KB* 1 87]) describes this region as difficult to traverse, and as not subjugated by any of his predecessors. In fact, it was a conquering race that dwelt there. To it belonged the dynasty which ruled over Babylonia for nearly six centuries—a lengthened rule, the consequence of which was the infusion of a large Kassite element into the population of Babylonia, especially S. Babylonia, which might fairly be called the land of Kaś. It is this Kaśśu (where MT's Kūśī[1] that is intended in Gen. 10 8, where NIMROD [*q.v.*] is called the son of Cush. That the Babylonian Kaśśu is meant in Gen. 2 13 as the passage now stands is not a thing easy to make out (see PARADISE), while to hold with Winckler (*AT Untersuch.* 140 *ff.*) that Isaiah refers to the N. Babylonian Kaś in the difficult prophecy, Is. 18, can be rendered possible only by somewhat improbable textual criticism and exegesis.

1. Babylonian.

Wi.'s result (1892) is that the embassy mentioned by Isaiah is that of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah in 720 B.C., and his strongest argument is that 'the streams of Cush' in 18 1 is not applicable to the kingdom of Ethiopia, which had but one stream, the Nile. The answer is that the geographical knowledge of the writer was naturally but small, and that the island of Meroë, to which the residence of the Ethiopian kings was removed after Taharka's time, is formed by the main of the Nile, the Atbara, and the Blue Nile. On grounds independent of Wi.'s hypothesis, the words אשר מעבר לנהרי כוש are correctly held to be a late interpolation. (See further Che. and Haupt in *Jesaiah* Heb. *SBOT*.)

2. The question of the existence of an Arabian Cush has passed into a new phase since the discovery by Winckler (*Musri*, 2 [98]) of a N. Arabian land of Kuś contiguous to the N. Arabian Muṣr or Muṣri, and together with it forming the region called Meluḥḥa (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*). The land being known as Kūś (כוש) to the Assyrians, we cannot avoid a re-examination of the more difficult OT passages in which כוש (Cush) or כושי (Cushi) occurs. Referring first to the Pentateuch and reserving the complicated question arising out of Gen. 2 13 for subsequent consideration, we see at once (*a*) how probable it is that in the list of names in Gen. 10 6 Cush is an Arabian and not an African country; for none of the eleven names in Gen. 10 6 7 can be supposed to be African except Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Seba, and of these Mizraim (read rather Mizrim) has been claimed elsewhere for Arabia, while Put (*q.v.*) is at any rate not Libya, and Seba (סבא), which resists all attempts to localise it in Africa, may well be suspected to be only another form of Sheba (שבא), *i.e.*, the well-known Arabian Sabæans. It is true Sheba appears in *v.* 7 as a son of Raamah; but no objection can be based upon that. The same name probably fixed itself in slightly different forms in different localities, and in Ps. 72 10 we even find סבא (which has intruded into the text) as a variant to שבא. (Possibly Sheba, שבא sh everywhere rather be Seba, סבא.) This conclusion gr reduces the error committed by the redactor of Ge in inserting *vv.* 8 10-14 18-19 (which belong to J) betw *v.* 6 *f.* and *v.* 20 (which belong to P); for the p lation of the Babylonian land of Kaś, to which Nim belonged, was largely formed by the immigrati 'Chaldean' tribes (כשדים) whose home was prob in E. Arabia. If Kaś be taken, not ethnically geographically, as a designation of the Arabian l of the ancestors of a large part of the people Babylonia, it was not incorrect to regard Nimr related to the Cush mentioned in *v.* 6 *f.* (For J's see NIMROD, MIZRAIM.)

(*b*) In Nu. 11 1 (E) we hear of 'the Cushite wom whom Moses had married. In Ex. 2 16 21 (J) his Zipporah is represented as a Midianite. A mort lo to Midianites is probable even without the doubtful passage 1 K. 11 18 (cp HADAD, 3). T is no necessity to follow Wellhausen in his excis the whole of Nu. 12 1*b*; at any rate 'the Cu woman' comes from an early source. See MOSES.

(*c*) On 2 S. 18 21 see CUSHI, 3.

(*d*, *e*, *f*) Is. 20 4 43 3 45 14, see MIZRAIM.

(*g*) Am. 9 7. Who are the בני כושים? Hardly 'children of the Ethiopians' (EV). What ev have we that the Ethiopians were regarded with tempt in Amos's time? Probably the prophet lo neater home, and saw the misery inflicted on the Ar Cush by some great mischance in war (cp Wi).

(*h*) Hab. 3 7, 'the tents of Cushan' (יריעות כושן) sh perhaps become כוש, Cūsh; at any rate, N. Ara peoples are meant in both parts of the verse. See CUSH

(*i*) Job 1 17. It is quite possible to read כשדים, Cushiyim (Che. *JQR* 4 575) for כשדים 'Chaldeans' [*q.v.*]), which is not without difficulty, to explain this of the N. Arabian Cushites, who at a very rate be referred to.

(*j*) In 2 Ch. 21 16 we hear of 'Cushites' beside Arabians (cp ARABIA), a reminiscence of whose d itory raids probably underlies the distorted trad of 'Zerah the Cushite' (see ZERAH) in 2 Ch. 14 9 *ff.*

(*k*) Ps. 83 7 [8]. עם־ישבי צור, 'with the inhabitan Tyre,' should be מצרי וכוש, 'Muṣri and Cush' similar emendation is required in Ps. 87 4. The c bination of Philistines and Tyrians, Tyrians and E opians, presented in MT, is extremely improbable.

(Besides Wi. *Musri* 2 [*MDVG*, 1898], cp Gl. *Skizze*, 2 126 *ff.*)

3. Egyptian. See ETHIOPIA. T. K.

CUSH (כוש), ΧΟΥϹ[Є] [BNAR], *chusi* [Vg.], [Tg.]) a Benjamite (Ps. 7, heading). The text, ever, is corrupt.

Cushi (𝔊 al.) is a very poor conjecture (see CUSHI, 3). doubt 'Cush' should be 'Kish' (see Tg.), and the text s run בן־ימיני . . . בן־קיש עבדרי. The missing name either Mordecai (Esth. 2 5; cp Che. *OPs* 229 *f.*) or, perhaps probably, SHIMEI (*q.v.*, 1c), a member of the clan of Ki Kay, Che. *Ps.* 2). In the former case, David was supp be speaking in the name of Mordecai; in the latter, the c of Shimei are the supposed occasion of the psalm.

CUSHAN (כושן; ΑΙΘΙΟΠΕϹ [BN^c.a. c.b.AQ], (N^*]), Hab. 3 7†. The name should mean '(a c belonging to Cush,' on the analogy of Ithran, Ke Lotan (but see CUSH, i. § 2*b*). It is at any parallel to Midian. This agrees with OT pas which appear to place the Midianites in N. Ar where, according to the evidence produced by Wi there was a region known to the Assyrians as or Cush. See CUSH, i. 2; MIDIAN.

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM RV; AV **Chush rishathaim** (כושן רשעתים, *i.e.*, 'Cushan of C wickedness').

[1] Unless we suppose the vocalisation Kūś (כוש) to be produced by the confusion of the Babylonian and the African כוש.

[1] Ps. 7 was a Purim psalm

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The versions have: Χουσαρσαθαιμ [BA], [illegible] [L] [illegible] original]; Vet. Lat., *Chusarsatha*; Naples Syriac [illegible] [illegible]; Jos. Χουσαρσαθου [gen.]; V. *Chusan Ka* [illegible] (see Mez, *Die Bibel des Jos.* 11; Lagarde, *Septuaginta* [illegible] 142 f. 2 24).

The name of a king of Aram (MT ARAM NAHARAIM [illegible]): a very rare expression, which [illegible]

1. The story. [illegible] conquest of Canaan for eight [illegible] Othniel ben Kenaz overthrew him (Judg. [illegible]). [illegible] story of this oppression and deliverance [illegible] a typical illustration of the edifying theory of [illegible] history put forward in Judg. 2 11-19, and [illegible] the pre-Deuteronomic book of heroic stories which [illegible] the basis of our JUDGES (*q.v.*, §§ 3 5). Hence we are not surprised that it presents none of the characteristics [illegible] narratives founded upon genuine popular traditions, and that only two assertions emerge out of the process of which it mainly consists, viz., that the land of Israel was conquered by an early Aramaean king, and that the Israelites were delivered by the Judahite (Kenizzite) hero Othniel. These assertions, however, [illegible] tory. Even in the early time of David the clans of Judah had but a slight connection with Israel, and in the time of Deborah's insurrection, it [illegible] they stood entirely aloof from the Israelites [illegible] Judg. 5. It is historically impossible that the Judahite clan of Othniel could have played the glorious part ascribed to it in the story. Budde (*KU. Sa.* 95), though [illegible] while admitting that the oppression of Cushan-rishathaim [illegible] rely conceivably rest on a traditional basis, rejects Othniel's championship. The editor of Judges, he remarks, belonged no doubt to the tribe of Judah and took a pleasure in giving it a representative among the 'judges.' Similarly Wellhausen and Stade.

It is more probable, however, that the whole trouble is caused by an error in the text.

There is some reason to think that the true reading of G in Judg. 3 8 [illegible] Χουσαρσαθαιμ βασιλεως (βασιλεα) Συριας (note the position of ποταμῶν in v. 8, and see Field's *Hex.* on v. 10.) Even apart from this, it is not too bold to emend ארם, 'Aram, into אדם, Edom (as in 2 K. 16 6), and to omit נהרים as a gloss (with Graetz, Klost.). That Otn. and the Kenizzite should be the deliverer of Judah from the Edomite tyranny is only natural. Observe that the next oppressors are the Moabites. Whether we may go on to correct *Rishathaim* into *Resh-hat-temani*, 'the chief of the Temanites,' with Klost. (*Gesch.* 122), and to work into this paragraph the isolated passage 1 36 by prefixing ויך, 'and he smote,' is problematical. It seems to the present writer enough to read, for מארן תיתני רשעתים, 'from the land of the Temanites,' which is the description attached to the name of the Edomite King Husham in Gen. 36 34. The letters became partly defaced, and an editor wittily read רשעתים. It is very possible, too, that the name כושן (Cushan) is a corruption of חושם (חושם) Husham (cp Klost. 119). The writer was at a loss for a name, and took one from the list of Edomite kings. Husham's son Hadad was a great warrior (v. 35); it was natural to make the father equal to him in this respect. Whether we may suppose that the editor to whom we are indebted for 'Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim,' had in his mind Kassite (Cushite) incursions such as some scholars connect with NIMROD and ZEBAH (*qq.v.*), which might be loosely stated to have proceeded from 'Aram-naharaim,' may be doubted. For a different view of the origin of the story as given in MT see Moore (*Judges*, 88 *f.*), who thinks that we have here a distortion of the tradition of a raid of Midianitish 'Cushites' into Judah.

3. Other theories. Those who prefer to take the book of Judges as it stands, without applying critical methods, have two recent hypotheses respecting Cushan-rishathaim to choose from.

Prof. M'Curdy (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 [illegible]) thinks that the 'whole land' (of Canaan) may have been subdued by the Aramaeans, who, during the enfeeblement of Assyria, had recovered the land of Mitāni, the Egyptian Naharina, which had [illegible] Mesopotamia (see *RP*[2] § 56), some time before the accession of Tiglath-pileser I. (1[illegible] B.C.). In the case with which the asserted conquest of the strongholds of Canaan was effected by the Aramaeans, in the name *Cushan*-rishathaim, and the championship of a Kenizzite or Judahite hero, he finds no difficulty. Prof. Sayce, too, in his ingenious defence of a

[1] [illegible] in v. 8 Χουσαρσαθαιμ βασιλεως ποταμῶν Συρίας, [illegible] in v. 10 Χ. β. Συρίας ποταμῶν.

[illegible] the deliverer (UNS [illegible] Ramses III [illegible] Muum [illegible] the pa[illegible] Amur (N. [illegible] could be [illegible] that [illegible] there is any basis of tradition [illegible] and G. F. M[illegible] (where to [illegible] are hard [illegible] when [illegible] is enough to prove it unfast[illegible] *Kudurlaunu*, [illegible] Since the above [illegible] J. Marquart [illegible]

CUSHI (כושי). **Cushite** [illegible] cp [illegible] M[illegible] the [illegible] name *Ma'ari* (man of Ma[illegible]) [illegible] Lexicon and Asur-bani-pal, *A.* [illegible] [illegible] BA [illegible] Vg.]

[illegible] Zerahiah [illegible]

3. כושי. RV 'the Cushite.' [illegible] when [illegible] in preference to A[illegible] [illegible] of Absalom. [illegible] later [illegible] by the way of [illegible] David [illegible] 2 S 18 19-23. [illegible] Who was 'the Cushite'? and why [illegible] to 'Ahimaaz' [illegible] the messenger? [illegible] been [illegible] to mislead [illegible] death; 'the Cushite' was [illegible] the person who [illegible] the Ammonite [illegible] 2 S [illegible] well known. The Cushite was not [illegible] H. P. Smith suppose) a negro. We can hardly doubt that he belonged to the N. Arabian Cush (see CUSH, § 2).

CUSHIONS (מרבדים). Prov. 7 16 31 22; RV[mg.] πτροι κεφαλαιον Mk. 4 [illegible] RV [illegible] See BED, § 3 [illegible] and cp ROGELIM.

CUSTOM, (1) בלו Ezra 4 13 20 7 24; RV [illegible] AV 'tribute'; (2) הלך Ezra *ib.* 4; AV (RV [illegible]) [illegible] τελωνιον, Mt. 9 9 etc. AV 'receipt of custom,' RV 'place of toll.' See TAXATION.

CUTH (כותא; χουθ [B; A omits], χωθα [L]; *Chuthai*; ܟܘܬܐ) and **Cuthah** (כותה, χουνθα [B], χουα [A], χωθα [L]; *Cuthāh*), a place in Babylonia from which colonists were brought to N. Israel (2 K. 17 24), identified with *Tell Ibrahim*, N. of Babylon, where remains of Nergal's temple have been found. It is the Kutā or Kutū of the cuneiform inscriptions. Before the rise of Babylon, Kutā and Sippar, it appears, were the chief cities of N. Babylonia. As late as the time of Asur-bani-pal it was obligatory on the kings of Assyria to sacrifice to Šamaš and NERGAL [*q.v.*] at Sippar and Kutā respectively, a custom apparently due to the primitive importance of these cities in the kingdom of the Four Quarters of the World (Winckler, *OLZ* [illegible]).

We have [illegible] of the temple of Nergal in Kutā by Dungi, King [illegible]

[1] This is apparently the *Cus* [illegible] father of [illegible] in a Syriac MS of 4 Esd.; see Lietzsch, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* xlv. *f.* lxxx.

[2] רבר (MT). But perhaps rather [illegible], 'the gorge' (Kt.). See [illegible] and W[illegible]

[3] [illegible] that we would be to suppose *kak kili* (or *kiri*) to be an old corruption of *Hiokia*, see the [illegible] This is such a much of the [illegible] of Manasseh [illegible] the Cush [illegible] in the title of Ps. 7 [illegible]

[4] The thin term in these passages, מכס, is rendered 'toll' (AV) or 'tribute' (RV).

[illegible] among his plans is that he restored the temples of great gods at Kutha (*AJSL* 30 51). It was from the temple of Nergal that one of the creation-stories brought from Assurbanipal's library is stated to have come (*AJSL* 30 14; CREATION, § 18). The name 'Cutheans' has hitherto been [illegible] ARCHEVITES (*q.v.*) in *Ezra* 4 9. In the parasemology of post-exilic Jews 'Cutheans' is equivalent to 'Samaritans' (so in Jos. and the Talmud). With this name is probably to be connected the COTHA of 1 Esd. 5 34 (not in the lists of *Ezra* and Nehemiah).

CUTTING OFF. This penalty (כָּרַת [*Niphal* כִּרֵת]) is [illegible] him off from among [illegible] 'he shall be cut off from his people,' 'from Israel,' 'from the assembly,' and the like, וְנִכְרְתוּ מֵאֵת עַמָּם is first met with in H[1] (see LEVITICUS), where it is attached to a variety of offences, many of them of a ceremonial or technical character (Lev. 17 4 9, failure to bring slain ox, lamb or goat to the tabernacle; 17 10 14, eating blood; 18 29, various 'abominations'; 20 3 5 *f.*, Moloch-worship; 20 17 *f.*, incest, etc.; 22 3, unclean approach to holy things). It occurs frequently in P (Gen. 17 14, neglect of circumcision; Ex. 12 15, eating leaven in paschal season; Ex. 30 33 38, imitating or putting to secular use the holy oil or incense; Ex. 31 14, sabbath profanation; Lev. 7 20 *f.*, unclean sacrificial eating, 7 25 27, eating of fat or blood; 19 8, eating sacrifice on third day; 23 29, non-observance of day of atonement; Nu 9 13, failure to keep the passover though clean and not on a journey; 15 30 *f.*, high-handed sin, insult to Yahwe; 19 13, contact with dead; 19 20, failure to remove uncleanness from contact with dead by sprinkling).

The view of the older interpreters was that the expression meant the death penalty. It is worth noticing, however, that in Ex. 31 14 *f.* separate emphasis is laid on 'he shall be put to death' (מוֹת יוּמָת) as distinguished from 'that soul shall be cut off' (נִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהִוא); cp Lev. 20 27 (death penalty on witchcraft), the Deuteronomic expression בְּעֵר הָרָע [illegible] Dt. 13 [illegible] in connection with the death penalty in the [illegible] or abomination of the [illegible] also Lev. 23 29 נִכְרְתָה [illegible] and the [illegible] generalisation of penalties. It cannot be taken of the actual circumstances under which Lev. and P. [illegible] it seems more probable that the writers had in their mind rather some such idea as that which was carried into practice under Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 10 [illegible] 'expelled from the congregation of the captivity' [illegible] 9 4), 'cast out from the multitude of them that [illegible] of the captivity'), and ultimately developed into the minor and major excommunications of the synagogue (see SYNAGOGUE), or that they thought only of death through divine agency, not of punishment inflicted at the hands of the community (Driver on Lev. 7 20 *f.*). See, further, BAN.

CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH (Ceremonial Mutilations). The former heading is derived from the EV of Lev. 19 28 21 5. It is, however, too narrow in its range. Circumcision cannot altogether be left out in dealing with the 'cuttings' referred to in these passages; nor can we forget how intimately the laceration of the flesh in mourning is associated with the practice of shaving the head or cutting off part of the hair. The origin and significance of CIRCUMCISION [*q.v.*] is treated elsewhere. The present article will deal with (1) incisions (§ 1 *f.*), (2) the cutting off of the hair (§§ 3-5), and (3) tattooing (§ 6 *f.*), regarded as ceremonial mutilations (see further SACRIFICE).

The technical Hebrew terms for ceremonial incisions are שֶׂרֶט, שְׂרָטֶת (verb שָׂרַט); [2] the verb התגדד also is used.

1. References to cuttings. In Lev. 21 5 [H] we read (with reference to mourning for the dead), 'They shall not make . . . any cuttings in their flesh' (point שִׂרְטֹת, as plur. of שֶׂרֶט?). The practice

[1] It may be noted that the 'I' is peculiar to H, as also the phrase 'I will set my face' (Lev. 17 10 20 3 6 26 17) or 'put my face' (20 5) against the offender.

[2] Aram. [illegible], Ass. *Iarāṭu*, Ar. *Iaraṭa*, strictly 'to cut into,' 'nick,' or 'notch.'

was forbidden especially to the priests, who w[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] The substitute [illegible] Lev. 19 28: 'Ye shall not make any cuttin[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and feel affection for the dead has often evinced itself, even at a high stage of culture, by suicide over the corpse, and by such customs as the Hebrew Satt, we may be inclined to see in the 'incisions for the dead' as practised in the period of the great prophets, a symbolic expression for the willingness of the mourner to depart and be with the loved and lost one.

The passages which mention incisions of the flesh also mention cutting off the hair as a sign of mourning. Thus Lev. 21 5 [H]. 'They (the priests) shall not make a bare bald patch on their head, and the corner of their beard they shall not shave off' (cp Lev. 19 27 Dt. 14 1, 'And ye shall not set baldness between your eyes'—*i.e.*, on the forehead—'for one that is dead'); Ezekiel, too (44 20), forbids artificial baldness to the priests. The prevalence of the custom of cutting off the hair in token of deep grief is, however, presupposed by the earlier prophets, who take no exception to it. Micah says, addressing a city community, 'Make thee bald and shear thee for thy darling children; make broad thy baldness like the vulture's; for they are carried away captive from thee' (Mic. 1 16). See also Am 8 10 Is 22 12 (cp 3 24) Jer. 7 29 16 6 Ezek. 7 18; such passages show that the prohibition of the custom referred to belongs to a later age of religious legalism. In Dt 14 1 these practices are forbidden to Israelites generally, on account of their relation to Yahwe, on the principle on which Aaronites with any physical defect are excluded from the service of the altar (Lev. 21 16-23).

3. Cutting off hair.

Cutting off the hair was also the most characteristic expression of an Arab woman's mourning. When Hâlid b. al-Walîd died, all the women of his family offered their hair at his grave (Agh. 15 12; We. *Reste*[2] 182). It was a sacrifice to the dead, and the underlying idea of the offering is suggested by the story of Samson. 'If I be shaven,' said that hero, 'my strength will go from me' (Judg. 16 17). In other words, the hair, the growth of which was continually renewed, appeared to the ancients a centre of vitality, like the blood;[1] and thus to offer it, whether to deity (Nu. 6 18) or to the spirits of the dead, had essentially the same import and purpose as to offer one's blood, the aim being to originate or renew a bond of vital union between the worshipper and the unseen power. Regarded as sacrificial acts, both blood-letting and offering the hair were 'private acts of worship,' performed by the individual for his own good as distinct from that of the community; and both are common elements in ceremonies of initiation by which youths are admitted to the rights of manhood, especially to marriage and participation in the tribal worship. Thus CIRCUMCISION [*q.v.*, § 4] was originally a rite preliminary to marriage (Ex. 4 24-26); and Lucian (*Dea Syr.* 60) informs us that the long locks of young people were shorn and dedicated at the old Syrian sanctuaries on the same occasion. In the course of time the barbarous character of the blood-offering caused it to lapse from general use, except among certain priesthoods and votaries; whilst the hair offering, which in origin and principle was identical, survived to the close of Paganism, and may be recognised in the tonsure of early Christian Monachism.

4. Initiatory ceremonials.

The passage Lev. 19 27 (H; about 570 B.C.) has already been referred to. It is a prohibition of a practice, in vogue among certain Arabian tribes, of shaving off the hair all round the head, a circular patch being left on the crown (Herod. 3 8)—a practice inh-

5. Other specialised forms.

[illegible] Yahwe [illegible] 'Ye shall not make [illegible] for the dead' [illegible] 27 [illegible] 49 [illegible]. There can be little doubt that [illegible] like most other ancient tribal bodies and customs, had religious associations and a religious significance [illegible] Herodotus expressly says that the Arabs pretended to imitate their national god Orotal [illegible] by their peculiar tonsure. Hence, no doubt, the practice was forbidden to the Jews by the older Levitical code (Lev. 19 27), the object being to isolate the people of Yahwe from the neighbouring nations and their worships. On the other hand, there were some important religious customs which, though of [illegible] origin, were not abolished by the Law. Hence it was that the Nazirite continued to make an offering to Yahwe of his shorn hair (see NAZIRITE) [illegible] a practice which survived, in a slightly modified form, in the days of Paul (Acts 21 23-26; cp 18 [illegible]) [illegible] *f.*

6. Tattooing, etc.

What we call 'tattooing' also is prohibited (Lev. 19 28). The expression [illegible] does not occur again in the OT; but in New Hebrew [illegible] means the action of the [illegible] στιγματίζειν, to set a mark on a thing by pricking, puncturing, or branding (see Buxtorf); it is also used of Jews scratching [illegible].

The object of graving or branding marks on the flesh would appear to be dedication of the person to his god. Herodotus (2 113) mentions a temple of Heracles at Tarichea, by the Lake of Mareotis in the Nile, where a runaway slave might find asylum if he 'gave himself to the god' by having on his 'sacred stigmata' made on him.[1] In Is. 44 5 we have a good instance of graving a name on the hand, in token of self-dedication: 'One will say, I am Yahwe's, and another will name himself by the name of Jacob; and another will mark on his hand Yahwe's, and receive the surname Israel' (*SBOT*; cp critical notes). As far as they indicated the ownership or property of the god, such marks are analogous to the [illegible] of the Bedawi tribes, and may have had the [illegible] that necessary practice of primitive [illegible] (cp col. 711, n. 1). In Ezek. 9 4 [illegible] marking a Tau [illegible] the sign of the Egyptian ☥, *'nḫ*, life, with ✝, the Phoenician form of the letter Tau) on the foreheads of the faithful in Jerusalem, who are to be spared from slaughter; which records the sealing of the 144,000 servants of God on their foreheads (Rev. 7 3 *f.*), and further, the mark of the Beast (χάραγμα, something graven, Acts 17 29) on the right hand or the forehead of his worshippers (Rev. 13 16 *f.* 20 4). The strongly metaphorical words of Paul, too, *I bear in my body the marks* (or *brands*) *of Jesus*, τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Gal. 6 17) clearly presuppose a custom of tattooing or branding the flesh with sacred names and symbols, which would be familiar as a heathen practice to Paul's Asiatic converts.[2]

7. Substitutes.

In Ex. 13 9 Dt. 6 8 11 18 and elsewhere we have what may be regarded as a substitute for the painful processes of tattooing and branding. The Israelite is to *bind the precepts of the Law on his hand for a sign*; they are also to serve as FRONTLETS [*q.v.*] (טוטפות, phylacteries) *between his eyes*, —*i.e.*, on his forehead (cp Dt. 6 8 Rev. 7 3). The sign on the hand recalls the sign which Yahwe set on Cain (Gen. 4 15; see CAIN, § 4), whilst those strips of inscribed vellum, the phylacteries (= 'frontlets,' EV of OT) of Mt. 23 5, were looked upon as having magical qualities,

[1] See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 324, and note the Chinese phrase, *mao hsüeh*, 'hair and blood,' and the saying, 'Am I not of the same hair (*i.e.*, as my father)?'

[1] This Ptolemy Philopator branded the Alexandrian Jews with the sign of the ivy to identify them with the cult of Dionysus; see EGYPT, § 30. Cp Frazer, *Totemism*, 25 *f.* For the branding of serfs see EGYPT, § 30.

[2] Cp Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (95), 262-276 (a new and ingenious theory).

not less than the old tattooings and brandings; they were a protection against harm,[1] and probably also secured health and good fortune (cp Targ. Cant. 8 5).

For the literature of the subjects here treated of, see the works referred to under CIRCUMCISION, MOURNING CUSTOMS, FRONTLETS, SACRIFICE, etc. See also WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] ch. 9, and the authorities there cited; E. B. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* 2 [illegible]. C. J. B.

CYAMON (Κυαμων [BNA]; *cheimon* [Vg.]; ܚܡܝܘܢ [Syr.]), 'which is over against Esdraelon' (Judith 7 3), looks like a corruption of JOKNEAM or (Movers) JOKMEAM. Robinson, however, noting that κυαμών means 'beanfield,' identifies it with the modern *El Fuleh*, 'the bean' on the plain of Esdraelon, but 'over against the city' (cp BJ *l.c.*) [illegible]. The name Cyamon should probably be restored in Judith 4 4 for Κωνα [B]. See KONA.

CYLINDER (גלל), Cant. 5 14 RV[mg]. See RING.

CYMBALS. For 1 Ch. 13 8, etc. (מצלתים), 2 S. 6 5 Ps. 150 5 (צלצלים), and for 1 Cor. 13 1 (κυμβαλον) see MUSIC, § 8 (c).

CYPRESS, RV HOLM TREE (תִּרְזָה, Is. 44 14), a tree which in the single passage where it occurs is coupled with the oak. The Hebrew *tirzah* does not appear in any cognate language, but may be connected with Ar. *tirzun*, 'to be hard.'[2] LXX and Peshi. omit the word; Aq. and Th. render ἀγριοδάλανος ('wild acorn'), Vg. has *ilex*, which is defended by Celsius (2 209 *ff.*), and has been wisely adopted by our revisers. It is difficult, however, to be certain, for the evergreen oak (*Quercus ilex*, L.) is at the present day rare in Palestine (*FEP* 412). The heavy, hard nature of its wood would harmonise well with the probable etymology of *tirzah*. 'Cypress' (perhaps a mere guess) comes from the Geneva Bible. David Kimhi and others thought that what was meant was the fir tree; Luther preferred the beech. Cheyne (Is. *SBOT*, Heb.) thinks תירה corrupt, and with *Gr.*, reads תִּדְהָר (see PINE).

For Cant. 1 14 1 11 AV[mg], see CAMPHIRE [so AV]; and for Is. 41 19 RV[mg], see BOX TREE [so EV]. N. M.

CYPRUS (Κυπρος [Ti. WH]), the third largest island of the Mediterranean, placed in the angle between the coast of Syria and that of Asia Minor (Strabo, 681), called Alaśia in the Amarna letters, 'where its copper is specially referred to (so E. Meyer, Petrie, etc.), 'Asi by the Egyptians, Yavnan by the Assyrians, and KITTIM (*q.v.*) by the Hebrews. Its physical structure is simple.

1. Description. It consists of a central plain running across the island from E. to W., bounded by a long mountain ridge on the N., and by a broader mountain district to the S.

The central plain was likened in antiquity to the valley of the Nile, being flooded annually by the Pedieus, which left rich deposits of mud. Strabo sketches the productiveness of Cyprus (6 2 4 εὔοινος ἐστι καὶ εὐέλαιος, σίτῳ τε αὐτάρκεις χρηται). Copper (named after the island) was found in the mountains, and timber for shipbuilding.

In situation, climate, and productions, Cyprus belongs to all the three surrounding continents, and historically it has constantly shared in their vicissitudes. It is most accessible from the E. and the S., and, lying right over against Syria, was early visited by the Phoenicians, who founded Amathus, Paphos, and Citium, the last, the Phoenician capital,[1] giving its name to the whole island.[1]

The Phoenicians were not, however, the earliest inhabitants of Cyprus. They found in possession a people closely connected, as their art and alphabet show, with the primitive races of Asia Minor (for WMM's theory see KITTIM, and cp *Ins. u. Kun.* 337). The Greek colonists arrived before the eighth century B.C. The discoveries in the island indicate clearly its partition between the Phoenician element in the S. and the Hellenic in the central depression stretching from Soli in the W. to Salamis in the E., at which latter site we find an art that is largely Greek. The Cypriote character was wanting in energy, and the island was almost wholly under the influence alternately of Asia and of Egypt.

2. History.

(1) In 709 B.C. Sargon II., king of Assyria, was recognised as overlord by seven Cypriote princes; their tribute was confirmed to his grandson Esarhaddon, Schr. *KAT*[2] (2 355). (2) In the sixth century Amasis, king of Egypt, conquered the island (Herod. 2 182). Perhaps it had been conquered even before his time, by Thotmes III. In any case the πρωτος ἀνθρωπων (Herod. is an error). (3) After the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, Cyprus fell to Persia, being reckoned in the fifth satrapy (Herod. 3 90).

The connection with Greece and with Hellenic ideals was brilliant but purely episodical (Evagoras, king of Salamis: 410 B.C.). The island fell into the hands of Alexander the Great, and finally remained with the Ptolemies as one of their most cherished possessions until its conquest by the Romans (cp 2 Macc. 10 13; Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, *passim*).

The Jews probably settled in Cyprus before the time of Alexander the Great (1 Macc. 15 23). Many would be attracted later by the fact that its copper mines were at one time farmed to Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 4 5: a Cyprian inscr., Boeckh 2628, refers to one of the family). After the rising of the Jews in 116 A.D. in Cyrene, in Egypt, and in Cyprus had been suppressed, it was decreed that no Jew might set foot upon the island, under penalty of death, even for shipwrecked Israelites (Dio Cass. 68 32).

3. Jewish connection. See SALAMIS. In the history of the spread of Christianity Cyprus holds an honourable place (Acts 4 36, Joseph surnamed Barnabas). Its Jewish population heard the Gospel after Stephen's death from those whom the persecution had driven from Judæa (Acts 11 19). Some of these were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who fled to Antioch and addressed the Greeks of the city (*v.* 20). Cyprus was in turn the first scene of the labours of Paul with Barnabas and Mark (Acts 13 4 12), afterwards of Barnabas and Mark alone (Acts 15 39). One of the first Christian missionaries may have been that 'old disciple' Mnason with whom Paul lodged at Jerusalem (Acts 21 16). Returning to Palestine at the close of his third journey, Paul and his companions sighted Cyprus (Acts 21 3, ἀναφάναντες τὴν Κ.; AV 'discovered'), leaving it on the left hand as they ran from Patara to Tyre. In the voyage to Rome from Cæsarea the ship 'sailed under Cyprus' (Acts 27 4, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν)—*i.e.*, northwards 'over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia' (*v.* 5: cp Str. 681)—taking advantage of the northerly and westerly set of the current, in order to reach Myra.

After its seizure by the Romans in 58 B.C., Cyprus had been united for administrative purposes with Cilicia,

4. Administration. but in the first partition of the Roman world after Actium it was made an imperial province (Dio Cass. 53 12: [illegible] senatui, if it had one of its own, and were not rather united with Cilicia to form a single province, here [illegible] the *legatus Augusti propraetore* (πρεσβευτὴς Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατηγός, cp Dio Cass. 53 14; in NT ἀνθυπατος γραμμάτων, cp Lk. 2 2, Str. 840 ἡγεμόνας καὶ διοικητὰς Καισαρ πεμπει). Why then does the writer of Acts 13

[1] The Tg. on 2 S. 1 10 takes Saul's bracelet for a *tilsahsah*, *i.e.*, an amulet. The Hexap. on Ezek. 13 18 gives φυλακτήρια as a 'Hebrew' or 'Jewish' interpretation of כְּסָתוֹת (LV 'pillows,' see DRESS, § 2), which is connected with Ass. *kasu*, 'to bind.' The Rabbis (Talm. *Shabb.* 57 *b*) also explain *kesuthoth* as amulets. The word cannot be explained from the Semitic languages, and, since the Jewish ideas of magic came ultimately from the Sumerians of primitive Babylonia, may reasonably be explained by the Sumerian *dikdik* (from *dikdak*), 'to bind' Ass. *kasu* (see above), *kamu*. For an analogy, cp מִסְפָּר, Jer. 51 27 Nah. 3 17 from Ass. *dupsar*, 'tablet-writer,' which is of Sumerian origin (*dub*, 'tablet,' *sar* 'write'). See *CGT* 2 118 *f.*

[2] We should perhaps associate with this Syr. *tras*, 'to be straight.'

[1] Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6 1) says Χέθιμα . . . Κυπρος αὐτη [illegible] καλεῖται. Epiphanius, a Cyprian bishop, writes, Κιτιον ἡ Κυπρος νησος καλεῖται· Κιτιοι γὰρ Κυπριοι, *Haer.* 30 25 (see KITTIM).

call Sergius Paulus 'proconsul' (ἀνθύπατος, the proper title of governors of senatorial provinces, AV 'deputy'; cp Acts 18 12 19 38)? Some have argued that he used the word loosely, and appeal to Strabo (685, ἐγένετο ἐπαρχία ἡ νῆσος καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐστι στρατηγική) to prove that the island was governed by a *proprætor* appointed by the emperor; but the writer of Acts is quite correct. From Dio Cassius (53 12) we learn that, in 22 B.C., Augustus restored Cyprus to the Senate in exchange for S. Gaul (cp Dio Cass. 54 4). In Paul's time, therefore, its governor was properly called 'proconsul.' The passage quoted from Strabo is misunderstood, as is clear from *id.* 840 (εἰς δὲ τὰς δημοσίας ὁ δῆμος στρατηγοὺς ἢ ὑπάτους πέμπει—*i.e.*, governors of senatorial provinces were either of consular or of prætorian rank, in either case the official title being *proconsul*). In the case of Cyprus, authors, inscriptions, and coins have preserved the names of some twenty of her proprætorian governors with the 'brevet' rank of proconsul. Lucius Sergius Paulus (governor at the time of Paul's visit, about 47 A.D.) is known to us from an inscription from the site of Soli (see Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 114 *f.* and *Appendix*).

See P. Gardner, *New chaps. in Gr. Hist.* 153 *f.*. For excavations in the island *HDB passim*. Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phen. and Cyprus*. For the archæology Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel u. Homer* is especially valuable. For Christian times the most recent work is Hackett's *History of the Church in Cyprus*, 1899. W. J. W.

CYRENE (ΚΥΡΗΝΗ [Ti. WH]), a city on the N. coast of Africa. It was the capital of that part of LIBYA [*q.v.*] between the Egyptian and Carthaginian territories, which bore the name of Cyrenaica or Pentapolis; the phrase in Acts 2 10, 'the parts of Libya about Cyrene,' τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, is equivalent to the Λιβύη ἡ περὶ Κ. of Dio Cass. (53 12) and ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνῃ Λιβ. of Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6 1. The city was thoroughly Greek in character, and won a high reputation as the mother of physicians (Herod. 3 131; temple of Asklepios, Paus. 2 26 9; Tac. *Ann.* 14 18), philosophers, and poets. Callimachus, Carneades, Eratosthenes, Aristippus (Strabo, 837), and Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, are only a few of the many famous men who were sprung from the Cyrenaica.

1. Position and history. After the death of Alexander the Great, Cyrene with its territory was absorbed by Egypt. Though so thoroughly Hellenic, it had, since the time of Ptolemy son of Lagos (Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 4, end of 4th century B.C.), a large Jewish population. Strabo, quoted by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2, says that the Jews formed one of the four classes of the inhabitants. The privileges granted to the Jews by Ptolemy were continued and augmented by the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6 5), who received the Cyrenaica, under the will of the childless Ptolemy Apion, in 96 B.C., though for twenty years they shirked the responsibility of the legacy. In 74 B.C. the territory was made a province, which was combined with Crete when that island was subjugated in 67 B.C. (see CRETE). In 27 B.C. the Cyrenaica and Crete were definitely united to form a single province, under the title *Creta Cyrene*, or *Creta et Cyrene* (but either name might be used to denote the dual province: cp Tac. *Ann.* 3 38 70). The province was senatorial—*i.e.*, governed by proconsuls of prætorian rank, and so remained to the time of Diocletian. The subsequent history of Cyrene is connected with its Jewish inhabitants, the chief event being their terrible massacre of the Greek and Roman citizens in the reign of Trajan (Dio Cass. 68 32).

The modern province of *Barca*, on the E. of the gulf of *Sidra*, represents the ancient Cyrenaica, and in this province *Grennah* marks the exact site of Cyrene, which was placed on the crest of a plateau 1800 feet above the sea-level, overlooking the Mediterranean at a distance of ten miles (Str. 837; πόλεως μεγάλης ἐν τραπεζοειδεῖ πεδίῳ κειμένης, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους εἰωθαμεν αὐτην). The port was called Apollonia. The surrounding district was, and is, of remarkable fertility (Str. *l.c.*, ἱπποτροφὸς ἄριστη, καλλικαρπος; Herod. 4 158 *f.*). The prosperity of Cyrene was based upon its export of the drug *silphium*, derived from an umbelliferous plant, not yet certainly identified, growing in the S. desert (see *Mon. d. Inst.*, Pl. 47: a vase representing King Arcesilaus superintending the weighing of *silphium*; cp the coins; Aristoph. *Plut.* 925, τὸ Βαττου σιλφιον).

That the Jews of Cyrene were largely Hellenised, is beyond question. Jason of Cyrene is mentioned as an author in 2 Macc. 2 24 (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 21). In the NT we hear of Simon of Cyrene who bore the cross of Jesus (Mk. 15 21; Lk. 23 26, 'Simon a Cyrenian' AV, cp Matt. 27 32, 'a man of C.' RV 'of Cyrene' in all three passages: the adj. Κυρηναῖος is used in each case). Jews from the Cyrenaica were in the Pentecostal audience of Peter (Acts 2 10; see above on the phrase used). Cyrenaeans joined with the Alexandrian and Asiatic Jews to attack Stephen (Acts 6 9), and Cyrenaean converts helped to found the first Gentile church at Antioch (ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας νιστας WH]; Acts 11 20). One of their first missionaries may have been the 'Lucius of Cyrene' of Acts 13 1, one of the 'prophets and teachers' who 'ministered to the Lord' at Antioch. He is said to have been the first bishop of Cyrene. Other traditions connect Mark with the foundation of the Cyrenaic church.

Plan and Description of the site in *Annual* [illegible] W. J. W.

CYRENIUS (ΚΥΡΗΝΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 2 2 AV RV QUIRINIUS.

CYRUS (כֹּרֶשׁ; ΚΥΡΟΣ [BAL]), the founder of the old-Persian empire, belonged to the ancient princely house of the Achæmenidæ. He was [illegible] having been called Cyrus (*Kurush*, in i.e. Babylonian transcriptions *Ku-ra-aš*, *Kur-aš*, *Ku-ur-ra-aš*[2]. Cyrus was thus, without a doubt, an Aryan and Persian by descent—not an Elamite, as has recently been conjectured. For Darius Hystaspis speaks of Cambyses the son of Cyrus as being one 'of our race' (*amakham taumaya Behist.* i. 11), and calls himself a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent (Naksi-i-Rustam, a. § 2; Susa c. § 3). At first Cyrus was king only of Persia and of Anšan, or Anzan, an Elamite province probably with Susa (Shushan) for capital, which, after the fall of the Elamite kingdom, and certainly as early as the time of his ancestor Teispes (Cyrus), had come under the dominion of the Achæmenidæ[3]. In Babylonia Cyrus calls himself by preference king of Anšan; but once, in the annals of Nabū-nā'id (Nabonnedus), col. 2, 15, he is spoken of as 'king of Persia.' Neither state, however, was then of much importance in comparison with the great Median and Chaldean empires; both states, too, were tributary to Media. Nabū-nā'id mentions Cyrus as the 'petty vassal' of Astyages, who had only a very small army at his disposal (5 R 64, i. 28 *ff.*). The career of this vassal king, who rose till he brought under his sway the whole of Western Asia, so struck the popular imagination that a legend of world-wide diffusion respecting the foundling prince who was brought up among poor people and afterwards became a famous monarch was applied to him as it had already been applied to others, and this Persian tradition is the source from which Herodotus (i. 107 *ff.*), and the authority upon whom Justinus depends (i. 4 8-11), may be supposed to have drawn. From Cyrus's own inscriptions, however, it appears that at least three of his ancestors had the same kingdom before him. It is possible, but not certain, that Cyrus in his youth in-

1. Origin.

2. Jewish connection.

1 In Herod. 5 11 from which Nöldeke (*Persische Studien*, 17) seeks to show that Cyrus was [illegible] Herodotus simply places the [illegible] of Cambyses and of Xerxes [illegible] the other.

2 According to Herod. 1 111 *f.*, Cyrus had [illegible] and Spiegel (Eranische Altertumskunde, i. 6) says that [illegible] called Agradates [illegible] assume the [illegible] On this point cp [illegible] *Herodotus, Buch* [illegible] *ff.* (Pot [illegible]

3 See C. P. Tiele, [illegible] in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, [illegible] *ff.* (Leyden, [illegible]).

have attended the Median court, and that either he himself or his father was son-in-law of Astyages.[1]

2. Career. Astyages (*Ishtuwegu* on the inscriptions of Nabū-nā'id) is called at one time king of Media, at another king of the *Ummān-manda*,[2] by which, it has been conjectured, are meant the Scythians. On this assumption, Astyages might with some reason be regarded as a Scythian usurper. In the third year of Nabū-nā'id (553 B.C.) there seems to have arisen within the Median kingdom a revolt against the foreign domination. At least, at that date the *Ummān-manda* who were in occupation of Harrān were recalled (5 Rawl. 64, i. 28 *ff.*). Some time had still to elapse, however, before Cyrus contrived, by treachery in the Median camp, to become master of Astyages and at the same time of the throne of Media. This happened probably in the sixth, or at all events before the seventh, year of Nabū-nā'id (before 550 B.C.), *Ann.* col. 2 *l.* 1 *ff.* The two texts cited can hardly otherwise be brought into agreement with each other. In the following years Cyrus extended his dominion over the whole Median empire, and after subjugating Lydia he directed his energies against Babylon. By the fall of Crœsus the alliance between that monarch, Nabū-nā'id, and Amasis of Egypt (Herod. 1 77 *ff.*) was broken up, and each one had to look out for himself. In 538 the end came. For several years the king of Babylon had withdrawn himself from Babylon, and alienated priests and people alike by neglect of the sacred feasts and of the worship of Marduk, as well as by other arbitrary proceedings. When, in his seventeenth year, he returned to his capital, it was already too late. Cyrus with his victorious bands had been steadily advancing upon the northern frontier of Accad, which the king's son, probably the Bel-šar-usur who (see 1 R 69, col. 2, 26; 59 and 68, n. 1, col. 2, 24 *f.*) is called his first-born, was guarding with the army. The brave prince did what he could; but after his army had been defeated—first near the city of Opis (Upe), and again as often as he rallied it—and after the Accadians or North Babylonians had revolted against the Chaldæan king, Sippar opened its gates to the enemy, and Babylon also fell into his hands without further resistance. After Gobryas (Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, had taken possession with the vanguard, Cyrus himself made his entry into the city with the main body of his troops on the third day of the eighth month, 539-38, being received (so at least his inscriptions tell us) by all classes, and especially by the priesthood and nobles, as a liberator, with every manifestation of joy. Some days afterwards Gobryas seems to have pursued Bel-šar-usur and put him to death; but the place where decipherers think this ought to be read (*Inn.* col. 3, 22 *f.*) is very much injured. Nabū-nā'id had already been captured. Cyrus reigned about nine years from this time. In his last year he handed over the sovereignity of Babylon to his son Cambyses (see Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses*, Leipsic, 1890, Pref.). Cp BABYLONIA, § 69.

3. Judah's hopes. Under the name of Kōreš (see above, § 1), this Cyrus is repeatedly referred to in the OT, usually as 'king of the Persians' (2 Ch. 36 22 *f.* Ezra 1 1 *f.* 8 37 4 3 Da 1. 10 1), once as 'the Persian' (Dan. 6 29), once as 'king of Babylon' (Ezra 5 13). Great expectations were cherished of him by the Jews. When, after his defeat of Crœsus, he advanced to the conquest of the whole of Asia Minor, there arose one of the exiles in Babylon, who pointed him out as the king raised up by Yahwè to be Israel's redeemer. From his pen comes Is. 40-48 (so much will be admitted by all critics), where Cyrus is represented as expressly called to accomplish the divine judgment upon Babylon,

[1] See Schubert, *l.c.* 62 *ff.*, and the works of Evers and Bauer there referred to.

[2] Del. *Ass. HW'B*, writes: '*Ummān manda*, horde of peoples, a general designation of the northern peoples, hostile to Assyria, subject at any one time to Media—*e.g.*, the Gimirrai, the Mannai, the Scythians.' Cp Sayce, *PSBA*, Oct. 1896.

to set the captives free, and to restore Jerusalem a the temple (48 14 *f.* 44 28 45 13). It was for this e we are told, that Yahwè had given Cyrus victory u victory, and would still lead him on to fresh triumpl (41 25 45 1-8). Whether he received recompense his services or not is left uncertain (cp 43 3 *f.* with 45 1 but at any rate he was no mere passive tool in Yahw hand. He did not, indeed, know Yahwè before he called (45 3 *f.*); but, once called, he fulfilled his miss invoking Yahwè's name (41 25) and received the honor able titles of 'Yahwè's friend' and 'Yahwè's anoint (44 28 45 1).

Bitter must have been the disappointment of Jews; for, whatever else Cyrus may have done

4. Transformation. them, he did not realise the high-pitch expectations of the Exile prophet. He a younger prophet, living in Palestine (ISAIAH, ii. § 21), announces that, for the deliverance Israel, Yahwè alone will judge the nations, without a allies from among 'the peoples' (Is. 63 1-6, cp 59 16 thus reversing the old expectation respecting Cyr The later Jews, however, found it difficult to beli that the deliverance which Yahwè was to have wrou through the instrumentality of the great Persian k had never been accomplished. The prophecy m somehow or other have come to pass. Cyrus was regarded, it is true, as the man who had finally delive Israel—the deliverance was still one of the hopes of future—but the Jews desired to recognise in him, least, the initiator of the restoration of Israel. Such the reflection inevitably suggested by a strictly criti reading of the work of the Chronicler (see EZRA, § 7).

The restoration of Israel might be considered to h begun with the rebuilding of the temple, and

5. Building of Temple: three versions. problem now arose, how to bring t event into connection with Cyrus. difficulty instantly presented its (*a*) According to the evidence Haggai, of Zech. 1-8 and of Ezra 5 1-10, the build was first begun under Darius, in whose reign it was a completed. This made it necessary to give anot account of the origin and course of the building, if work was to be attributed to Cyrus. More than o way of effecting this was found. (*b*) According to author of Ezra 5 13-17 6 3-5, Cyrus committed the task rebuilding the temple to his governor Sheshbazzar, a the work thus begun by him was carried on with interruption till the reign of Darius. (*c*) The Chronicl however, from whose hand we have Ezra 1 1-4 5 24, gi another version. He too has it that Cyrus ordered restoration. The work was not taken in hand by king himself; but permission was given by him to exiles to return to Jerusalem for the purpose. Imme ately on their arrival in the holy city they set up altar and laid the foundations of the temple; but wh Cyrus was still on the throne they were compelled stop the work by order of the king himself, who h been stirred up by the adversaries of the Jews. N till the second year of Darius could the building resumed.

However widely these accounts may differ from o another in detail, they agree in stating that the resto tion of the temple was originated by Cyrus, and representing him as a worshipper of Yahwè, whom recognised as the one true God. Yahwè is the God heaven, who has bestowed universal empire upon Cyr in order that he may restore the true worship Jerusalem; the temple there is for Cyrus no me ordinary temple, of which there were so many, but t veritable House of God.

At the same time, the discrepancies which we find the narratives *b* and *c* are by no means unimportan According to the older (*b*), the building of the temp was entirely the work of Cyrus, which he caused to carried on uninterruptedly, defraying the entire cost o

of the royal treasury. According to the other (*c*), it was carried out at the instance of Cyrus; not by himself, however, but only by returned exiles, who, along with their comrades left behind in Babylon, contributed the expenses of the undertaking (1 40 2 68 *f.* 3 7). So far, indeed, is the restoration of the temple from being, according to this account, the work of Cyrus, that it is actually represented as broken off during his reign at his command. Probably the Jews in the long run found the idea unbearable, that the sanctuary should have been built by a foreigner, even though the foreigner was Cyrus, and therefore his share in the work was reduced by the Chronicler to more modest dimensions.

The importance of Cyrus for Israel lies less in anything he actually did for them than in the great expectations that he excited, expectations which in their turn exercised a great influence on the ideas ultimately formed by the Jews as to the earlier stages of their restoration after the misfortunes of the 'exile.' Cp ISRAEL, § 50; DISPERSION, § 5.

In the OT Cyrus is mentioned also in Dan. 6 28 [29] 10 1; in the first-cited passage as the successor of Darius, that is, of 'Darius the Mede' (Dan. 5 31 [6 1]). See DARIUS, 1.

The preceding sketch of the result of a critical examination of the passages of the OT relating to Cyrus is not contradicted by anything contained in the inscriptions of Cyrus himself discovered some years ago. It is certainly worthy of note how closely, even down to details, the representation of the Persian conqueror in these inscriptions agrees with that which is found in Is. 44 28 and 45 1. Evidently the second Isaiah had a correct idea of what a Persian king, as opposed to a Babylonian, would be likely to do. In the cylinder inscription (5 R 35; cp Hagen, 'Cyrustexte' in *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* 2 205 *ff.*, and *KB* 3*b* 120 *ff.*) Cyrus is the deliverer of oppressed peoples, chosen by Marduk himself, and hailed by all Sumer and Accad as a saviour, exactly as with the Israelite prophet he is the called, the anointed, of Yahwè. A difference there is between the joyous hope which the Jewish exiles cherished and the official statements which Babylonian scribes at royal command had to chronicle on their cylinders; but the coincidences referred to are too close to be entirely accidental. Moreover, priests and people alike had reason enough to be dissatisfied with the arbitrariness and misgovernment of their former sovereign, and Cyrus, with fine political tact, knew how to utilise this temper and win hearts by deference towards the national religion, restraint of robbery and violence, and redress of grievances. No wonder that the Jewish exiles also hoped for enlargement at his hands. That he fulfilled this expectation does not appear at least from his inscriptions.

6. Policy of the victorious Cyrus.

The passage in which some scholars have thought that this may be read demands another interpretation. In Cyl. *l.* 11 the words *irtaḫi taaira kullat matāta* were taken together and translated, 'he (Marduk) decreed return from all lands'; but it is certain that, with Hagen and Del., we must connect the words *irtaḫi taaira* with those which precede, and *kullat matāta* with those

which follow, [illegible] for that Marduk, in his wrath [illegible] the gods of the [illegible] changed the dispositions [illegible] Kaldu and Lower Babylonia, [illegible] the fulfiller of his [illegible] Cyrus [illegible] But this [illegible] nothing is said of any restoration of exiles to their native lands.

More interest attaches to the passage *l.* [illegible] where, however, the names on which the question chiefly turns are, unfortunately, obliterated. Here Cyrus says that he returned to their places the gods of a great many towns, brought together the inhabitants, and restored both temples and dwelling-houses. The towns referred to were all named, and it was added that they lay on the banks of the Tigris,[2] and that their territory extended from [lacuna in the text] to Aššur and Šušan (according to the correct interpretation of Delitzsch and Hagen), by which expressions are intended not the cities of the name but the countries of Assyria and West Elam (the city of Ašur lay on the right bank of the river). The obliterated names (or name) can have denoted only the western and southern boundaries of the district referred to: probably Sumer and Accad, which are separately mentioned immediately afterwards. Accordingly, there can be no doubt that reference is here made to Cyrus's care for the restoration of neglected worships and for the return of the inhabitants of certain cities to their former habitations; this, however, only in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon. At the same time, although in these inscriptions, which doubtless belong to the earlier period of Cyrus's rule over Babylon, no mention is made of any general measure extending also to exiles from the West, there remains the possibility that the Persian conqueror may have taken up this work of restoration at a later time.[3] At all events the conciliatory policy of which he had already given positive evidence can very well have aroused among the Jews the hope and expectation that they also would one day benefit by it.

The tomb of Cyrus 'the king, the Achæmenid,' at *Murghāb* (Pasargadæ?) is now assigned by Weissbach (*ZDMG* 48 651 *f.*) to the younger Cyrus. At any rate the Egyptian head-dress of the king on the monument shows that it can have been erected only after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.

C. P. T.—W. H. K.

[1] Probably the words *usahhir ka* . . . should be completed so as to read either *ka[ḫittaši]* or *ka[ab-ba-as-su]*. (So Tiele.)

[2] The words *ša ištu apnama nadū šubatsun* are not clear. Schr. translates: 'whose place from of old lay in ruins'; Hagen, Del., 'founded in the most ancient time.' But does *nadū* ever mean this? In our present inquiry the question is of subordinate importance.

[3] [Cp the very interesting inscription in the last section of Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt* ('the Persians in Egypt'), which describes the religious patriotism of an Egyptian Nehemiah. The deceased is represented on his statue (now in the Vatican) as telling the events of the Persian period of his life. Being in high favour as a physician with Cambyses, he was able to induce that monarch to give orders for the restoration of the temple of Neith at Sais, and of the religious services. He was physician also to Darius, who, when he was in Elam, sent him to Egypt to restore the arrangements for the scribes of the temples. This last mission appears to synchronise with the erection of the (second) temple at Jerusalem. Cp. Meyer, *Entst.* 71; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life.*

T. K. C.]

D

DABAREH (דָּבְרַת), Josh. 21 28 AV; RV DABERATH.

DABBASHETH, RV **Dabbesheth** (דַּבֶּשֶׁת, § 99; δαιθαραβα [B], δαβασθαι [A], -θε [L]; 'a hump,' *i.e.*, 'a hill'; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 1 1), a place on the W. border of Zebulun (Josh. 19 11). Conder identifies it with *K'h. Dabsheh*, on the left bank of the W. el Karn (*i.e.*, according to him the Valley of JIPHTAH-EL, mentioned in *v.* 14); but this spot is too high up in the hills, and is scarcely on the boundary line, in addition to which the name is not a probable one.

𝔊A reads דבשתי; 𝔊[ⁱⁱ] ביתערבה. All the readings may be reconciled by reading ביתדבשת. The initial ב was lost, owing to the preposition ב which precedes; ת (תי) was transferred to the end of the name, thus producing דבשתי; י was lost, and so M T's reading was produced: ערבה (𝔊[ⁱⁱ]) is simply a conjecture for דבש. T. K. C.

DABERATH (דָּבְרַת or הַדָּבְרַת; δαβραθ [AL]; Josh. 19 12, δαβειρωθ [B], ܕܒܪܬ [Pesh.]; Josh. 21 28, δεββα [B], δεβραθ [A], ܕܒܪܬ [Pesh.], AV DABAREH; 1 Ch. 6 72 [57], δεβερει and δαβωρ [B—a doublet], γαδερ [A], δαβηρωθ [L], ܕܒܘܪ [Pesh.]), a Levitical city (Josh. 21 28) on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19 12), but belonging to Issachar (Josh. 21 28 1 Ch. 6 72 [57]), is the δαβαριττα of Jos. (*Vit.* 62), the *Dabira* (δαβειρα) of Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 115 20 250 54), the modern *Dâburîyeh*, a small and unimportant village, 'lying on the side of a ledge of rocks at the W. base of Mount Tabor' (Rob. *BR* 3 210). It occupies a strategic position above the great plain at the mouth of the pass leading northwards between Tabor and the Nazareth hills. Apparently it was here that the Israelite forces mustered under Barak (G.ASm. *HG* 394); and it is possible to trace a connection between the name of the village and that of Deborah, without rushing to the extreme represented by C. Niebuhr (*Reconstellation des Deboraliedes*, 11 *f.*). May not the home of the prophetess have been at Daberath? (so Moore, *Judges*, 113 *f.*). We learn from Jos. *BJ* ii. 21 3 that there was a Jewish garrison here in the Roman war, 'to keep watch on the Great Plain.'

DABRIA (DABRIA), 4 Esd. 14 24, a scribe: cp perhaps the name DIBRI (*q.v.*).

DACOBI, RV **Dacubi** (δακογβι [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28† = Ezra 2 42, AKKUB (*q.v.*, 2).

DADDEUS, RV LODDEUS (λοδδαιος [B]), 1 Esd. 8 46 = Ezra 8 17, IDDO (i.).

DAGGER occurs as a rendering of:

1. חֶרֶב, *herebh*, Judg. 3 16 21 *f.* (μάχαιρα; Vg. has *gladium* in *vv.* 16 22, but *sicam* in *v.* 21) RV 'sword.' See WEAPONS.

2. ἐγχειρίδιον, Bar. 6 15 [14]. This word represents חֶרֶב four times in 𝔊, but in Jer. 50 42 it represents גִּירוֹן. Bel's 'dagger' was, on mythological grounds, a javelin. See WEAPONS, and cp JAVELIN.

DAGON (דָּגוֹן; δαγων [BAL]), a god of the Philistines, who had temples at Gaza (Judg. 16 21 *ff.*) and Ashdod (1 S. 5 1 Macc. 10 82-85 11 4).[1]

1. The name. It appears from the passages cited, especially from the story of Samson, that the worship of Dagon was general among the Philistines (Jerome on Is. 46 1),[2] though it would perhaps be a mistake to regard him as a national god. Places bearing the name BETH-DAGON (*q.v.*) are found in the Judaean Lowlands and on the boundary of Asher; in Christian times there was a Caferdago between Diospolis and Jamnia (Jerome).[1] All these places lie within a region which had been for a time in the possession of the Philistines, and it is conceivable that they received the name from them. This can hardly be the case, however, with Beit Dejan, SE. of Nābulus, which also seems to represent an ancient Beth-dagon; and it is at least equally possible that the worship of Dagon to which the names bear witness preceded the Philistine invasion—in other words, that Dagon was a god of the older Canaanite inhabitants. Philo Byblius gives Dagon a place in his Phœnician theogony, making him a son of Ouranos and Gē, and brother of Ēlos (El) or Kronos, Baitulos and Atlas;[2] but we should hesitate to conclude, on the testimony alone, that Dagon was worshipped among the Phœnicians. A cylindrical seal now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, attributed by Sayce to the seventh century B.C., is inscribed with the words 'Baal Dagon' in Phœnician characters (Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, 32).

Of the character of the god we know nothing definite. Philo Byblius, deriving the name from *dāgān*, corn, interprets σῖτων, and makes Dagon a god of husbandry, Ζεὺς ἀρότριος. Others derived the name Dagon from *dāg*, fish (cp *Shimshon* [SAMSON], from *shemesh*, sun).[3] It was natural, therefore, to imagine that the god was represented in the form of a fish (so Rashi). From 1 S. 5 4 we learn, however, that the idol of Dagon at Ashdod had a head, and hands which projected from the body; by its fall these were broken off, leaving only the trunk of the image. The Hebrew text, by some corruption, reads, 'only Dagon was left on him,' which David Kimhi (*ob. circa* 1235 A.D.) ingeniously interprets, only the form of a fish was left, adding, 'It is said that Dagon, from his navel downwards had the form of a fish (whence his name, Dagon), and from his navel up, the form of a man, as it is said, the two hands were cut off.'[4] It is not impossible that this theory, for which there does not seem to be any older Jewish authority,[5] merely transfers to Dagon, with the help of etymology, the description given by Lucian and others of the goddess Derceto, who was worshipped on the same coast.[6] Not a few more modern scholars have identified her with Dagon. The prevailing opinion is that Dagon was

> sea monster, upward man
> And downward fish,

has no other foundation than these very doubtful etymological and mythological combinations.

What relation there is between Dagon and Marna, the principal god of Gaza in the early centuries of our era,[7] whom the writers of the time identify with Zeus

1 *OS* 235 14 (κεπαρ αδαγων) 104 15. In the inscription of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, in connection with Dor and Joppa occur the words ארצת דגן, which Schlottmann interpreted, 'lands of Dagon,' others, 'cornlands.' Δαγων near Jericho (Jos. 15 41 xiii. 81 - *BJ* i. 2 3 [Δωκ. 1 Macc. 16 15]) has nothing to do with the name of the god (see DOCUS).

2 Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 3 567 *f.*; cp *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Βηρύτη ὁ Κρόνος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων.

3 Jer., *piscis tristitiæ* (און, cp Sidon, *venatio tristitiæ*). Other interpretations: εἶδος ἰχθύος ἢ λύπη. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ δώρον ἐκ θαλάσσης ἁγία ἢ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀρουραῖος (*OS* 189 14).

4 Themius would put this explanation into the text, emending רק דג דגון נשאר עליו; similarly We. (רק דגו נשאר), WRS; cp

5 It is unknown to the Targum, Josephus, and the Talmud. Other Jewish commentators represent Dagon with the head of a fish; see a Lyra, Abarb.

6 See ATARGATIS.

7 First attested on coins of Hadrian. See Jer. *Ep.* [illegible] *Vit. S. Hilar.* 11 20; cp. Mar. Diac., *Vit. S. Porph.* passim.

Κρηταγενής, is not certain. Marnas is the Aramaic *marnā*, our Lord, and it is not impossible that the god worshipped under this appellation was, by his proper name, the old Dagon.

2. Relation to other deities.

In the fragments of Bērossus, one of the mythical monsters, half fish, half man, who at long intervals came up from the Persian Gulf to repeat to the Chaldæans the original revelation of Oannes, is named Odacon (Ὠδάκων);[1] and as, since Kimhi, a like form was generally attributed to Dagon, it was natural to combine the two names (Selden and many others). Layard published a figure of a merman from Khorsabad, and in a note suggested that it might represent Odacon-Dagon (*Nineveh*, 1849, 2466 *f.*). Some later Assyriologists reproduce Layard's cut with the legend 'the fish-god Dagon.'[2]

There was a Babylonian god Dagan whose name appears in conjunction with Anu and often with 'Nimlil', he was, therefore, probably a god of heaven (Sayce, Jensen).[3] As Sir Henry Rawlinson perceived, there is no connection whatever between this god and Berossus' sea-monster, Odacon. Whether the Palestine Dagon is originally the same as the Babylonian Dagan cannot, with our present knowledge, be determined. The long and profound influence of Babylonia in Palestine in early times, which is attested by the Amarna tablets, makes it quite possible that Dagon, like Anath, came thence.[4] Dagon, however, does not seem to have occupied a place of much importance in the Babylonian religion, and is much less often mentioned than the other great gods. The Assyrians did not recognise the name of the god Dagān in the town Beth-dagon, Bit-daganna (Sennacherib, *Prism Inscr.* 2651), and possibly the similarity of the names may be accidental.

3. Worship of Dagon.

Of the worship of Dagon we know nothing. According to 1 S. 5 5 the priests and others entering his temple at Ashdod were careful not to set foot on the sill (Zeph 1 9); cp Marc. Diac. 76. What we learn from the last-named author about the worship of Marnas at Gaza for example, that the god was invoked to send rain; that he gave oracles; that there were certain *marmora* in the temple which were peculiarly sacred, and guarded from the approach (especially) of women; that there were wells in the temple precincts—is not distinctive. Whether human sacrifices were offered there in the writer's day may be doubted; the indictment in 66 68 may refer to an earlier time.

See Selden, *De dis Syris*, 73 with Beyer's *Additamenta*; Th. Roser, *De Dagone Philistaeorum deo*, in Ugolino, *Thesaurus*, 23055-061; Stark, *Gaza u. die philist. Küste* (52), 248-250, cp 576-580; Scholz, *Götzendienst* (77), 242-244; Baudissin, art. 'Dagon' in *PRE*[3]; Menant, 'Le mythe de Dagon,' *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* II (85) 295 *ff.*; Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (90), pp. 449-456. G. F. M.

DAISAN (Δαισαν [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 46, REZIN, 2.

DALAIAH (דְּלָיָה), 1 Ch. 3 24 AV; RV DELAIAH, 3.

DALAN (Δαλαν [A]), 1 Esd 5 37 RV = Ezra 2 56, DELAIAH, 4.

DALMANUTHA (τα μερη Δαλμανουθα Ti WH]) takes the place in Mk. 8 10 of the MAGADAN (*q.v.*) of ¶ Mt. 15 39. It was 'into the parts of Dalmanutha,' we are told (Mk. 8 10), that Jesus came in 'the boat' with his disciples after he had 'sent away about four thousand' whom he had fed. Since in v. 13

[1] Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 2 500.

[2] Schrader in Riehm, *HH B*[2] (cp *KAT*[2] 182): Fr. Del. in *Oliver Bib. L.* 1[2]. See esp Menant, 'Le Mythe de Dagon,' *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* (85) II 295 *ff.*, where a great variety of Assyrian fish-men may be found.

[3] According to the Heb. version of Tobit, Sennacherib was killed in the temple of his god Dagon (ed. Neubauer, p. 29, l. 41), but this is a mere blunder.

[4] Cp the name *Dagantakala* in the Am. Tablets, and see A. H. SODEN, 58, n. 2).

he 'departed to the other side' (εἰς τὸ πέραν), it has seemed natural to look for Dalmanutha on the W. coast of the lake. No such place, however, is known. The name does not appear in Eus. or Jer., nor is there any trace of an analogy to it in any of the ancient itineraries or mediæval travels.

Lightfoot (Decas Chorogr. in *Opera*, 2 413 *f.*; cp *Disp. Posth.* 71) suggested that it might be an Aram. form of Salmōn, צַלְמוֹן, several times mentioned in Talmudic writings (Mishna, *Yebamoth*, 16*b*, *Kela'im* 49; *Oholoth*, 12; Talm. *Baba Bathr.* 74 *b*.) as if in the neighbourhood of Tiberias; and similarly Ewald (*Geist.*, E.T. 6 45, n. 4) interprets it as the Galilean pronunciation of Salmōn. Keim (*Jesus*, E.T. 42 [illegible]) takes it for Salmanūt *i.e.*, 'Shady Place.' Schwarz (*Das Heil. Land*, 180) suggests that Tarichæa, as it is called, Magdala, may be derived from the cave of Talmanā, תַּלְמָנָא (Lightfoot, Jesus *Dymai*, 2 [illegible]), for which he proposes the cave [illegible] Mt. [illegible] Neubauer, however (*Geog. Talm.* 208), says that this cave should be in the neighbourhood of Herod's Caesarea. Recently two other derivations from Aramaic have been proposed. H. [illegible] (*Exp. T.* 8 563 [Sept. '97]) suggests that Dalmanutha is a transliteration of דַּלְמַנוּתָא, the emphatic form of דַּלְמַנְתָּא, the Talmudic form for *barbōn*—*i.e.*, the bay or harbour in which Magdala stood—and thinks that 'one might expect of the evangelist that he would place in the precinct of Peter the fish-market.' Dr. Neubauer (*Ib.* 8 345 [Oct. '97]), after pronouncing Herzog's דַּלְמַנוּתָא as an impossible form for the emphatic of דַּלְמַנְתָּא, suggests דַּלְמִיתָא(?) εἰς τὰ μέρη, 'into the parts'—*i.e.*, of Magdala. Herzog's (*Ib.* 8 95 [Nov. '97]) that דַּלְמַנוּתָא is possible in the Bodleian manuscript, translation [illegible] points out that it, Neubauer's suggestion, the ת remains unaccounted for, as well as the intrusion of a needless Syriac equivalent of the Greek. Those who place Magdala on the S. shore of the lake have sought there for traces of the name, and Thomson (*LB* 273) suggests a ruined site half a mile up the Yarmūk from the Jordan, called Dalbamia or Dalmania (Rob. *BR* 3 264 Delhemiyeh); but this is some distance from the Lake. None of these derivations and identifications seems perfectly satisfactory. G. A. S.

DALMATIA (Δαλματια [Ti. WH], Lac., Dio Cass., *Delmatia*; Inscr. *Dalmatia* and *Dalmatia*. The name does not occur in early Greek writers). The Dalmatians were an Illyrian tribe, or perhaps rather a confederation of tribes, round the town Delmion or Delminium, from which their name was derived (Strabo, 315). They had fifty settlements (κατοικίας ἀξιολόγους; but cp Cic. *ad Pison* 5 10 *a*), of which some ranked as cities, *e.g.*, Salonæ or Salona (mod. *Salona* near *Spalato*). These tribes had in earlier times been loosely dependent upon the rulers of Scodra (mod. *Skutari*), and therefore suffered from the Roman expeditions directed against Queen Teuta (229 B.C.) and Demetrios of Pharos (219 B.C.). On the accession of Gentius they revolted, and thus escaped the fate of southern Illyricum, which, on the subjugation of Macedonia, became permanently dependent upon Rome (see ILLYRICUM). Brigandage and piracy were the only native trades (Str. 317). In 155 B.C. Publius Scipio Nasica took the capital, and the Dalmatians professed subjection. A series of almost endless wars had to be waged before this central part of Illyricum was finally reduced by Octavian (33 B.C.). In the partition of provinces in 27 B.C. so peaceful was Illyricum (τὸ Δαλματικόν, Dio Cass. 53 12) that it was made senatorial; but sixteen years later the Emperor was compelled to take charge of its two main sections, Dalmatia and Pannonia (*id.* 54 34). A final struggle for freedom (6-9 A.D.; cp Suet. *Tib.* 16, who compares the crisis with that of the Punic Wars) was crushed by Tiberius. The coastland from Lissus to the Arsia was thereafter organised as an independent province (for its importance, see Tac. *Ann.* 4 5). The title of the province was 'Superior Provincia Illyricum' (*CIL* 3, 1741), or 'maritima pars Illyrici' (Vell. ii. 125 1). After Augustus 'Dalmatia' is apparently the more usual title (cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 164). Its northern boundary towards Pannonia is not clearly marked; in the S. it extended to the province of Macedonia. The mention of Dalmatia in the NT is confined to a single instance ('Titus is gone to Dalmatia,' perhaps from Nicopolis: 2 Tim. 4 10).

The [illegible] may be illustrated from Tac. *Ann.* 2 [illegible]: *hinovem (consulatus) Germanicus init apud urbem Achaiae*

Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Drusi in Dalmatia agente

It is unnecessary to suppose that the term 'Dalmatia' is used by Paul in a 'vague and general sense' (Conybeare and Howson, 2 155)

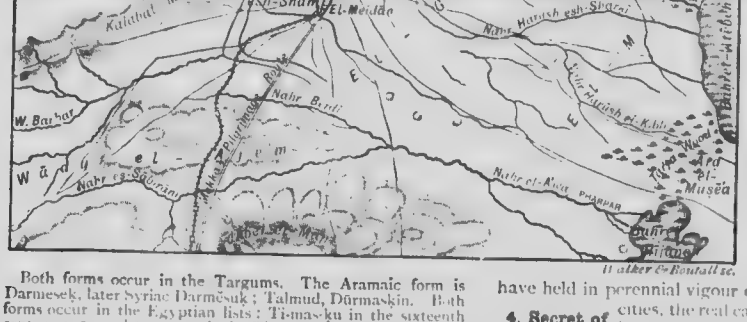
See Cons, *La Province Romaine de Dalmatie*: Evans, *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*. W. L. W

DALPHON (דַּלְפוֹן: ΔΕΛΦΩΝ [BAL*B*], ΤΟΝ Δ. [N^c.a], ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ [S^c]. ΤΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ [L^a]), a son of Haman, Est. 9 7. Cp ESTHER, § 3.

DAMARIS (ΔΑΜΑΡΙϹ [Tl. WH], a woman, apparently of some importance, named in Acts 17 34 as one of those who were converted by Paul's preaching at Athens. Chrysostom (*de Sacerd.* 4 7) makes her the wife of DIONYSIUS the Areopagite; so Latt. of cod. E (*cum uxore sua*), whilst its Greek has only γυνή. Wetzstein (*NT Gr.* 2 37) quotes a gloss, Δαμαρ, γυνή, γαμετή. λεγεται και Δαμαρις.

DAMASCUS. The English Damascus is the Greek ΔΑΜΑϹϹΟϹ. The Heb. is usually דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Dammeśeḳ; but twice (1 Ch. 18 5 2 Ch. 28 5; cp 2 K. 16 10 דַּרְמֶשֶׂק) דֹּרְמֶשֶׂק, Darmeśek. The origin and meaning of the name are unknown.

1. Name.



Both forms occur in the Targums. The Aramaic form is Darmeśeḳ, later Syriac Darmēsuḳ; Talmud, Dūrmaśḳin. Both forms occur in the Egyptian lists: Ti-mas-ku in the sixteenth century B.C., and Sa-ra-maśḳi for Ti-ra-mas-ḳi in the thirteenth (WMM, *As. u. Eur.*). In Assyrian the town is Dimaśḳi or Dimaśḳa; the kingdom (in Heb., Aram of Damascus) Mât Sa imeriśu, a phrase of uncertain meaning. The Arabic is Dimaśḳ, or Dimaśḳ eš Šām—*i.e.*, Damascus of Syria—usually contracted to eš-Šām. The instances of the form with *rm* in OT are later than those with double *m*; but, if the Egyptian transliteration be correct, *rm* is as old as the thirteenth century B.C. Whether *mm* arose by assimilation (see below, § 6) from *rm*, or *rm* by dissimilation from *mm*, is not clear

Damascus has occupied its present site certainly since Greek times, probably from the remotest antiquity.

2. Geography. The city lies in the NW. corner of the Ġūṭa, a fertile plain to the E. of Hermon. To the E. of the city this is known as el-Merj, the Ager Damascenus.

The Ġūṭa is some 30 m. by 8 or 10, and 2 300 ft. above sea-level. It is bounded on the W. by Hermon, on the N. by a long barren offshoot of Antilibanus, on the E. by a long line of volcanic hills, the Tellul, which shut out the great desert, and on the S. by the Jebel 'Aswad, beyond which lies Haurān. It is traversed on the N. by the seven streams of the *Barada* and on the S. by the *Rari'ar* and *A'waj* (see ABANA, PHARPAR). The fertility is very great. There are many fields of corn and

maize; but groves of poplar and walnut, orchards of pomegranate, pistachio, and almond, with hedges and unde so abound (see below, § 10), that the distant view of th is as of an almost unbroken sea of verdure. From white, smokeless city rises like an island, near the barre stone hills on the north of it.

The bulk of the city is set along the main stre the Baradā, 2 m. from where the latter breaks

3. The City. the plain. It spreads about a mile E. to W. and half a mile from N. but from the southern gate a suburb, the Me consisting almost wholly of one street, stretche another mile. The city is thus mallet-shaped, the lying N. to the Baradā, the shaft S. along the Meccan Between the Baradā and the hills there is another su Ṣāliḥiyeh; but it is scattered and half hidden in tr

The position is almost absolutely level, and commanded hills. There is no real citadel; a castle surrounded by a lies a little to the south of the river. The wall, pierced by gates, runs straight along the river and then round the b the city, the mallet head. The upper part of it is A Turkish work; but much of the lower half may date fro times (Acts 9 25; cp 2 Cor. 11 32 f.). Through the so p.. of the city and parallel to the river ran (as through other Greek town in Cœlesyria) a long colonnaded generally identified with that 'called Straight' (Acts 9 11). bases of some columns are still standing. E. of the east Great Mosque (partly burned in 1894) occupies the sit contains some of the chi ture of the Cathedral John, built by Arcadi the beginning of the century on the ruins Greek temple, which was probably the suc of the house of Rimm K. 5 18; cp 16 10-16). rest of Damascus is occ by bazaars, mosques, open places, and stre private houses. On it proach to the walls Baradā has much o water drawn off th channels, by which it is veyed to every corner c city. The chief garde along the N. bank o river; but others, spersed with cemet stretch all round the Despite various drawb her rich streams, burs as they do, on the very of the desert, and cre a delicious verdure, won for Damascus the n of the earthly Paradise c Arab world.

That a site so defe less and so shut off lofty mountains from most of Syria should have held in perennial vigour one of the most ancie cities, the real capital of Syria, and ena it to survive wars and changes of em which have overthrown or reduced poverty every other great city of that part of the wo is due to the combination of so rich a fertility with a p tion so forward on the desert and so central to Wes Asia. Damascus is an indispensable harbou refuge on the desert; the market of the nomads; outpost of the Mediterranean world towards farther A central to Egypt, the Levant, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Khurdistan. Her great roads lead to N. Syria, the up Euphrates by Palmyra to Baghdād and the Persian G by the Gulf of 'Akaba to Mecca; through Syria to Ca and by the upper Jordan and Galilee to Acre, whic her: and port on the Mediterranean—though at ti political exigencies have connected her more closely w Tyre, Sidon or Tripoli, and to-day the great French r and railway across the Lebanons carry her we trade to Bērūt. She thus lay on the commercial li of traffic between Western Europe and India by Persian Gulf: between the valleys of the Euphrates the Nile: between Arabia and Asia Minor.

4. Secret of prosperity.

inevitable an emporium, Damascus was only less favourable a seat of empire. She has always been the natural capital of Lebanon and Eastern Palestine. As long as an Eastern power ruled, she remained the capital also of Syria; but during the Greek and Roman dominion (330 B.C.—634 A.D.) she yielded her supremacy to Antioch.

The Arabs first made for Damascus, and then used her as the base of their Syrian conquests. Under the Omayyad Khalifs she was the capital of the Moslem empire from Spain to India.

With so many communications Damascus has always been the home of a motley crowd. Syrians, Arabs, Greeks, and Kurds, with Turks and Jews. Yet it has preserved, apparently through all ages, a very distinctive character for skill in handicrafts. Damascus, though it has never been a great school of letters, has always been a school of arts; even more a manufactory than a market or a garden. The English terms, Damask (originally any figured or patterned textile)[1] and Damascene blade; the German Damast and Damascieren and Damascener; the French Damesquinerie and Damasquinure (embossing on steel) are proofs of the inventiveness and technical skill of the people, which seem to reach back to a very remote time. In the middle ages Damascus was famous for its patterned and brocaded cloths, especially silks and wools ('an inimitable perfection of work' according to Idrisi), its glass, sword-blades, and embossed and enamelled metal-work. In the beginning of the Christian era, to 'carry wool to Damascus' was, according to the Talmud, a proverb, equivalent to our 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' Ezekiel (27 18) speaks of the city's exportation of wine and wool for the manufactures of Phœnicia (cp Toy, *SBOT*, but see Cornill, *ad loc.*); 2 K. 8 9 mentions the 'goods of Damascus.' Ahaz made a copy of its richly decorated altar (2 K. 16 10 *ff.*).

5. Arts.

The extreme antiquity of Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 4 7 2) was a not unnatural inference from its perennial vigour throughout historical times. Down to the eleventh century B.C., however, the references to it are few and uncertain. A local tradition (found also in Nicolaus Dam. *Fr.* 30, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* i. 7 2) connects Damascus with Abraham; and there is twice mention of it in the JE narrative of the patriarch's life (Gen. 14 15 15 2; see HOBAH, ELIEZER, 1). In the sixteenth century Ti-mas-ku occurs as the thirteenth in the list of the Syrian conquests of Thotmes III. (*KB*[2] 5 44); Timaš-gi, Dimaš-ka are read in the Amarna tablets (15th cent.) (139 63 142 21). These tablets describe the invasion of N. Syria by the Hittites, before whom the Egyptian outposts had to give way, and for the next three centuries Damascus lay upon the vacillating frontier between the two powers. In the fourteenth century, Rameses II. extended his conquests to Beirût and probably included Damascus. At the close of the thirteenth century, in lists of the conquests of Rameses III., Sa-ra-maski for Ti-ra-mas-ki (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 227) is mentioned. The addition of *r* to the name is taken (*ib.* 234) as proof that the regions of Damascus had meanwhile come under Aramæan influence (but see ARAM), and so when at last they appear in the OT historical books, in the campaigns of David toward the end of the eleventh century, we find them possessed by a number of Aramæan states, for the rise of which room had been made by the overthrow of the Hittites nearly a hundred years previously by Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1106). The chief of these Aramæan states was Sôbah (see DAVID, § 8 *b*) under king Hadadezer, to whose help against David came Aram of Dammeseḳ (2 S. 8 5; cp 1 Ch. 18 5). David, after his victory, is said to have placed garrisons in the territory of Damascus; but that these had no permanence is plain from what we hear of Rezon ben Eliada the freebooter, who 'came to Damascus and dwelt there, and reigned in Damascus' and was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon' (1 K. 11 23 *ff.*).

6. Early History.

We have now reached the point at which Damascus becomes chief of the Aramæan confederacy, and retains upon her first great period of political supremacy (*circa* 1000 734 B.C.). Her history is articulate, and we have a pretty well-nigh complete list of her kings. Who Rezon's son was (1 K. 11 23) was is disputed; probably he was HEZION, father of Tabrimmon, father of the Ben-hadad (Hadad), known as Ben-hadad I., who about 925 B.C. helped Asa (15 18) against Baasha (1 K. 15 18 *ff.*). It was perhaps the same Ben-hadad who, some twenty years later, defeated Omri and won the right of 'establishing quarters' (see TRADE AND COMMERCE) in Samaria (1 K. 20 34; Nic. Dam. *Fr.* 31). The son of Ben-hadad I. (or Ben-hadad himself? See BEN-HADAD, § 2), whom also the OT calls Ben-hadad, but a contemporary inscription of Shalmaneser II. of Assyria (854 B.C.) calls Hadadezer (see, however, BEN-HADAD, § 2), besieged AHAB (*q.v.*) in Samaria, but was repulsed there and again at Aphek, on which Ahab received the right to 'establish quarters for himself' in Damascus. In 854 the combined forces of N. Israel, Damascus, and other states were defeated at Karkar (see AHAB) by Shalmaneser II., who again, in 850 and in 847, overthrew Ben-hadad. The Assyrian empire was thus steadily advancing on Damascus; but the latter was still the terror of Israel (2 K. 5 7, the story of Naaman), made regular raids over Jordan, and even besieged Samaria (2 K. 6 7; see JEHORAM, 1) till Ben-hadad was drawn off by rumours of northern war. Disgraced by defeats so numerous, he was slain by HAZAEL (8 15), at least if the text of 2 K. 8 15 is correct. Hazael then became king, and warred with Jehoram (*ib.* 28 *f.*), also with Shalmaneser II., by whom he was defeated in 843 and in 840, the second time with the loss of four cities and much spoil out of Damascus. Still, he succeeded in depriving Jehu of all Israel's territory E. of Jordan, and in extending the dominion of Damascus southwards to the Arnon (2 K. 10 32; cp Am. 1 3). He also took Gath, and was bought off from an invasion of Judah only by large tribute from Jehoash (12 17 [18] *f.*). Hazael and his son Ben-hadad III. (or II.) were able to oppress Israel through the reigns of Jehu's successors Jehoahaz and Joash (2 K. 13 3 25), for under Šamši-Adad the Assyrian armies did not cross the Euphrates (ASSYRIA, § 32), and Damascus was free for the time from the Northern terror. By 805 Assyria was again pressing towards Palestine, and in 803 King Mari' (Ben-hadad II.?) of Damascus (see BEN-HADAD, § 3) was successfully besieged by Rammân-nirari III. This disaster to Damascus permitted JEROBOAM II. (*q.v.*) to recover the territory that Hazael had taken from Israel, and for a time Israel held part of the territory of Damascus (2 K. 14 28; not necessarily the city). In 773 Damascus again suffered from the Assyrians, who invaded the country also in 772, 767, 755, and 754 (ASSYRIA, § 32).

7. Ben-hadad.

8. Hazael.

9. Mari'.

It was the beginning of the end. In 743-740 Tiglath-pileser III. made his first Syrian campaign, and his annals (*KB*[2] 2 [illegible]) contain the name Rezin (Raḳsunnu) Gabrimmu of Damascus, as a king tributary. This Rezin is the Rezin of the Syro-Israelitish war (see AHAZ, TABEEL), whose invasion of Judah brought about an Assyrian intervention (2 K. 16 7 *ff.*). Perhaps the danger which now threatened Damascus was the occasion of the allusions to the city in Is. 17 1. In 733 Tiglath-pileser—whether before or after his subjection of N. Israel and the

10. Rezin.

[1] It is not at all probable that Damascus had acquired a reputation for the manufacture of damask as early as the time of Amos, though RV of Am. 3 12*b* assumes this; 'Damask' and 'Damascus' may have no connection. In Ar. the forms are different—*dimaks* for the stuff, and *Dimakš* for the city. Probably (as Frankel, *Fremdwörter*, 40, referred to by Driver, *ad loc.*, is of opinion) *dimaks* comes by metathesis from *midaḳs*. On Am. *l.c.*, see AMOS, § 5 n.; BED, § 5.

Philistine cities is not quite clear—defeated Rezin, shut him up in Damascus, cut down the plantations (see above, § 2) round the city (he numbers the trees at 13,520), took the city, executed Rezin, and carried the people into captivity (Schr. *COT* 1 251 *ff.*; cp 2 K. 16 9). It was after this, in 732, that Ahaz visited Damascus, and obtained the pattern of the altar which he saw there (*ib.* 10).

11. Decline. Up to this time Damascus had possessed great political influence: her confidence in herself, her power of recuperation, and her military skill are amply proved by her restless energy in Syrian politics, even while she was bleeding from the reiterated attacks of Assyria. The blow which Tiglath-pileser inflicted, however, absolutely destroyed her political power. She seems to have been reduced to the same position as Samaria.

Shalmaneser IV., Sargon, and Sennacherib mention no king of Damascus in all their Syrian lists; and the only notice of the town for a century is in the Khorsabad inscription of Sargon, where (about the year 713) Damascus is said to have joined Arpad, Simirra (see ZEMARAITE), and Samaria in a league formed by Hamath against Assyria. The allied forces were crushed by Assyria at Karkar (*KB* 2 57). Next century Damascus is omitted from the list of twenty-two kingdoms given by Esarhaddon.

She is not mentioned by the prophets, except in a doubtful passage of the Book of Jeremiah (49 23-27) where she is given over to fear and flight, and by Ezekiel who names her, only in passing, as a customer of Tyre (27 18), and a point of measurement for the Holy Land (47 16 *ff.*). If then important, she would be certainly occupied by Pharaoh Necho in 610 and Nebuchadrezzar in 604 *ff.*

Under the Persians Damascus was a seat of authority, and very prosperous (Strabo xvi. 2 20).

Cambyses died there (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2 2), and there Darius deposited his family and treasures before the battle of Issus, after which they were surrendered to Alexander's general Parmeni (Quint. Curt. 3 13). After an unsuccessful revolt the Greek supremacy was established (*ib.* 4 1), and there are extant coins of Alexander issued from the city.

At the death of Alexander, Syria with Phoenicia fell to Laomedōn, the capital being Damascus (Id. 10 15).

12. Supplanted by Antioch. The western people, however, to whom Syria was now subject, required a centre near the Levant, and Damascus became second in Syria to Antioch, the upstart capital of the Seleucidæ.

The diminished importance of Damascus is well illustrated by the small part it plays, as contrasted with Antioch, in those books of the *Antiquities* of Josephus (xii. *f.*) which deal with the third and second centuries B.C. Its more natural connection with N. Syria than with S. kept Damascus in the hands of the Seleucidæ, even when Palestine and Phœnicia were held by the Ptolemies; but several times it fell to the latter: *e.g.*, in 320 under Ptolemy I. (regained by Antigonus in 314); in 280 when Ptolemy II. probably occupied it (regained by Antiochus I. 280-262); in 246 when, however, it was only besieged by Ptolemy III. and relieved by Seleucus II. in 242 (cp Schurer, *Hist.* 3 90).

In the Books of the Maccabees Damascus is mentioned only as being twice visited by Jonathan (*circa* 144 B.C.: 1 Macc. 11 62 12 32; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 10).

The kingdom of the Seleucidæ was divided in 111 B.C., and Damascus must have fallen with the southern part to Antiochus IX. or Kyzikenus (cp Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schœne. in Schur. *op. cit.* 97, and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 4). It was retained by Antiochus' son, and then fell to Demetrius Eukærus, and after his overthrow (*circa* 86 B.C.) to Antiochus XII. or Dionysus, from whom it was transferred (though only for a short time) by Milesius, the governor of the citadel, and the populace, to his brother Philip (Jos. *ib.* 15 1).

Antiochus XII. was defeated by ARETAS (*q.v.*), the Nabatæan, and with Cœlesyria Damascus continued

13. Roman times. in Arabian hands (though pressed hard by Alex. Jannæus [*ib.* 15 3], and Ptolemy Menneus, against whom Queen Alexandra of Judæa [78-69 B.C.] sent her son Aristobūlus [*ib.* 16 3; *BJ* i. 5 3]) till the occupation in 65 by the Roman legions under Lollius and Metellus (*Ant.* xiv. 2 3; *BJ* i. 6 2), who were followed in 64 by Pompey.

After this the exact political position of Damascus is difficult to define.

Though Josephus does not know Damascus as a membe the Decapolis (he calls Scythopolis the greatest town of latter), the name is in Pliny's list (*HN* 5 16). Under Cas (44-42 B.C.) there was a Roman commandant, Fabius, Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11 7 12 1; *BJ* i. 12 1 *f.*), and Nabatæans appear to have been driven to the E. and to S. of Hauran. Somewhere about 36 B.C. Mark Antony g Cleopatra 'Cœlesyria' and parts of the Judæan and Aral territories (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 3 4 1 *f.*, *BJ* i. 8 5); she visited Dam cus, and we have coins of 37, 36, and 32 that were struck her honour, though other coins of about the same date do bear any mark of her (De Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sai* 30 *ff.*).

In 31 B.C. occurred the battle of Actium, and Damascene coins bear till 33 A.D. the names of Augus and Tiberius, under the latter of whom the Damascen had a dispute with the Sidonians about their boundar (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6 1), a fact which shows how extens their territory must have been (Schürer, 98). Th are, however, no coins of Caligula nor of Claudius, any of Nero till his ninth year in 63. It was duri this time that the apostle Paul tells us (see ARETA that not the Romans but 'an ethnarch under Aretas king held the city of the Damascenes' (a form of expr sion which betrays the fact that it was usual to th of Damascus as an independent city); see ETHNARC

We do not know to what degree power in Damascus pas from the Romans to the Nabatæan king. Nor, inde whether Rome actually held it then (cp Schur. *HJ* 2 356 *ff.* 3 M'Giffert, *Apost. Age*, 104 n. 2). At any rate, the city ag came under Rome in Nero's reign (54-68 A.D.); but Nabatæans continued to hold the neighbourhood to the till 106, when Trajan brought their whole kingdom into Empire. Under Hadrian and his successors Damascus h the title μητροπολις (De Saulcy, 37 *ff.*), under Alexander Sever *colonia* (*ib.* 43).

Under both Romans and Byzantines the city continued flourish; yet so long as these Westerns ruled Syria she w

14. Under Islam. only see end to Antioch; and it was not the Moslem invasion—they took Damascus 634, Antioch in 635—that the city in the des resumed the first rank, and the city on t Levant began to decline. For a century, 650-750, Damas had the Khalifate under the Omayyads; she was never tak by the Crusaders, whose pivot was Antioch; she was the capi of Saladin, and being bound to Mecca by the Hajj, wh starts from her gates, she has kept her place in the regard Islām, while her fertility and her unique position have ena her to survive the depopulations to which she has been su jected by conquerors like Timur, and the awful pestilences wi which she has again and again been infected by her annu connection with Mecca.

Besides the works mentioned above and general treatis on the history and geography of Syria, see Noris, *Annus Epochae Syromacedonum*, etc., Leipsic, 169

15. Literature. Maundrell's *Journey to Damascus*; Arnold art. in *PRE*[1] (), and Nöldeke's art. Schenkel's *BL*; Robi. *LBR*, 3 442-468; Porter, *Geogr. Journa* 26 2, 'Five Years in Damascus'; Kinglake's *Eothen*; Thomso *Land and Book*; G.ASm. *HG*, chap. 30. G. A. S.

DAN (דָּן see below, § 1; ΔΑΝ [BAL]; gentil **Danite.** הַדָּנִי; ΔΑΝΕΙ [B], ΔΑΝ [BAL], ΔΑΝ[Ε]ΙΤΗ

1. Name. [BNA 1 Ch. 12 35]), eponymous head of th tribe of the same name. The name, lik many other tribal names, is obscure. It appears, how ever, to bear the same relation to the personal name Daniel and Abidan as the clan name Ram does t Jehoram and Abiram, or on the other hand Jacob an Joseph to two ancient town names ending in -el (se JACOB, JOSEPH, § 1). It is therefore no doubt a divin title, 'judge' (*i.e.*, 'deliverer'?). Cp the Assyri repeatedly recurring royal name Aśur-dan—'Aśur judge' (cp Nabudan)—and the name of Shalmanese III.'s general Dayan-Aśur, as also the epithet *din* (*daianu*) applied to the sun-god (cp SAMSON, § 1) an the moon-god.

Dan is apparently etymologically related to the nam of another Israelitish tribe of whose history still les is known (see DINAH); but it would be less safe t assume any etymological connection with Midian. Th the meaning of the name was not quite forgotten appears, *e.g.*, from the popular derivation in Gen. 30 6 (E) an the paronomasia in Gen. 49 16 (J), although the latter passage applies the epithet to the tribe itself not to its god.

The verb *דון* is used quite freely, not only in the earlier literature (JL, Gen. 15 14; Ps. 3 1 f.) but also (especially) from the 'exile' onwards (Jer. Pss. etc.); so also the derivatives; but as in the case of other old tribal names, the root does not seem to have been used in the formation of proper names in later times (see ABIDAN, ENOCH, § 1), its place being apparently taken by the synonymous *shaphat* (see JEHOSHAPHAT), which is the word provided in Hebrew and Phœnician, while less usual in Assyrian and not certainly used at all in the southern Semitic dialects where *din* continued to prevail.

Dan evidently belonged to the N. (Joseph) group of Israelitish clans. Not, however, in the same sense as Benjamin. Dan was a Bilhah clan and may, not impossibly, have been older than Joseph, as the patriarch stories represent (see BILHAH). If so, the onward pressure of Joseph, though probably not hostile, may have co-operated with the other influences that prevented it from settling permanently in central Palestine, though the apparent southward movement of the Danites from Zor (by Eshtaol to Kiriath-jearim (Judg 18 12) could not well be quoted in support of such a possibility (see MAHANEH DAN). Whilst Dinah, if it was a prehistoric clan of the same or a kindred stock, is called indeed daughter of Leah; but Dan took as its priest a Levite of Judah, suffered the fate of absorption (see DINAH). Dan, though it may have allied itself with Joseph for a time, was eventually compelled by its own energy and the force of circumstances to emigrate, just as perhaps the older Leah tribes emigrated in the opposite direction. If Dan was not older than Joseph, it must be regarded as an unsuccessful precursor of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 1 *f.*; so Stade).

2. Relations to other tribes.

The earliest mention of the tribe is in the 'Song of Deborah.' The poet upbraids Dan for seeking protection or (or living heedlessly by) the ships, instead of coming forward manfully like the brother Bilhah tribe to fight 'on the heights of the open field' (see NAPHTALI). This reference to ships is obscure. It has been interpreted of the southern seat of the tribe,[1] but its proximity and resemblance to the phrase about Asher seems to suggest that the tribe is thought of as in its northern seat (so Moore and Bu., *ad loc.*).

3. Contemporary references to Dan.

The expression used of Dan is quite unique. One shrinks from drawing any definite conclusion from the passage. If the text is sound,[2] it may mean that Dan was, like Asher, though no doubt to a less extent (18 7), under the sway of Phœnician influence. It is much more likely, however, to have been invaded with the Aramæans than with the Phœnicians; for although Tell el-Kâdi is fully 40 m. distant from Damascus and not as from Tyre, the latter was not in historic times so energetic in extending its influence in the Palestine hinterland as Damascus was (cp DAMASCUS, § 4). Although we do not know when the Aramæans began to press southwards, there is no reason to suppose that the Aramæan element represented by such places as Beth-Maacah appeared only after the times of the Song of Deborah. However that may be, in time at least the Aramæans made their influence felt very decidedly. We are still far from understanding fully the history of their relations with Israel; but it may well be doubted whether there ever was a stable or even a definite line between their respective domains. The population of the border region seems to have been largely Aramæan. Benhadad I. had no difficulty in seizing Dan and other places in its neighbourhood, and it does not appear whether Israel was ever able politically to assert a serious, or at least a lasting, claim to them. The fact that the operations of Tiglath-pileser III. (18 years later), in suppression of the plot of Rezon and his accomplice Pekah, were confined to this same district, would be accounted for if it were more intimately connected with Damascus than the rest of Israel was (so Winckler).

[1] Noldeke suggests (in a private communication) that it is not inconceivable that members of the tribe may have taken to fishing.

[2] אניות might easily arise by transposition from נאותיו (the suggestion was made also by Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 16, n. 2, followed by Marq. *Fund.* 7; cp Kit. *Gesch.* i. 265, n. 1. Bu. has since changed his mind: *KHC, ad loc.*). נאות, however, occurs often in the phrase נאות המדבר, and Noldeke argues that neither of the districts in which Dan was settled contained such pastures (cp Ps. 23 2). Perhaps נאות need not be quite so definite in meaning; but if we accept נאותיו this would presuppose the Song's having been committed to writing some time before the Blessing of Jacob was brought into its present form (cp Gen. 49 13).

When I wrote, Dan was still indeed honoured (2 S 20 18 G) but [illegible] Israel [illegible] It must not [illegible] the fact that the [illegible] an Israelitish tribe (7, 16), the [illegible] shape Dan was felt to be [illegible] genuine Israel at all. It is [illegible] authority referred to above (2 S 20 1 G) that the city of Dan was proverbial as a well known home of genuine old [illegible] which is the more [illegible] that its priest [illegible] to Moses (Judg 18 [illegible]). We need not wonder, then, if the importance of this sanctuary was formally acknowledged in some way or other (see ARI, GOLDEN, § 1) by Jeroboam I. [illegible] The N. settlement of Dan, however, perhaps did not amount to much more than the town of that name. Not need the repeated mention of the town in the standing phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba,' which not unfortunately suggests that it had some importance, have really had any political significance. Both places may have owed their celebrity to their ancient sanctuaries.

This may perhaps help us to understand the preservation of such a [illegible] in the popular legend as we find in the latter part of Judges, [illegible] the stories of the Samson cycle [illegible] as [illegible] connected with the [illegible] cistern at Zorah, etc. (cp the mention of a place called Sema Sorah [illegible] that neighbourhood at least according to Kamoses II.; Lepsius, *Denkm.* 144; cp BUBASTIS, § 1; SAMSON). As with any particular Israelitish tribe; they were Hebrews, it [illegible] in Judges [illegible], and may be thought to have some relation to the stories of SHAMMAH and SHAMGAR (*qq.v.*).

In Amos's time the northern Dan still ranked with Bethel (so We. *ad loc.*) and Beersheba as a representative sanctuary (Am. 8 14; on the reading cp AMOS, § 20); but, whatever it was then, the troublous time which ended with the fall of the N. kingdom (2 K. 15 29) and the changed conditions which resulted must have profoundly modified the position even of an ancient sanctuary town. This would perhaps account for the absence of all mention of it from P's geographical scheme. Still, even in the days of Jeremiah although the phrase 'Dan to Beersheba' had given place to 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23 8), an invasion was felt to be begun when the enemy passed Dan (Jer. 4 15 8 16).

If any legends ever gathered round the name of the eponymous head of Dan, they have entirely perished.

4. Traditions. All the more noteworthy is the abundance of traditions about the tribe. These are of two kinds. First there are the stories which, after circulating orally for many generations, were eventually committed to writing, and afterwards given so large a place in the latter portion of our present Book of Judges (*q.v.*, § 16). These are among the best-known of the traditions of Israel. Then there are the most valuable fragmentary notices (in Josh 19 47[3] Judg 1 34 *f.*) mere scraps rescued from what the pre-exilic historians had to tell of the fortunes of this tribe (on the 'Blessings' see below, § 8). All these traditions, however, both those that may fairly be regarded as historical in their nature, and those that are [illegible] dealt with two closely related points, the struggles which the tribe had with its Israelitish neighbours, and its migration northwards.

Dan, it would seem, made the attempt to push its way down from the highlands of Ephraim (see above, § 2) into the territory still completely dominated by the

[1] On the true reading, see MANASSEH.

[2] This phrase really occurs only seven times (all between Judg. 20 and 1 K. 4 25 [5 5]), and in certain of these passages it may be suspected of being late. The Chronicler (perhaps naturally) picters the reverse order (Beersheba to Dan: 1 Ch. 21 2; 2 S. 24 2 'Dan to Beersheba'; 2 Ch. 30 5). See Kittel, Deut. 3 [illegible] 411 (Dan to Beersheba: the literary history of the phrase and the historical problems it raises').

[3] G^B has εἰνὰ for ὅαν in v. 47 (*i.e.*, 47 *ba* of MT), ιου having been dittographed from the preceding ιιου.

Canaanites. Whether it at first succeeded (Josh. 19 47a, if we read [illegible]; cp 𝔊 and 2 K. 6 1) and then was driven back (Judg. 1 34) by the Philistines (cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 18, n. 1) or—since it is difficult to see how 'Philistines' could be changed, editorially or by a gloss, to Amorites by the Canaanites (Judg. 1 34 f.), or whether it never really established itself at all satisfactorily to the SW. of Ephraim, being forced back before it had really settled we can hardly say. On some grounds it would perhaps seem probable either that it separated quite late from Ephraim or that it settled for some considerable time. Otherwise we should perhaps hardly have such clear traditions of the incidents of the subsequent migration (contrast the legendary character of the Samson stories); although it is not at all clear what the history of these traditions is (see above, § 4). In any case, it seems pretty clear that the main strength of the clan ([illegible]) migrated northwards; but did not some remain? Probably

5. Attempts to settle.

Not so much because the MT represents the 600 fighting men as being *some of* the clan (Judg. 18 11; 𝔊 'clans, δημων) of Dan (for the partitive preposition [illegible], which here has the same letter not only after it but also before it, might very well be due to dittography), nor perhaps because the existence of a remnant is needed to explain the copious traditions of the early fortunes of the tribe already referred to (see also below), but because it is difficult otherwise to account for the priestly writer assigning it solely to the southern territory.

Those who remained, however, seem hardly to have been able to make good a separate tribal existence; for it was, according to J, not Dan, but the house of Joseph, that finally gained the upper hand over the Canaanites (Judg. 1 35)—whatever that may refer to (see Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 18, n. 2).

According to Josh. 19 47 (emended text), the border of the children of Dan was too narrow for them, and so they went up and fought against Leshem (Lesham?) and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Dan. It is possibly the same writer who explains in Judg. 1 34 that the overcrowding of Dan was because 'the Amorite' forced them into the hill country. This Dan (see next article) became, as we have seen, if it was not already, a famous sanctuary, and it is not surprising that the story of its incorporation into Israel was a favourite with those who put into literary form the traditions of Israel's early days.

6. Migration.

Many as are the obscurities of the narrative as we now have it in Judg. 17 f., one thing is clear: several hands have worked at it (see JUDGES, §§ 11 12). A deputation of Danites, after consulting a priest in Mount Ephraim, find a roomy district, easy of attack, in the far north, and return to Zorah to conduct their tribesmen thither. On the route they manage in one way or another to get the priest they had consulted to accompany them with the image he tended, which, having settled in their new home, they constitute their national palladium.

The main points in this story must be facts. How long the sanctuary maintained itself we do not know exactly (see the two independent representations in Judg. 18 30 f., and cp SHILOH, JONATHAN, 1). Of a very different character are the stories that have gathered round the name of Samson; but they are more naturally treated elsewhere, the more so that we cannot be quite sure how far they are really to be regarded as Israelite in any ordinary sense, not to say Danite. See SAMSON.

7. Cycle of legends.

Whether the metaphors of the serpent (Gen. 49 17) and the lion's whelp (Dt. 33 22) in the several 'Blessings' are simply later echoes perpetuating the memory of the famous raid on Leshem, or whether they point to a repetition of such raids by this lion-city itself (Stade, *GVI* 1 168), we do not know; the latter is not perhaps unlikely.[1]

8. Later writings.

[1] The metaphor of the serpent on the way, biting the horse's heels and throwing the rider backwards, has been supposed to refer to embarrassment of the Aramaeans in their wars with Israel.

At a later date, indeed, these references came to be interpret[illegible] of the southern Dan (Targ. Onk.) and of Samson in particul[illegible] (Targ. Jon. and Jerus.). The fact, however, that P has nothi[illegible] whatever to tell us of the territory of the N. Danites perha[illegible] shows how this might come about.[1] On the other hand [illegible] eulogistic sense in which the words are explained is rem[illegible] as is in view of the ill odour that attached to the name of D[illegible] in later times (see below, § 9).

What the cantons of the district assigned by P [illegible] Dan were, P nowhere states; perhaps he was hinse[illegible] unless to formulate any (cp the case of Simeon, Jos[illegible] 19 1-9). That he meant them to be inferred from h[illegible] account of the adjacent tribes (Benjamin, Judah [illegible] Ephraim) is possible; but he is not usually afraid [illegible] repetition. Of the sixteen (in MT seventeen) plac[illegible] which P assigns to Dan, eight may be regarded [illegible] identified beyond reasonable doubt (see ZORA[illegible] ESHTAOL, IR-SHEMESH, AIJALON, TIMNAH, EKRO[illegible] JEHUD, BENE-BERAK), while ME-JARKON (*q.v.*, a[illegible] see RAKKON, MAKAZ) must probably be sought in th[illegible] neighbourhood of *Ras el-'Ain*. In Josh. 15 the sam[illegible] writer assigns not only Timnah (*v.* 57) and Ekro[illegible] (*v.* 45), which are historically best known as Philistin[illegible] cities, but also Zorah and Eshtaol, where if anywhe[illegible] the Danites were settled, to JUDAH.[2]

Still less to be trusted is the account of Josephu[illegible] (*Ant.* v. 1 22, end), which, likewise ignoring altogeth[illegible] the N. Dan, actually makes S. Dan extend as far N[illegible] as Dor and as far S. as Ashdod. Though P re[illegible] presents Dan as, next to Judah, the largest trib[illegible] at the end of the nomadic period (Nu. 26 43), bot[illegible] P. and the Chronicler[3] tend otherwise to give th[illegible] tribe the scantiest possible consideration. In Joshua [illegible] is the last to have its lot assigned it (19 40 f.). Th[illegible] Dan fragment is the last of those collected in Judg [illegible] (*v.* 34 f.). The tribe stands last in the list in 1 Ch. [illegible] 27 16-22. In Rev. (chap. 7) it is omitted altogeth[illegible] (see below, § 9), and the same fate seems to hav[illegible] befallen it in the genealogical lists in 1 Ch. 2 ff.[4] [illegible] the form of the list now appearing in Gen. 46 23 = Nu [illegible] 26 42 f.[5] (both P), indeed, Dan is credited with on[illegible] family; but one cannot be quite sure that the statemen[illegible] may not be a very late addition founded on the notio[illegible] (propounded in modern times by Bertheau, *ad loc.*) tha[illegible] Aher (= 'another') in HUSHIM, the sons of Aher [illegible] (1 Ch. 7 12b), was a circumlocution for Dan rather tha[illegible] a corruption of Ahihor or some other name (see BE[illegible] JAMIN, § 9, ii. a). At all events, the omission of a Da[illegible] list from his lists by the Chronicler would be n[illegible]

[1] It might indeed be argued from four of P's lists of tribes [illegible] the two census lists (Nu. 1 20 ff. 26), and the two camp lists (2 1 [illegible] 10)—that Dan is regarded as a northern tribe, being grouped i[illegible] a triplet with Asher and Naphtali. But (1) it is immediatel[illegible] preceded by Benjamin, and (2) in the list of tribal represent[illegible] tives who took part in the census Gad is not, as in the censu[illegible] and camp lists, oddly classed with Reuben and Simeon, b[illegible] with the triplet in question: that is to say, the four concubin[illegible] tribes are taken together.

[2] On the other hand, the Chronicler probably did not reall[illegible] mean to make Gath-rimmon Ephraimite (1 Ch. 6 69 [54]): se[illegible] next note but one.

[3] A peculiar fact is that P makes the associate of Bezale[illegible] of Judah in the construction of the tabernacle a Danite (Ex [illegible] 31 6), whilst the Chronicler makes Huram-abi, who had the sam[illegible] position in the work of Solomon's temple, a man of Tyre whos[illegible] mother was of Dan (but see 1 K. 7 14, with Klo.'s note, and [illegible] HURAM-ABI). P makes the mother of the man who 'blasphem[illegible] the Name' son of a woman of Dan by an Egyptian (Lev. 24 10 f.[illegible]

[4] In the Chronicler's list of tribes in which Levitical citi[illegible] were appointed (1 Ch. 6 54 [39] ff.) Dan appears to be omitted [illegible] but *v.* 61 [46] is obviously corrupt. A comparison with it[illegible] source in Josh. 21 20-26 [P] shows that the name of Dan h[illegible] dropped out, whilst the fact that Ephraim also, though preserv[illegible] by 𝔊L in 1 Ch. 6 61 [46], is dropped in MT shows that the omi[illegible] sion is not intentional. It has accordingly been restored by Ka[illegible] in *HS* and Kl. in *SBOT*. In the enumeration of the towns [illegible] name farther down (*vv.* 67 [52]-81 [66]) Dan is again omitted (t[illegible] time without the company of Ephraim); but the probable e[illegible] planation of this omission of Dan is that either the Chroni[illegible] or some copyist has accidentally omitted Josh. 21 23; for [illegible] consequence is that *v.* 24 is copied as if it belonged to *v.* [illegible] Aijalon and Gath-rimmon being assigned to Ephraim, and th[illegible] Kohathite cities becoming eight, instead of ten, as stated abov[illegible] in 1 Ch. 6 61 [4].

[5] Hushim (HUSHIM) = Shuham (SHUHAM).

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stranger than his omission of *Zebulun* which has three families assigned it by P in Gen. 46 14 = Nu. 26 26.

9. Apocalyptic notions. It is a fact, however, that in later times Dan was in disrepute. In the Targums, indeed, as we have seen the tribe [illegible] high esteem; but in Talmudic times this is changed. Thus *Midr. Rab.* on Num. declares that when Jeroboam went out from the tribe he joined him so readily as Dan. In the Talmud (*Shabbath* 56), accordingly, Dan represents idolatry. Further, out of the very same passage [illegible] interpreted in the Targums, there was evolved, in connection with Jer. 8 16, the remarkable notion (appearing in *Test. Patr.*) that Beliar is in some peculiar way connected with the tribe, which, it is declared, will transgress against Levi and Judah, 'for in the Book of Enoch it is said that their ruler is Satan; but the salvation of the Lord will arise out of Judah and Levi, and he will fight against Beliar.' With this [illegible] the tradition that the Antichrist is to come of the tribe of Dan. Already in Iren. (v. 30 2) we find the fancy—it may be [illegible] a fancy—that this is the explanation of the omission of Dan from the list of those that are sealed (Rev. 7 5-8). H. W. H.

DAN (דָּן; Δαν). 1. A city 'in the valley which belongs to BETH-REHOB [*q.v.*].' Judg. 18 28; conquered by the Danites. It was the most northern city of Israel: note the phrase 'from Dan as far as Beersheba' (see above, 994, n. 2). Its original name was LAISH [*q.v.*]. In Judg. 18 29 the change of name is accounted for. Historical references to it occur, not only in Judg. 18, but also in 2 S. 24 6 (where *jaan* is appended to Dan by a singular error of the text; see DAN-JAAN); also in 1 K. 12 29 (golden calf), and 1 K. 15 20, and 2 Ch. 16 4 (Benhadad's invasion). The reference to the *name* Dan in Gen. 14 14 need not, in the present writer's opinion, be counted; it is true, the city afterwards called Dan is meant, but the anachronistic 'Dan' is simply a scribe's error for 'Laish'; the true text probably is, '. . . and pressed after them, he and his servants, as far as Laish, and smote them.'[1]

1. References.

One of the supposed arguments for the late date of Gen. 14 must therefore be abandoned; but this by no means involves regarding that strange narrative as historical. The anachronism in Dt. 34 1 remains.

The site of Dan has recently been fixed by G. A. Smith (*HG*, 473, 480 *f.*) at Bāniās, on the ground that the situation of Bāniās is so much stronger than that of Tell el-Kāḍi (cp CAESAREA, § 7). The fact is undeniable, yet not decisive. From Judg. 18 we do not gather that Laish was a place of exceptional natural strength; its inhabitants were a peaceful folk, who trusted not in their fortress but in their remoteness from troublesome people like the Danites.

2. Identification.

Theodoret no doubt favours our eminent geographer's view. 'The present Paneas,' he says, 'was called Dan,'[2] and even Jerome (on Ezek. 48 18 and on Am. 8 14) speaks of Dan as being where Paneas now is. The Jerus. Targ., too (on Gen. 14 14), calls Cæsarea Philippi 'Dan of Cæsarea.' These vague statements, however, do not carry much weight. On the other hand, Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10 1 v. 3 1 viii. 8 4; *BJ* iv. 1 1) expressly says that Dan stood at the 'lesser fountain of the Jordan, in the plain of Sidon, a day's journey from that city, and that the plain around it was extremely fertile. Eus. and Jer. (*OSG* 114 26 249 32) speak still more definitely. 'A village *four miles distant from Paneas*, on the road to Tyre; it was the boundary of Judæa (ὅριον τῆς Ἰουδαίας), and at it the Jordan takes its rise.' Jerome adds: 'De quo et Jordanis flumen erumpens a loco sortitus est nomen. Ior quippe ῥεῖθρον (id est fluvium sive rivum) Hebræi vocant' (cp JORDAN). A glance at any handbook of geography will show what spot is here meant.

Four miles west of Bāniās, in a well-watered district, is one of the two great fountains of the Jordan. It rises at the W. base of an extensive cup-shaped mound, called *Tell el-Kāḍi*. Now Kāḍi in Arabic and Dān in Hebrew both mean 'judge,' and the fountain bears a

[1] There is a corrupt duplication. Read [וַיִּרְדֹּף עָלָיו] עָרִינָן וַיַּכֵּם עָלָיו עָרִילִשָׁה. וַיִּרְדֹּף for וַיִּקְרָא is due to Ball; but it is also the original of וַיִּרְדֹּף. Niebuhr has already suspected a place-name in עָרִילָה. In fact, the Pasek after עָרִינָן warns us that the text is doubtful. Ewald (*GVI* 173) supposed that דָּן was substituted late for לַיִשׁ—an arbitrary and inadequate theory.

[2] On Jer. 4 15 (*Opera* (1770), 2433).

name (Leddan) which also may perhaps be [illegible] of the name of the city. The very [illegible] Kāḍi, since [illegible] more [illegible] with Dan [illegible] seriously says that the marshes of Lake Semechonitis (Hūleh) extend northwards as far as Dipsa (Dan) where are the sources of the little Jordan (*Tosephta*). Prof. G. A. Smith, however, in a recent [illegible] Tell el-Kāḍi was perfectly [illegible] the ground of the proposed identification, seems to [illegible] present writer to be strong. Professors Guthe and Lagarde and Mr. [illegible] have given the support to the identification.

Tell el-Kāḍi rises out of a [illegible] jungle of thorns, bushes and [illegible] woods. Its circumference is about half a mile and its greatest elevation above the plain is fifty feet. There are some [illegible] and in place [illegible] on the top and [illegible] the S. part of the rim where, perhaps, the [illegible] temple may have stood. There are also [illegible] the plain a short distance N. of [illegible]. These are doubtless other remains, but they are [illegible] with grass and jungle. [illegible]

See K. [illegible], *Guide* [illegible], G. A. Smith *HG*, [illegible] *PEF Mem.* [illegible], Buhl [illegible]; Moore, *Judges*, [illegible].

2. Ex Dan [illegible] Lech. 27 [illegible] AV [illegible] 8 18.

[illegible] K. [illegible]

DANCE. 'There is a time to [illegible] and a time to dance,' says the Preacher (3 4). We have not now to discuss the origin of the practice of dancing, nor its connection with funeral as well as with festival observances. We may assume that from a very early period it has been an expression of joy, and has been accompanied by music and song. The musical instrument employed may be no better than a wooden drum;[1] but without some music there can be none of that rhythmic movement which we call dancing. The principal occasions of dancing are, in an ancient community, religious. If these assumptions are, as far as our evidence goes, true for Egypt, still more obviously are they true for early Egypt and Babylonia. The happy-tempered Egyptians [illegible] their various dances, and cultivated the art both in public and in private festivities, both in war and in peace; but the primary impulse was religious.[2] In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the art of dancing flourished. 'To dance' (*rakādu*) is a synonym for 'to rejoice', and so great was the demand for singers (music and singing naturally go together with dancing) that Hezekiah king of Judah was made to send singers as well as other women of the palace to Nineveh (Prism Inscr. 3 30).[3]

1. Among the ancients: in Egypt, etc.

Neither Egypt nor early Babylonia, however, can be presumed to have influenced the primitive Israelitish customs, except, indeed, through the Canaanites. Of much greater importance are our scanty notices of Arabian dancing. What the Bedouin dancing is to-day can be seen as near to civilisation as Jericho. Wild as it is, it is not without rhythm and measure.[4] There are also still some relics of the primitive religious dance. Besides the dance at the merry Circumcision Feast (*muzayyin*), combined with sacrifice, there is the well-known custom of 'circumambulating' the Ka'ba or Holy House at Mecca seven times. This procession is a true substitute for a very old heathen rite.[5] The prince-poet Imra'al-Kais likens a herd of wild kine (or antelopes) to a group of girls, gown-clad, going saddly round the

2. Among the Bedouin.

[1] Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, 252.

[2] See Erman, *Egypt*, 216.

[3] Correcting *KB* 2 7 by Del. *Ass. HWB* 257 *b*.

[4] Cp Doughty, *Tr. Arab.* i. 1.

[5] See We. *Ar. Heid.* [illegible] 136, 165; and cp Hesiod, *Theog.* [illegible] the Muses dancing round the altar of Helicon); Thucyd. 4 10; Liv. 26 9; Verg. *Æn.* 6 283; Plut. *Thes.* 21, ἐχόρευσε περὶ τὸν κερατῶνα βωμόν.

Dawâr or sacred stone. Mohammed himself could not abolish this custom. The procession round the Kaaba is really the *Hajj*; this term is now applied to the Mecca pilgrimage, but its root-meaning plainly is to go in a circle (cp Ps. 107 29, 59).

Pre-Islamic Arabia explains much that is characteristic in Israelitish life. This is specially true of religious rites.

3. Hebrew hag. The chief original Hebrew term for a religious dance was doubtless חג *hag*. The rendering 'feast' or 'festival' will indeed suffice in most cases, but only because religious festivals necessarily included the sacred dance, at least as long as the sacred stones remained in the sanctuaries. In Ps. 118 27 Cheyne (*Psalms*[1]) renders 'Bind the procession with branches,' with reference to the swiftly moving procession which took the place of the older dance; Baer more boldly, 'Bind the dance' (*i.e.* the dancers). Unfortunately, the text of this passage is not free from corruption;[1] but it is, at any rate, permissible to recognise the sacred dance in Ex. 10 9, 'Let my people go that they may keep a feast with dancing to me in the desert'—not that all would take part in the dance: the dancers would represent the people, all of whom would 'rejoice before Yahwè,' as the phrase was. Perhaps we may compare 1 S. 30 16, if חגים (applied to the Amalekites who had plundered Ziklag) means 'circling in the sacred dance' (see BDB). At any rate, in Ps. 42 4 [5] the best sense is obtained by reading, not רמון חוגג, 'a multitude that kept holyday' (AV), but רמון חוגגים, 'the music of those who kept festival'[2] (רמון, 'music,' Am 5 23; Ezek. 26 13). That dancing is here referred to, however, is not evident.

4. OT Vocabulary. Words for dancing in general. (1) צחק, *ṣiḥḳ*, or שחק, *siḥḳ* (Arab. *ḍaḥika* 'to laugh,' whence *maḍḥakun* 'mimus'; Syr. *gᵉḥakh*; Ⓖ παίζειν) meaning 'to sport, or jest.' Though commonly used to denote any kind of sport (Gen. 21 9, RVmg. 'playing'; 26 8 RV 'sporting'), it may denote simply 'dancing' (see 2 S. 6 5–1 Ch. 13 8; Judg. 16 25; Jer. 31 4).

2. In late writings we meet with רקד, *rāḳaḏ*, prop. 'to leap' 1 Ch. 15 29; Ass. *raḳâdu* [see above]; Syr. *rᵉḳadh*, Pa. 'to dance,' Aph. 'to lament' (*plangere*); Tg. רקד; Ⓖ ὀρχεῖσθαι, σκιρτᾶν; cp Ar. *raḳaḍa*, 'to move the feet, to hop.'

3. The root חיל, *ḥîl*, 'to writhe, whirl,' Judg. 21 21 (whence מָחוֹל, *māḥôl*, מְחוֹלָה, *meḥôlah*, 'dance,' χορός) suggests a more intricate movement.

4. Lastly, we have in 2 S. 6 16 the two ἅπ. λεγ. פזז, *pizzēz*, and פרכר, *kirkēr* (the latter also in v. 14) (Ar. *karra*, 'to advance and retreat,' *karkara*, *id.*; 2 S. 6 14 מכרכר, Targ., מְשַׁבְּחָא, Pesh. *meshabbaḥ*, Vg. *saltabat*). Most probably, however, כפז וכרכר should rather be read כפכף וכרכר (Che.); the former of these participles is justified by the facts brought together by Toy, *JBL* 16 178 *f.* ['97], which show that פסח (*pāsaḥ*), the root of פֶּסַח, means virtually 'to dance,' and the latter by the authority of 1 Ch. 15 29.

Dancing, then, was of the essence of a primitive religious festival. It was not the choral dances (מחולת)

5. A part of primitive religion. that provoked the wrath of Moses (Exod. 32 19): Miriam's 'dances' were evidently congenial to all (Exod. 15 20 *f.*; cp Judg. 11 34; 1 S. 18 6, 21 11 [12]). It was the worship of the steer-god that angered the great leader. The Hebrews never ceased to be religious dancers, though the form of the ceremony may have changed. Some idea of the early rite may be gained from the account in 2 S. 6 14 of David's dancing 'before Yahwè' (*i.e.*, before the ark; cp. v. 5). M. had indeed took her husband's act amiss. She was too unimaginative to see the meaning of a practice which was beginning to be antiquated. She thought that by leading the dance in such attire and moving with the common people, her husband was playing a part which was within the province of a woman only, and unworthy of his character and office. David's answer well expresses his own devoutness, though he cannot have guessed what issues of world-wide importance hung upon the transference of the ark to Jerusalem!

Again, at the great religious crisis in the reign of Ahab it is not the 'dancing' that Elijah disapproves, but its connection with a bad, foreign religion. The prophets of Baal, we are told, 'leaped' (*i.e.*, danced) after a special rite around their altar, not eucharistically, but as suppliants (1 K. 18 26). Elijah, though too confident of his God's favour to attempt to work upon him by ritual, does not hesitate to use the word פסח (to leap) in his taunting address to the Israelites (v. 21).[2] Indeed, Toy seems to have shown that the spring festival called Pesaḥ (EV Passover) derived its name from the dances (פסח, see above, § 4 4) connected with it. A conservative prophet like Elijah could never have opposed religious dances.

Indeed, one may fairly say that prophecy itself, at any rate, that represented by Elisha, was under some obligations to dancing. The inspiration of those who belonged to the guilds of prophets (see PROPHECY) was prepared for by music and rhythmic movements of the body (cp 1 S. 10 10 11, 19 20–24). It was the wild proceedings of prophets when in this preparatory state that degraded the whole order in the eyes of many Israelites (cp 2 K. 9 11). It is difficult, when looking at dervishes performing their exercises, not to think of the so-called 'sons of the prophets' (again see PROPHECY). 'Clemas and dervishes with the chief muftis at the head were leaping, bounding, swaying their arms, and whirling in time to the din of drums, trumpets, and cymbals which followed them' (Tristram).

For the stated religious ritual of the pre-exilic age we are ill-provided with authorities. Still, we know that

6. At festivals. the three great festivals (especially that of Tabernacles) were celebrated with an exuberant joy which expressed itself in dancing. The Psalter proves that even in the post-exilic age dancing as well as music formed part of divine service (see Pss. 149 3, 150 4). Eucharistic procession (no doubt at a quick pace) round the altar was customary (26 6) and according to MT [see above], 118 27). Procession of God also, which, from the mention of maidens' timbrels, may be presumed to have been a dance festival, are spoken of (Ps. 68 24 [25], *SBOT*). Ps. 8, however, is too obscure to be quoted.

There was dancing at tribal and family festivals (cp the place-name ABEL-MEHOLAH [*q.v.*], 'dancing meadow'; 1 K. 19 16). It was at a yearly tribal festival that the daughters of Shiloh came forth for choral dances (Judg. 21 21 לָחוּל מְחֹלוֹת), and there is a singular story, which almost seems like an attempt to account for marriage by capture (see M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*), respecting the Benjamites who chose wives from among the dancers (קרקבהלות). We must apparently take this in connection with the curious custom referred to elsewhere (CANTICLES, § 9; ATONEMENT, DAY OF), which was evidently greatly toned down in post-exilic times. The young men and maidens of Jerusalem danced in the vineyards, but without results, on the evening of the 15th of Ab (it was the festival of Wood-carrying[3]) and of the Day of Atonement, and sang edifying songs on marriage (Mishna, *Ta'anith*, iv. 8). A dance performed by the chief men of the city was a special incident in the festivities of the Feast of Tabernacles. At the close

1 Che. reads
Make melody with dancing (בְּקָחוּל) and with timbrels,
Make melody, O our king, make melody.
2 Che. *Psalms*[2].

1 Che. *Aids to Criticism*, 52 *f.*
2 On this passage see Kl., and, for a fuller development of the meaning, *JQR*, July 1893 (p. 36 f.); cp Lagrange, *RB*, 1896 *ff.* It is useless to compare the Phœnician divine name Βαιθαρμοῦς, *i.e.*, בעל כרכר, 'Baal of dancing' (Baethg., *Beiträge*, 53 f.) and other similar forms. They have all grown out of Melkart, the name of the Baal of Tyre (Texier).
3 See Jos. *Ant.* iv. 17, and cp Neh. 10 35 [36], 13 31, Philo, *De Iris*, 96.

[illegible] day men of piety and repute singing hymns danced with her boys in their hands. No one who has [illegible] seen this [illegible] has seen [illegible] (Sacred [illegible] 5 [illegible]). Thus the sex [illegible] the [illegible] extinguish the impulse in the Jewish people to [illegible] rhythmic movement.

There was, however, one kind of dancing against which wise men protested. It is no doubt of Greek dancing-girls that Ben Sira is thinking when he warns his readers not to 'use the company of a woman that is a singer' (Ecclus. 9 4). Hellenism, indeed, was even more dangerous morally than religiously. It is just possible, too, that when on Herod's birthday the daughter of Herodias came forward to amuse the guests (ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, Mt. 14 6, cp Mk. 6 22, Lk. 13 23) her style of dancing was derived from the pantomimic solo-dance of the hired female dancers of Greece.[1]

7. Biblical references. The few occasions in the Bible in which dancing is referred to may be said to have an interpretative value. It was not always necessary to mention that a happy event was celebrated by dancing, because early readers would supply this detail mentally for themselves. We are thankful, however, that the writers did sometimes mention the dancing, and that so they interpreted for us many other passages. Dancing was continually in request in Israelitish and in Jewish society (Jer. 31 4 14, Mt. 11 17, Lk. 7 32, 15 25). Thus (as in Assyrian) 'dancing' and 'rejoicing' were synonymous terms (Lam. 5 15, Eccles. 3 4, Ps. 30 11 [12]). It is an improbable idea of Leyrer (*PRE*[2]) that there is a reference to a kind of square dance in Cant. 7 1 [6 13] (כמחלת המחנים; see MAHANAIM). Much more safely may we suppose a reference to a sword-dance, such as Wetzstein found as a part of the wedding ceremonies in Syria (cp CANTICLES, § 9). Dancing has, of course, always been popular at weddings; and the virgins in the parable who go out to meet the bridegroom no doubt looked forward to a merry choral dance. Modern Arabs still sing and dance with lighted torches on the day of a wedding.

Literature. Lucian, *De Saltat.*; Spencer, *De Saltat. vet. Hebr.*; 'Saltatio' in *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiqq.*; 'Tanz' in *PRE*[2] v. 206; Riehm, *HWB*[2] 1636 *f.*; Wetzstein, *Zeitsch. fur Ethnol.* 1873, p. 285 *f.*; Franz Delitzsch, *Iris* (ET), 189-206; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, 207-210; Grove (Lilly), *Dancing* (95); R. Voss, *Der Tanz u. seine Gesch.* (09).

DANIEL (דָּנִיֵּאל, Kt.; Kr. דָּנִיאֵל [Bä. and Ginsb.], Ezek. 14 14 20 28 3; דָּנִי־אֵל—*i.e.*, God is my judge, or, the defender of my right; ΔΑΝΙΗΛ [BRAQF]. The name דניאל occurs in a Palmyrene inscription (De Vogüe, *La Syrie centrale*, no. 93). On the name Daniel in Ezek., see the suggestion in ENOCH, § 1.

1. A man of extraordinary wisdom and righteousness (Ezek.; see above). This Daniel appears to have become proverbial, as did Noah and Job; but when and where he was thought to have lived we are not told.

2. A Jewish captive, said to have been carried to Babylon 'in the third year of Jehoiakim' when Jerusalem was taken (Dan. 1 1 2 6), and to have become, through his supernatural wisdom, chief of the sages of Babylon and the minister of successive dynasties. The latest date mentioned in his life is the third year of Cyrus (Dan. 10 1; cp, however, 1 21). Outside the book which bears his name, and the apocryphal additions to it, the only biblical passages which mention this Daniel are 1 Mac. 2 60 and Mt. 24 15 (= Mk. 13 14). The former contains only a didactic reference to the story of the lions' den. The latter apparently makes Jesus speak of 'Daniel the prophet'; but, as the form of the citation shows, it is rather the evangelist who speaks (cp B. Weiss, *Das Matthäusevang.* 508). See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

[1] Or, if Oriental analogies be preferred, we may consult Thomson, *LB*, 555-6; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, 208; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* 1 240 294 *f.*; cp also Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 249-250).

3. A priest of [illegible] in Ezra's caravan (see [illegible]). [illegible] 8 2, 10 6 [illegible] 8 [illegible] 10 [illegible] 10 [illegible] 10

earth, so every earthly dominion must give way before the imperishable kingdom of God.

In the *third* piece (3 1-30) we are told how, as a punishment for their refusal to worship the great golden image which Nebuchadrezzar had set up, the three friends of Daniel (himself silently passed over) were cast into the burning fiery furnace, and how at last, when the fire had not been able to hurt the men of Judah who had been thus steadfast to their faith, the great king was compelled to do homage to their god.

The *fourth* piece (4 1 [3 31] ‖ 37 [34]) tells, in the form of a proclamation by Nebuchadrezzar to all the peoples of the whole world—a form which is not carried out with uniform consistency—how an evil dream (which the king himself in this instance relates) had thrown him into dismay, and how Daniel alone was able rightly to interpret the vision, prophesying to the king that as a punishment for his pride he should for a long time be bereft of reason. Nebuchadrezzar is thus for a third time constrained to give the glory to the Ruler of heaven.

Next, in the *fifth* piece (5 1-5 31 [6 1]), we have Belshazzar's feast and overthrow: we are told how in a wild orgy this king, unwarned by the fate of his father Nebuchadrezzar, desecrated the sacred vessels of the temple, and thereupon was horror-stricken by the miraculous handwriting on the wall.[1] The explanation of this, which Daniel alone was able to give, was soon shown to have been correct, for that very night the king was slain, and his crown passed to Darius the Mede.

The *sixth* piece (6 1-28 [2-29]), that of Daniel in the lions' den, has reference exclusively to Daniel, just as a corresponding section, that of the burning fiery furnace, relates only to his three friends. We here read how King Darius suffered himself to be induced by his nobles, who were envious of Daniel, to promulgate the foolish decree that any one who for the space of a month should offer any petition to god or man should be thrown to the lions. Naturally Daniel transgressed this command; but the king, who had been compelled against his will to condemn his faithful servant to punishment, soon became convinced of his error by the protection which Daniel's god vouchsafed to his worshipper, and, condemning the accusers to the fate which they had prepared for Daniel, commanded all his subjects to serve Daniel's god.

The *seventh* piece (7), the first in the prophetic section, is a picture in companionship to chap. 2, and dates from the first year of Belshazzar, not from the time of Nebuchadrezzar, to which the first group of four pieces belong. If, moreover, as we read in 10 1, the last great vision which Daniel saw immediately before his death is to be assigned to the third year of Cyrus, exactly seventy years after Daniel's deportation from Judah, it seems fitting that the *eighth* piece also should be assigned to the Babylonian period, and that only the last two prophetic sections should be given to that of the Medes and Persians. Most of the years they amounted to an ordinary lifetime—that Daniel spent in the East must have fallen under the reigns of the Babylonian kings; for, whilst Darius the Mede was already in his sixty-second year when he ascended the throne of Babylon (5 31 [6 1]), Daniel saw only the beginning of the reign of his successor Cyrus the Persian.

In chap. 7 we have Daniel's account of his vision of the four beasts, from each of which successively the supremacy is taken away to be at last and for ever bestowed upon the Messiah, one 'like a son of man' who comes from heaven, and so at the same time the kingdom is possessed by the saints of the Most High.

If, in 7 25, the angel's interpretation of one of the horns of the fourth beast has already unmistakably pointed to a king who persecuted the Jews on account of their religion, it is made still more apparent in the *eighth* piece (in the interpretation which Gabriel gives of Daniel's vision in the third year of Belshazzar) that by the fourth kingdom, which arises after the reigns of the Medes and Persians, we are to understand the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great and his successors. By the reader acquainted with Jewish history the description of the horn which at first was small, or of the bold overbearing king who deprives the Most High of his continual burnt-offering and gives up his sanctuary to wanton desecration, and at the same time rages furiously against the holy people, cannot fail to be understood as referring to the Syrian king Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) who, by his religious edict (1 Macc. 1 41 *ff.*), designed to bring about the establishment of the Greek cultus throughout his whole dominions, and, by setting up an altar to the Olympian Zeus upon the altar of burnt-offering in Jerusalem (Dec. 168), provoked the revolt of the Maccabees (167). The eighth piece contains the comforting promise that after 2300 evenings and mornings the temple of God will be again restored to its rightful position, and the shameless king overthrown, but not by human hand.

The *ninth* piece (chap. 9), after a prayer of Daniel which, notwithstanding its borrowings from Ezra 9 and Neh. 9, is still pathetic, gives Gabriel's interpretation of the seventy years, predicted by Jeremiah, as meaning seventy weeks of years, after the lapse of which the day of salvation is to dawn.

Whilst this vision comes to Daniel in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede over the kingdom of Babylon, the last or *tenth* piece (chaps. 10-12) is dated from the third year of Cyrus his successor. In correspondence with the great importance of this last vision is the long introduction, after which, by a sketch (chap. 11) mainly devoted to the complicated relations between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, and a picture of the downfall of the Syrian tyrant, the final destiny of the people of God is brought more precisely into connection with universal history. Chap. 12, however, does not give any one absolutely precise indication of the exact time when the troublous days, such as have never before been known, are to come to an end; it vacillates between 1290 and 1335 as the number of days that are to elapse between the setting up of the idolatrous worship in the temple and the coming of the glorious time of the end.

The view taken over by the church from the synagogue, which makes Daniel not only the principal hero,

3. Authorship. but also the author of the book, has not unreasonably passed current among theologians down to the present century. To the unprejudiced reader the book appears to claim to have been written by Daniel. The narratives in the first six chapters do not expressly make this claim; but in 7 we find Daniel himself presented as the narrator by the use of the first person singular. The use of the third person in chaps. 1-6 and in the beginnings of chaps. 7 and 10 is not against the authorship of Daniel (cp Am. 7 12 *ff.*), who, at the beginning of chap. 8 and of chap. 9, speaks in the first person in giving the date. The close connection of chaps. 1-6 with the visions which follow may fairly be held to carry over the claim for Daniel's authorship to the beginning of the book also. No attentive reader will allow himself to be

4. Unity. misled as to the oneness of the authorship of the book by the fragmentary or detached character of the ten pieces of which it is composed, if he attentively observes how the earlier portions allude to the later, and conversely how the later portions attach themselves to the earlier, and how the same general manner of presentation, thought, and language pervades the whole.

The organic unity of the Book of Daniel, denied by Reuss and Lagarde, has been once more defended by Ethr. von Gall in a monograph (see below, § 2). The grounds, however, which he offers (12 1 *ff.*) for regarding 9 4-20 as a late insertion are no more than plausible. The contents of this section are of a higher type than those of the hymns in the apocryphal additions to Daniel. A certain solemn fulness is characteristic of the liturgical style, and is not wanting in passages which may have served the author as his models—*e.g.*, Ezra 9 and Neh. 9. Von Gall's changes in 9 2 *f.* are arbitrary; the change in the names of God, which is quite appropriate, proves nothing. It is a pure fancy that the author of Daniel, who was acquainted with the Book of Jeremiah, does not regard misfortune as penal; see 4 34 5 22 30, etc. Besides, if we expunge 9 4-20, how much remains for chap. 9? Only ten verses. This is surely not enough for the ninth of the pieces which form the book.

What has been said as to the true unity of the book

5. Interchange of language. is only apparently contradicted by the use from 2 4*b* to the end of chap. 7 of the Aramaic language in a book otherwise written in Hebrew.

This interchange of language has given rise to many hypotheses. Spinoza thought the first seven chapters might be an extract made in the time of Judas the Maccabee from old writings of the Chaldæans (cp Bertholdt, *Einl.* 1508 *f.*). Huetius, on the other hand, suggested that the whole Book of Daniel had been originally written in Aramaic, and shortly afterwards translated into Hebrew, and that, the original work having been partly destroyed in the dark days of the Seleucidæ, the text was restored by borrowing the Heb. sections that we now have from the Heb. version (cp Berth. *Einl.* 1544, 1549). It is hardly an improvement on this view when J. D. Prince, adopting the theory of Lenormant and Bevan, says: 'The book was probably never at first all in Hebrew; but for the convenience of the general

[1] Clermont Ganneau's theory (*J. A.*, 1886), accepted by Nöld. (*ZA* 1 414 *ff.*) and Bevan, that the mysterious inscription consists of all of names of weights, is rejected by Behrmann. See MENE.

reader, whose language was Aramaic, a translation, possibly from the same pen as the original, was made into the Aramaic vernacular. It must be supposed that, certain parts of the Heb. manuscript being lost, the missing places were supplied from the current Aramaic translation' (*Book of Daniel*, 1895, p. 13).

The hypothesis that 'the Heb. edition was partly destroyed in the troubled Seleucidan period, and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic version,' leaves unexplained why the change of language should occur precisely at 2 4, where the Aramaic language happens to be mentioned. This name cannot be regarded as a gloss, although 'the author of Daniel evidently fell into the error of regarding "Chaldean" as the language of Babylonia.' If, to begin with, the loss of *part* of a MS of no great length is in itself very improbable, still less satisfactory is the assertion that in the second century before Christ such Palestinian Jews as were able to read books at all could hardly understand any Hebrew. Reuss is right when he says (*Esd. in das AT*, 1879, p. 118): 'The change of language occurs in the middle of a section that cannot be divided (2 4), which shows that the author was so familiar with both languages that he could glide from one into the other without noticing it, and could assume for a great proportion of his contemporaries a knowledge of them both.' No one asserts, as Prince expresses it, that both languages 'were used quite indifferently': the author of Daniel and his readers were certainly more at home in the Aramaic vernacular. When Prince asks why chap. 7, 'which is indivisible from the succeeding prophetic Hebrew portions,' was written not in Heb. but in Aram., we may answer that chap. 7 was written in the same Aramaic idiom as chap. 2 simply in order to make every observant reader feel that the book was one, and that the four visions were inseparable from the six narratives.[1]

The change of dialect is made quite naturally thus: In chap. 2 the author has introduced the 'Chaldeans' as speaking the language which he believed to be customary with them; afterwards he continues to use the same language on account of its greater convenience both for himself and for his original readers, both in the narrative portions and in the following (seventh) chapter, the piece in companionship to chap 2; for the last three visions (8-12) a return to Hebrew was suggested by the consideration that this had from of old been the usual sacred language for prophetic subjects. Whether the Aramaic of Daniel, which is closely allied to that in Ezra, can really be taken as historically the language spoken in the Babylonian court in the sixth century B.C., or for the native language of the Chaldæans, cannot be discussed until we have faced the whole question of the historical validity or invalidity of the book (see § 10). It is enough in the meantime to say that the Aramaic or 'Chaldee' portion of Daniel cannot possibly have formed an independent work; on the contrary, the change of language serves to bind the different parts of the work into a firmer unity.

6. Range of vision.

The position of the Book of Daniel with reference to historical fact, a question most intimately bound up with that of its date, can be discussed to advantage only after we have, in a purely exegetical way (Bleek in *ITL*, 1860, p. 53 ff.), firmly established the fact that makes for the unity of authorship in all five prophetic pieces (chaps. 2 and 7-12): the fact, namely, that the range of vision in each case reaches down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, in whom afflicted Israel discerned the culmination of all that had been hostile to God in all history, and that, with Epiphanes' destruction, which is regarded as imminent, the dawn of the Messianic time is expected. This done, we shall have no difficulty in finding other weighty reasons for fixing the composition of the book of Daniel at a date shortly before the death of Antiochus IV.

The extraordinary precision with which the exile Daniel seems to prophesy about things that are to happen several centuries afterwards is particularly conspicuous in chap. 11, where, for example, reference is made in v. 13 to the victory which the Consul Lucius Scipio gained over Antiochus III. at Magnesia, in Lydia, in 190 B.C., or in v. 30 to Popilius Lænas, who in the name of the Roman Senate forced Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C. to quit Egypt with great precipitancy, upon which the king, as we learn from 1 Macc. 1 30 ff., wreaked his wrath upon his Jewish subjects. Although predictions of this sort are nowhere found in the writings of the prophets of the OT (cp PROPHECY), orthodoxy was long accustomed to take special delight in contemplating predictions which had been so wonderfully fulfilled (cp the case of the name of Cyrus in Is. 44 28). In the present century, however, as the historical sense became quickened, difficulties began to present themselves against assumptions which were contrary to the analogy of the prophetic writings and found their support merely in the dogma of a magical inspiration.

7. Always Antiochus IV.

In spite of Pusey's energetic warning against 'half-measures,' modern apologists, pressed by the constantly increasing historical difficulties caused by cuneiform decipherments, have been driven more and more to seek refuge in the 'half measures' thus deprecated, so that, as Davison (*Dn.* 8) humorously says, 'the defences of Daniel have, during the last few years, been employed chiefly in cutting Daniel to pieces.'

It may suffice if reference is made here to but one of the equally arbitrary and nugatory attempts which have been made to save the authenticity of the book as a whole by urging its oneness of authorship. Cp. Zöckler in his exposition of the Book of Daniel (2 Ed.): Daniel is supposed to be a later redaction; he has come to recognize clearly that such a piece of history could never have been penned by an exilic prophet. The attempt, however, was in vain as the attempt made elsewhere to change the name of Cyrus (Is. 45 1) into an appellative, for it left altogether out of account Dan. 2 43 and the relation of that verse to 11 6 17. These two verses treat of two unlucky intermarriages between Seleucids and the Ptolemies: namely, v. 6, of the marriage of Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, with Antiochus II. Theos, and v. 17, of that of Cleopatra daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus III., the Great, and thus sister of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes), from whom all the Egyptian Cleopatras have taken their name, with Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. But these marriages are quite plainly alluded to in 2 43, where we read as follows regarding the kingdom represented in the vision by the legs of iron and the feet partly of iron and partly of clay: 'And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron doth not mingle with clay.' From this it follows at once that by the fourth kingdom in chap. 2 is meant that of Alexander the Great, which became divided into that of the Seleucids and that of the Ptolemies (the other kingdoms of the successors of Alexander have here no interest for the author, and are, therefore, passed over). But if in chap. 2 the first of the four kingdoms has been made out to be the Babylonian, and the Greek to be the fourth, it follows, from what we are told of the dynasties under which Daniel himself lived, that the second and the third kingdoms, touched upon so lightly in Daniel's interpretation in 2 39, must be the Median and the Persian. Still more clearly than in chap. 2 does the author's special interest in the period of the fourth kingdom disclose itself in the visions of Daniel; the relations of the people of God to Antiochus Epiphanes possess such great importance, because, immediately upon the fall of this tyrant (which is to be brought about without human intervention, cp 2 45 with 8 25) the Messianic kingdom is forthwith to be set up. It is universally admitted that the reference to Antiochus Epiphanes is as plainly manifest in the second vision (8 9-14 23), as it is in the last vision (11 21-45), which occupies itself wholly with the reign of this king. Chap. 12 1 7 11 ff. also relates to his persecution of the saints and its longed-for cessation. To the impartial interpreter there can be no possibility of doubt that in the three other pieces also the range of vision is limited to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. What is true of 2 43 is true also of 7 8 ff. 20 ff., where the little horn (cp. 8 9), to whose power the saints are delivered up for three times and a half (cp 7 25, with 12 7, must again be the same person to whom the prophecy is directed to the Jews. The same holds good, finally, of chap. 9. Here the sixty-two year-weeks which lie in the first seven present, it is true, a historical difficulty which will have to be discussed (see § 25); but thus much at least is certain, that the 'anointed one' in 9 25 is the high priest Onias III., who was put to death in 171 B.C., so that the last year-week comes down to 164 B.C., and the suspension of sacrifice and offering which is predicted in 9 27 for the second half of this week enables us plainly to see that it is the action of Antiochus Epiphanes that is referred to.

8. Authenticity.

Now, even if we admit the authenticity of the book, it is very hard indeed to understand how, out of the ten pieces of which it is composed, so many as five, in which the coming of the Messianic kingdom is predicted, should stop short at the reign of a Seleucid sovereign whose king-

[1] Considerations of space prevent us from considering the hint thrown out by v. Gall (129) that it is not yet critically established that the LXX was based on the text in the two languages, or the complicated hypotheses of König (*Einl.* 384) and Ryssel (*TLZ*, 1895, col. 560 f.).

[1] Cp., however, ISRAEL, § 69.

dom—not to speak of the Greek kingdom out of which it and the other Seleucid kingdoms had arisen—had no existence in the days of the exilic Daniel.

Even the early father Hippolytus did not fail to notice the allusions to the history of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies which occur in the book of Daniel; but it was the Neo-platonist Porphyry (*ob.* 304 A.D.) who first drew the right inference from the acknowledged facts, and took Daniel's professed authorship to be a mere literary form, ascribing the book to a Jew who wrote during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. As, however, this denial of the authenticity of the book came from an opponent of Christianity, it produced no effect. It was necessary that, within the Church itself, a truly scientific and historical method of dealing with the OT should arise.[1] This has at last come to pass. As the result of the labours of several generations, we can safely hold it to have been established, as one of the ascertained results of science, that in chap. 7 we are to understand by the fourth beast the Grecian Empire, by the eleventh horn Antiochus Epiphanes, and by what is related regarding this horn the religious persecution under that king; as also that the author of the book wrote in his reign. A fundamental rule of all sound exegesis was violated when the utterances of chap. 7 were not interpreted in the light of the other four parallel texts, but were torn from their connection in the book in order to give them a meaning divergent from the sense of the rest of the book, as if the fourth beast signified not the Grecian but the Roman Empire. To interpret the four kingdoms as denoting those of Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, seems, indeed, by grouping the Medes and Persians under one empire, to offer a series which, from a historical point of view, can be more easily accepted than that of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece; but this last series alone gives the true sense of the book, which represents the Median kingdom of Darius as being the second of the four world-monarchies, and places this as an independent intermediate link between the Chaldæan and the Persian monarchies (cp 6 1 [5 31] 8 3 20 9 1), distinguishing it quite plainly from the Persian, which it makes out to be the third. With our perfectly certain knowledge, derived from the cuneiform inscriptions, that there never was any such Median empire between those of Babylonia and Persia (cp PERSIA), the authenticity of the Book of Daniel falls to the ground. Quite apart, however, from the numerous contradictions of history to be afterwards spoken of (§ 10, etc.),—contradictions which absolutely exclude the supposition that the author was an eye-witness living during the period of the 'exile,'—the fact that the horizon of the book is throughout bounded by the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the fierce persecutor of the Jews and their religion, with whose fall the Messianic salvation is represented as being ushered in, makes it abundantly plain that the figure of the exilic Daniel is employed only as a literary form. The Messianic hope could not possibly have taken this special form so early as during the 'exile,' but only under the oppression of the Syrian tyrant who

[1] Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 325. [Doubts as to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel were uttered again in the seventeenth century by Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 33) and Spinoza (*Tract. theol. polit.* 10); but Anthony Collins, the 'free-thinker,' was the first who treated the subject with something like modern thoroughness. As Lechler has shown, the eleven grounds which Collins adduces (*Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, 1726, p. 149 *ff.*) are mostly those on which recent criticism relies for proving the Maccabæan date of Daniel. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that critical doubts were confined to sceptical theologians. Richard Bentley, scholar and apologist, had reached by 1721 a conviction of the late origin of Daniel. Jebb in his monograph (97 *f.*) makes too light of Bentley's doubts. In spite of Whiston's somewhat disparaging language, it is clear that Bentley found serious difficulties both in the narratives and in the predictions of Daniel, in consequence of which he 'supposed the book to have been written after the time of Onias the high priest, and that this Onias was Daniel's Messiah' (see Whiston's *Memoirs by himself*, Lond. 1749, p. 108 *f.*). Whiston was a Boyle Lecturer.]

sought to extirpate the religion of Israel, and to compel the Jews to adopt the idolatrous worship of Greece.

9. Aim. The book of Daniel being, as Wellhausen well describes it (*IJG*[2], 240 *f.*), 'a hortatory and consolatory writing for the persecuted, designed to strengthen and cheer them by the knowledge that within a very short time the overbent bow will break,' its author was able to allow himself great freedom in the use of his materials. His aim was not the communication of historical information. Using as a vehicle the materials, historical or unhistorical, that tradition had placed at his disposal, he availed himself of the literary artifice of employing the name of the exilic Daniel to gain weight for the ethical and religious truths which he desired to set forth.[1] As in the cases of Job and Jonah, so also in that of the book of Daniel, a great injustice is done if the standard of strict historicity is applied,—a standard by which the book is not in the least intended to be tried. We find in it (cp Kamph. *Daniel*, 16 *f.*, 28 *ff.*, 45) not only many historical errors but also, frequently, a magnificent unconcern about historical possibilities, of which the author, in spite of his great literary art, certainly was not always conscious. If it is permissible to find in 6 8, no less than in the demand mentioned in 2 11, a scornful reference to that religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes which the pious Jew could regard only as a piece of insanity, these passages without doubt contain other conscious allusions to historical fact. In many cases, we can quite confidently conjecture their presence, though we do not always quite understand them. It is only with difficulty that we are able to form any visual image of the fiery furnace (3), or of the lion's den (6), still less are we able to comprehend how Daniel, who had constantly remained steadfast to the God of Israel, could have come to be the chief of the heathen Magi (2 48); and in like manner we fail to make clear to ourselves how Daniel (cp 8 26 12 4) could have managed to secure that what he had seen should remain a secret for centuries. The matter becomes at once natural and intelligible if we suppose that the exilic Daniel was simply employed as a literary device by a writer of much later date, who regarded the fury of Antiochus Epiphanes as the last visitation of the people of God before the blessed time of the end should come. Anachronisms and historical difficulties of every sort occur throughout the whole of the book, not only in its preliminary narratives.

10. Unconcern about history.

Orthodoxy shows a natural reluctance to recognise the unhistorical character of the book. As even its latest expounder,[2] although dating it in the Maccabean period, greatly exaggerates its historical value, and justifies himself in his refusal to recognise its true character by urging that in substance the book is not pure invention, but rests upon tradition, it seems fitting to call attention to one outstanding instance in which tradition is no guarantee of historical truth, before we proceed to enumerate some samples of the unhistoricity of the book.—Among the apocryphal additions to Daniel contained in 𝔊, that of the 'Dragon at Babel' (cp Schr. in Riehm's *HWB*) is certainly not pure invention. This legend, which in its present literary form is very late, had already been brought into relation with the old Babylonian mythology by Schrader and Ball (Wace, *Apocr.* ii. 348 *ff.*); but quite recently Gunkel (*ut sup.* 320 *ff.*) has conclusively shown that what lies at the root of it is the primeval Babylonian myth of the conquest of the Chaos-monster or the great

[1] 'It is possible, no doubt, that he derived some part of these narratives from Jewish or Babylonian popular stories. But even if we accept this conjecture, the historical setting, the moral purpose, and the skill in presentation are all his own' (Che. *EBi*, art. 'Daniel').

[2] Georg Behrmann, *Handcommentar*, 1894.

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dragon Tiāmat by the god Marduk.[1] Instead of merely pronouncing this apocryphal narrative, as Zockler (*Apocr.* [91], 215 221) somewhat imprudently does, foolish and silly, we ought rather to learn from it that dependence on ancient tradition is not incompatible with complete unhistoricity.

As a contemporary, the author of Daniel 11 21-19 was in circumstances which enabled him to depict with the utmost accuracy the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his two Egyptian campaigns; but for the concluding portion of ch. 11 he can no longer be taken as a historical source, inasmuch as vv. 40-45 go beyond the author's present; the actual course of events in which Antiochus Epiphanes perished on an eastern raid in the Persian city of Talxe in 164 B.C. is glaringly inconsistent with the author's anticipation that the king, after a successful expedition against Egypt, was to meet his end suddenly in Palestine.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the book was written during the life-time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

11. Language. The conclusion that it belongs to a very late date in the post-exilic period is forced upon us also by its language.

The many Persian words in the book are, in the mouth of Daniel, anachronisms which clearly testify against the authenticity of the book; as also testifies the use of the word *Ḳasdīm* (EV 'Chaldæans' [q.v.]) for the Babylonian priests, soothsayers, or magicians. True, our book sometimes, in agreement with those prophets who lived under the new Babylonian kingdom, understands by the Kasdim the people who had the predominance in Babylon (cp Dan. 3 8 5 30 9 1 with Is. 43 14); but it stands alone, opposed not only to the Assyrio-Babylonian *usus loquendi* but also to that of all the rest of the OT, in the manner in which it everywhere else (cp 2 4, etc.) makes Kasdim synonymous with 'Magi,' a practice which is found, long after the downfall of the Babylonian empire, in Greek and Roman authors. As the number of words borrowed from Persian certainly exceeds a dozen, the few Greek expressions do not come so much into account; but attention is worth calling to *psanterin* in Dan. 3 5, because this form, alongside of the Greek *psalterion*, proves the influence of the Macedonian dialect (which substituted *n* for *l*), and because it is in the case of this word that the Semitic derivation of the foreign words in Daniel, so much insisted on in the apologetic interest, is strikingly seen to be untenable.

The non-Hebrew language of Dan. 2 4 *ff.* is introduced as being the speech of the 'Chaldæans,' and is kept up

12. Aramaic. by the author down to the end of chap. 7, because in his time (though not so in 2 K. 18 26) both languages were readily understood; it is thus possible for us to form definite conclusions as to its character. Although it is called Aramaic correctly, it is at the same time intended to be taken as the language of the 'Chaldæans,' and this on any assumption involves a historical error. The biblical Aramaic (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 3 *f.*) is now known to belong to the West Aramaic group and to be closely related to the language of the Targums and of the Palmyrene and other inscriptions. We know also that this language, of which the remains preserved to us come for the most part from Palestine, did not, as the language of current *intercourse*, *supersede* the old Hebrew (which had now begun to assert its claim to be regarded as a sacred language) until the end of the third century B.C. The actual language of the 'Chaldæans' also we know from the cuneiform inscriptions to have been Semitic, but very different from the West Aramaic, so that Luther's free translation of 2 4—'Then spake the Chaldees to the king in Chaldee'—is indeed exegetically correct but historically false. If, on the other hand, in order to avoid supposing that Aramaic was confounded with 'Chaldæan,' it is maintained that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic, we may point to the linguistic peculiarities of the old Aramaic inscriptions,[1] which abundantly show that the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel could not have been spoken in Babylon in the sixth century.

How little the Book of Daniel can be depended on in matters of history appears from its very first verse. Not

13. Mistakes in names. only do the real contemporaries (cp Jer. 46 2 Ez. 26 7) of the famous Chaldæan king call him Nebuchadrezzar; but also Strabo, in transliterating the name, comes near the cuneiform form. In Dan. 1 1, on the other hand, the name is given in a later corrupt form (with *n* instead of *r*) in connection with the unhistorical statement (cp Jer. 25 1 36 1 9 29) that Nebuchadrezzar conquered Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. Whatever be the case with the rest of the OT, Daniel betrays no trace of acquaintance with cuneiform; the error made in 4 8 [5] is an urgent warning against any attempt to interpret the writing on the wall in 5 25 by reference to the real speech of the 'Chaldæans.' In 4 8 [5] Daniel's name Belteshazzar, which is already taken in the LXX to be the same as Belshazzar (5 1), the name of the alleged last Babylonian king, is wrongly supposed to be a compound of the divine name Bel (Is. 46 1), although Bel-šar-uṣur (that is, 'Bel preserve the king') and Belṭsu-uṣur (that is, 'may his life be preserved') are philologically distinct.[2] It would take us too far afield were we to show how even Nebuchadrezzar's insanity and the equally unhistorical conception of Belshazzar or even of the legendary Darius the Mede (whom Xenophon's romance, the *Cyropædia*, cannot make a historical person) carry us back to traditions which, widely different as they seem, in part at least, to have been, were in any case greatly distorted. How strained are the author's relations with history can be seen by a glance at chap. 11 2 *f.* As only two Babylonian kings are known to him, so he knows of only three Persian sovereigns besides Cyrus (10 1) their names being those of the four that occur elsewhere in the OT (cp Ezra 4 5-7); as Xerxes is clearly intended by the fourth, this sovereign is made to be the successor of Artaxerxes (whom he really preceded), and the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

In these circumstances Driver's correct statement (*Introd.*[6] 510), that 'the book rests upon a traditional

14. Daniel the hero. basis,' ought not to have been followed by the statement that 'Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person, one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon.' A book which does not admit of being used as a historical source, save for the author's own time, cannot possibly be a guarantee for the existence of an exilic Daniel. When we cast about us for information concerning Daniel independent of our present book, we find that the name Daniel is of rare occurrence in the OT, being met with (see DANIEL i. 1) only once on perfectly historical ground; and, moreover, what is very remarkable, we find also in Ezra's time (see DANIEL i. 3) a Mishael, an Azariah, and a Hananiah (cp Dan. 1 6)—a coincidence of rare names which led Bleek to conjecture that our author had thrown back the contemporaries of Ezra by more than a century in order that he might represent them as living

[1] Similarly Marduk reappears later in the Christian knight St. George.

[1] Cp Dr. *Introd.*[6] 503 *f.* (the language of Daniel, [c] end). We possess monuments of the official use of Aramaic for the times of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian supremacies, which indicate that there was in the case of the smaller parts of speech, such as the relative and demonstrative pronouns which have special value for the determination of the age of a language, a notable difference of form between the older and the younger Aramaic. Whilst the old Aramaic of the inscriptions from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. has די, זי and דנה, in biblical Aramaic these much used particles have the forms דִּי, זִי and דְּנָה. The Book of Daniel is thus, in its use of ד for the older ז, quite in agreement with what we know of the usage prevailing in Aramaic inscriptions and books dating from the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D.

[2] On the name and asserted kingship of Belshazzar, and on Darius the Mede, see BELSHAZZAR, DARIUS, 1.

in the time of the 'exile' at a heathen court, and showing an example to his countrymen under the oppression of the heathen. This hypothesis and that of Cheyne (*OPs.* 107) are, at any rate, preferable to the view of Ewald, who places the original Daniel among the North Israelitish exiles at the court of Nineveh (*Prophets*, 5 111).

15. Other signs of late date. In confirmation of the date (during the lifetime of Antiochus Epiphanes) already made out, we have many additional facts which point to the early Maccabean period even if they do not enable us to fix the time with absolute precision. Among these are the *argumenta e silentio* supplied by the fact that Daniel is not named by the son of Sirach who wrote about 190 B.C. (Ecclus. 48 *f.*), and—a still weightier argument—by the complete absence of any influence of Daniel upon post-exilic prophetic literature. Conversely this book, to which the angelic names Gabriel and Michael, the resurrection (12 2; cp ESCHATOLOGY), and a collection of sacred books that included the prophecies of Jeremiah (9 2) are known, plainly reveals its dependence not only on Jeremiah and Ezekiel but also on the post-exilic Book of Zechariah. If the absence of Daniel from Ecclus. 49 6-10 is itself a proof of late origin, a still stronger proof lies in the fact that it has found its place in the Hebrew canon, not in the second division, the collection of prophetic books, but in the third or last division, between Esther and Ezra (cp CANON, § 49). Not until the time of the LXX (which, moreover, has treated the text of Daniel in a very arbitrary fashion) does it find a place, after Ezekiel, as the fourth of the 'great' prophets, and thus it comes to pass that once in the NT[1] Daniel is designated as a prophet.

16. Greek translations. The very arbitrary treatment of the MT of Daniel in the LXX, particularly in chaps. 3-6, and the false interpretation of 9 25 *ff.* (*Shibu'im*, 'weeks' confounded with *Sibh'im*, 'seventy') brought it about that long before Jerome's time, Theodotion's translation of Daniel (already employed by Irenæus)[2] superseded the LXX in ecclesiastical use. Though Theodotion did not remove the apocryphal additions not found in MT, yet, by making use of Aquila's version, he brought the text of the LXX into closer relation with MT. From a MS (Cod. Chisianus) of the LXX in the library of Cardinal Chigi, not very old, but supplied with Origen's obeli and asterisks, an edition of the LXX Daniel was published at Rome in 1772, and another and better one by Cozza in 1877. The Syriac Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella, edited by Bugati in 1788 and photographically reproduced by Ceriani in 1874, is justly held to be purer than the text of the Cod. Chisianus (Swete's 87), which is, indeed, full of errors. The text-critical importance of 𝔊 is, for the Book of Daniel, fortunately very small; so far as the integrity of the consonants of the original text is concerned, the book is one of the best preserved in the whole OT.

As distinguished from the older prophets the Book of Daniel is often spoken of as the first apocalypse (cp Dan. 2 19). It makes a revelation of the coming end of the world, although in a veiled manner, so as to avoid the dangers of open speech. Upon the basis of his study of earlier writers (9 2),[3] and conscious of his own divine enlightenment, the author wrote his work of admoniti and comfort in the name of the ancient Daniel; it is on

17. Pseudonymity. ignorance (cp the excellent remarks of B in Wace's *Apocr.* 2 307) or misapprehe sion that can lay to his charge as a fau his employment of a literary form which was comm throughout antiquity. We must not, of course, undu exaggerate the feeling, no doubt prevalent in the Ma cabean period, that prophecy had become extinct— feeling which may have contributed, along with othe causes, to the choice of this literary form. Our autho pursues the same lofty moral and religious aims whic were sought by the older prophets, and it is by n means his intention to gratify a merely idle curiosity In presenting, as still future, past occurrences in which as one world-empire perished after another, he saw th hand of his God only as preparing the way for tha which was still really in the future, the downfall of the last and most direful enemy of the good, and the coming of Messiah's salvation, there was a double advantage. The people who were in the secret were able to recognise in what he wrote the circumstances of their own time, although only darkly alluded to; and what had happened already supplied a guarantee for the certainty of that which was still to happen. The author lives in the firm faith that everything has been fully foreordained in the counsels of God (cp 7 12): the Almighty is steering the whole course of history towards the salvation of his people (cp Smend's lecture on 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *ZATW*, 1885, p. 2[illegible] *ff.*). Cp ESCHATOLOGY.

If we turn now to the question how our author set about fixing by computation the date of the accomplish-

18. Chronological data. ment of the Messianic hopes of the Jews, we are able to arrive at a more precise determination of the date of his writing. It must have been either soon before, or soon after, the purification of the temple. This we learn from the number given in 8 14. As already said, the years of weeks (cp 2 Ch. 36 21) present some historical difficulty, inasmuch as, after the first seven weeks of years (which suit the Babylonian 'exile'), instead of the $62 \times 7 = 434$ years of the interval which we should expect to find between Cyrus and the death of Onias III. (538-171 B.C.), we are, according to the actual chronology (which gives 367 years), 67 years short. As the Jewish Hellenist Demetrius, however, who wrote about 210 B.C., has fallen into a mistake precisely similar to our author's—a mistake which could easily be made in the absence of a fixed era—we need not be surprised at such an error in a book historically so inaccurate as that of Daniel. The last week of years, which begins in 171 B.C., extends (precisely reckoned) to 164 B.C., and it has certainly contributed greatly to the esteem in which the book has been held, that Antiochus Epiphanes actually did die in the year 164. For our author the division of the seventieth week of years into two equal parts was suggested by the history of his time, inasmuch as towards the end of 168 B.C. the Abomination of Desolation was set up, and idolatrous worship in the temple began. The three-years-and-a-half which remain after deduction of the historical three-years-and-a-half stand for the still incomplete period of the last and greatest tribulation in the course of which our book was written. For the correctness of this second number ($3\frac{1}{2}$) faith had to be the guarantee; and that it was known to be a round number or a number of faith is shown not only by the vague periphrasis in 7 25 and 12 7, where the plural 'times' takes the place of the linguistically impossible dual, but also by the three numbers, 1150 (cp the 2300 evenings and mornings in 8 14), 1290, and 1335 days, used in an approximate way to express three years and a half, apparently with precision but in reality only in round obtained through the angel in [illegible] 12-27. Besides, it is unnatural to explain the phrase 'the books' as referring to the Pentateuch when the context speaks only of Jeremiah. Behrmann's rendering of בינתי ('I took notice of') is preferable to that of Bevan and of EV ('I understood').

[1] In Mt. 24 15, but not in the 𝔅 Mk. 13 14.

[2] Porphyry, 100, made use of Theodotion's translation, and even (according to Jerome's express testimony) regarded it as the original (cp Bevan, *op. cit.* 3).

[3] Following out a suggestion of Nöldeke (*Alttest. Litt.* 224), Prof. Bevan has offered this interpretation of 9 2, 'I understood the number of years by the Pentateuch,' the special reference being to Lev. 26 18-21 24 28, where it is declared that the Israelites are to be punished *seven times* for their sins. 'The 70 weeks be one intelligible if we suppose that the author of Daniel combined Jer. 25 11 29 10 with Lev. 26 18 *ff.*' 'The 70 years of Jeremiah were to be repeated 7 times, and at the end of the 490th year the long-promised deliverance might be confidently expected.' But the expression 'seven times' has here, as in Prov. 24 16, simply the sense of 'often.' The text in 9 2 cannot ascribe to Daniel a *comprehension* of 'the number of the years by the (holy) books,' because such a comprehension is, as a fact, only

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numbers. Behrmann, with Cornill, continues to fix the date of the book as in the beginning of the year 164, because the number in 8 14, which does not seem to be symbolical, is held to point to the purification of the temple as having already been accomplished; but Cornill,[1] reckoning backwards 1150 days from 25th December 165 B.C., sought to make out 27th October 168 as the probable date of the religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes. The difference of 45 days between the number in 12 11 and that in 12 12, which it is merely arbitrary to attempt to explain as a gloss, points to months of 30 days. In that case the 1290 days (v. 11), or 43 months, would fit in if we were to add an intercalary month to the 42 months of the three years and a half. However we may reckon (cp H. Oort in *Th. T* 28, 450 ['94]), the end of chap. 9 forbids the dissertation of the restoration of the temple service from the final close so decidedly that the present writer now unites with Kuenen and Wellhausen in preferring the usual view, according to which 8 14 still lies in the author's future, and holds the date of the book to be 165 B.C.

When the book, which rapidly became popular, first began, perhaps as early as 150 B.C. (cp 1 Macc. 1 54 2 59 *f.*), to be translated by Egyptian Jews into Greek, the legends of Susanna, and of Bēl and the Dragon (cp Bevan, 45), which may very well have had an independent circulation,[2] had certainly not as yet been taken up into it. In fact, as late as the fifth century A.D. we have it on the authority of Polychronius that the Song of the Three Children was still absent alike from the Syriac version and from the original text. We cannot tell at what date it was that these apocryphal additions (which are contained in all the MSS that have reached us) were taken up into the Greek and the Syriac Daniel. In view of the great popularity of their contents, shown by the variety of the forms in which they are presented, we can only conjecture that they must have been adopted comparatively early (the book from the first was freely rendered rather than faithfully translated in the LXX), although the growth of the four different Syriac texts of Susanna (cp Wace, 2 330 *f.*) may have been later. The so-called genuine LXX text, which we possess in the Cod. Chisianus (Sw. 87) and (in Syriac) in a valuable Milan MS (cp Swete, *Septuagint*, vol. 3, p. ii *f.*) contains, of course, the additions just as fully as do the many MSS which give us Daniel in the text of Theodotion, already described above (§ 16) as a revision of the LXX. Swete (as above) has conveniently printed together the text of Theodotion, which obtained ecclesiastical sanction, and that of the LXX, which had lain in oblivion for almost fifteen centuries. Even if we suppose, with Schürer (*PRE*[3] 164o), that the LXX text must have been in existence before the Daniel legend received new developments *in Greek*, we may safely assume that the additions to the Greek Daniel had been made before the beginning of the Christian era. The balance of probability is that they were not translated from any Semitic source, but were originally written in Greek (cp Pusey, *Daniel*, 378 *f.*). They are distinguished—as indeed is the LXX version of Daniel—from the Jewish Greek that prevails in the rest of the LXX by their purer and more elegant diction; another indication in the same direction is the well-known play upon Greek words in Susanna (vv. 54 *f.*, 58 *f.*, cp HOLMTREE), which even Julius Africanus urged as proof of the spuriousness of the piece in his letter to Origen, who wished the narrative to be retained in the canon. As Protestants are in no way bound by the decree of the Council of Trent (cp Wace, *Apocr.* 1 368 *f.*), which declares the apocryphal additions to be true history, and as we hardly require a full enumeration of reasons such as is given, *e.g.*, by Reuss (*Das AT übersetzt*, 1894, 7 411 *f.*) in proof of the unhistorical character of the Susanna legend, we are able to approach without any prejudice the question as to the language in which it was originally written. It may be frankly conceded that in view of the small extent of the additions—plainly the work of a Hellenistic Jew (or Jews)—and in view of the fact that even in the case of a comparatively poor language it is always possible by *free* translation to imitate any play upon words whatever, we have not the means that would enable us to prove conclusively that the original language was Greek.

19. Apocryphal additions.

20. Susanna.

To estimate the additions correctly, we must consider their substance rather than their present Greek form. Without prejudice to the literary freedom which is manifestly presupposed by their present form and by the fact that the Susanna legend appears in several shapes (cp Salmon in Wace, p. xlvi), it is clear that they contain more or less of traditional matter, and, like the canonical book itself, cannot be regarded as pure invention. So long ago as 1832 Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vorts.* 122 *f.*) called attention to the fact that traces are preserved in the Haggāda of wonderful doings of a Daniel famous for his wisdom—*e.g.*, the fight with the dragon, already mentioned, in Midrash *Ber. Rab.* par. 68 (in Wünsche's transl., Leipsic, 1881, p. 334). As for the position of the legend of the beautiful Susanna, whom Daniel (represented in v. 45 as a very youthful boy) saves from the false accusation of the two elders by his wise judgment, Theodotion, for the sake of the presumed chronological order, has placed it before Dan 1 (though after chap. 1 would be more appropriate), while the LXX and Vg, on the other hand, place it as a thirteenth chapter after the twelve canonical chapters; Bēl and the Dragon being a fourteenth. Daniel's wise judgment recalls 1 K. 3 16 *ff.*; but the lascivious old men recall still more Ahab and Zedekiah, the two adulterous false prophets living in Babylon and threatened by Jeremiah (cp Jer. 29 20-23 with Sus. v. 57), about whom the Talmud and Midrash have so much to say. Brüll even thought that he had discovered the explanation of the flower-name Susanna in the Midrash *Wayyikra Rabba*, par. 19 (p. 129 in Wünsche's transl.), and Ball (Wace, 2 330) would fain have it that the piece is an anti-Sadducean 'tendency' writing. More likely is the connection suggested by Ewald (*GVI*[3] 463) of the Susanna story with a Babylonian legend, an allusion to which occurs in the Koran (*Sur.* 2 96), of the seduction of two old men by the goddess of love.

21. Bel and the Dragon.

While in Susanna Daniel, as his name implies, appears as a judge, he comes before us in the other two related pieces—*Bel* and the *Dragon of Babylon* (see vv. 24 28)—which immediately follow in all MSS and editions, as the successful opponent of heathenism, distinguished for wisdom and piety. In the first of the two, Daniel convinces the king (called Cyrus only in Theod.) of the fraud practised by the priests of Bēl, who pretended that their god was an actual living deity, while it was they themselves with their wives and families who consumed the food and drink offered to Bēl. After the execution of the priests and the destruction of the helpless Bēl and his temple (v. 22) we read (vv. 23-42) of further exploits of Daniel in Babylon. He subdued the invulnerable dragon (Job 41 18 [26] *ff.*) which they worshipped with divine honours, by throwing indigestible substances into its jaws, whereupon the king at the instigation of his enraged people caused the destroyer of their gods to be cast into the lions' den (cp Dan. 6); here he was divinely protected, and supported by food miraculously brought to him from the land of Judæa by the prophet Habakkuk (cp Ezek. 8 3). In 𝔊 87 (see Sw.) the superscription of the twofold narrative of Bēl and the Dragon runs: 'From the prophesy of Habakkuk, the son of Jesu, of the tribe of Levi.' Here, doubtless, there is a reference to some Jewish prophetic legend, although only Theodotion calls this Habakkuk a prophet (see HABAKKUK). The only addition

[1] See his *Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels*, 1889.
[2] Cp above, § 10.

which, strictly speaking, supplements the canonical book of Daniel is the double hymn introduced after 3 23, consisting of 67 verses numbered in Greek and Vg. as vv. 24-90. The EV treats this entire section as one, headed 'The Song of the Three Children'; Luther, following the Vatican superscription, divides it into two, under the titles 'The Prayer of Azariah' and 'The Song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace.' The prayer named after Azariah (cp Dan. 1 7) is spoken in the name of the three friends; but its language is as general as if the entire Jewish people, oppressed and penitent, were speaking. After a brief connecting narrative relating their miraculous preservation from the devouring fire—a preservation regarded as an answer to Azariah's prayer—we have in vv. 52-90 the song of praise sung at the same time by all three together. This speaks of the deliverance from the fire only in the verse where they call upon themselves by name (v. 88), whilst the rest takes the form of a prolonged litany, reminiscent of Ps. 103 20 ff. and still more of Pss. 136 148 and Ecclus. 43, where in quite general terms all created things are summoned to praise the Lord.

22. Song of 3 Children.

To the bibliography in Bevan's *Short Comm. on Daniel* (Cambr. '94), p. 9, and in Strack's *Einl.* (98), p. 214 f., add Kamph. 'Daniel' in *SBOT*; Dr. *Introd.*[7] 488-515; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 524-537; Che. *OPs.* 94, 105 107, *Founders*, 364-371; Behrmann, *Das B. Daniel*, Göttingen, 1894 (his exegesis is conscientious and sober; his etymologies are weak, but he criticises Kautzsch's *Gramm.* in several points successfully); Breasted, *Hebraica*, July ('91), p. 244 ff. (on the proof of the recent origin of Daniel derived from syntax); Löhr, 'Text-krit. Vorarb. zu einer Erklärung des B. Daniel,' *Z.ATW*, 1895-96; Dillm. *ATliche Theol.*, Leipsic ('95), p. 522 f., 538; Baer, *Libri Dan. Ezr. et Neh. Text Mas.* etc., 1882 (with pref. by Franz Del., and 'Babylonian glosses' by Friedr. Del.); J. D. Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* ('99); Nestle, *Marg. u. Mat.*, 1893 (see pp. 35-42); Marti, *Kurzg. Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. Sprache*, 1896 (note especially the Texts and Glossary). The commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel has recently been edited by Bonwetsch (*Hippolytus' Werke*, i.; Leipsic, '97); see also Bonwetsch, 'Studien zu den Komm. Hippolytus' in *Archiv f. d. älteren christl. Schriftsteller*, i. ('97); Bludau, *Die Alexandrin. Uebersetzung des B. Dan. u. ihr. Verhältniss z. Mass. Text* ('97), an instructive exposition of the problems presented by the LXX: chaps. 1-3 7-12 in the LXX are a real translation of text-critical value; the deutero-canonical parts are most probably based on a Semitic original. G. A. Barton, 'The Comp. of the Book of Daniel,' *JBL*, 17 ('98) 62-86 (against unity of authorship); F. Buhl, *PRE*[3] ('98), 4 445-457. A. K.

23. Literature.

DAN-JAAN (דָּנָה יָעַן; ΕΙϹ ΔΑΝ ΕΙΔΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΑΝ [B], ΕΙϹ ΔΑΝ ΙΑΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΔΑΝ [A], ΕΩϹ ΔΑΝ [L]; *IN DAN SILVESTRIA* [Vg.]), a place mentioned (2 S. 24 6) in a description of the limits of David's kingdom, after the 'land of TAHTIM-HODSHI' (*q.v.*). Conder (*Hdbk.* 408), following Schultz, identifies it with *Dānīān*, a ruined place between Tyre and Akka, 4 m. N. of Achzib. That, however, is too far west. '*Dan*' must be the historic Dan, and *-jaan* (for which Ges.'s *ya'ar* 'forest' is a poor conjecture; but see ℭ^A Vg.) is plainly corrupt. To emend the text so as to read '(they went) to Dan, and from Dan they went round (יִסָּבּוּ) to Zidon' (We., Dr., Ki., Bu.) is possible. It is better, however, especially if Klostermann is right in his emendation of Tahtim-hodshi, to change *-jaan* into *wĕ-'iyyōn*, 'and (to) Ijon'; Ijon, like Kedesh, belonged to the territory of Naphtali. We should then continue, 'and they went round (וַיָּסֹבּוּ, ℭ^BAL καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν) to Zidon.' Observe that Klostermann's emendation (וְעִיּוֹן) is easier, and probably gives a better sense than that of Wellhausen and Driver. It is also proposed by Gratz. T. K. C.

DANNAH (דַּנָּה; ΡΕΝΝΑ [BAL]), a city of the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 49), mentioned between Socoh (Shuweikeh) and Debir. Suitable to this position is the modern *Idhna*, the Ιεδνα of the *OS*, 6 m. SE. of Beit-Jibrin; the variation in the form of the name is a not unusual one (cp Ibzik and Bezek).

DAPHNE (ΔΑΦΝΗ [AV]), 2 Macc. 4 33. See ANTIOCH, 2, § 1.

DARDA (דַּרְדַּע), one of three wise men, sons of MAHOL (the Chronicler differs; see ZERAH), compared with Solomon (1 K. 4 31 [5 11]; ℭ 4 27: ΔΑΡΑΛΑ [B], ΤΟΝ ΔΑΡΑΑ [A], ΔΑΡΔΑΕ [L]). In 1 Ch. 2 6 the name appears as **Dara** (*δαρα* [BA], *δαραδε* [L]); but as it seems intended to be analogous in form to Chalcol (Chalcal?), a second *d* is indispensable. The largest group of MSS of ℭ read in 1 K. and 1 Ch. *τον δαρδα*; three cursives in 1 K. have *τον δαρδαν* (so Arm.). Pesh. Targ. and some MSS (Kenn.) support MT in both passages.

DARIC (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים, אַדַּרְכֹנִים), RV 1 Ch. 29 7 etc., AV DRAM [*q.v.*].

DARIUS (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ; Old Pers. Dārayavauš, Darayavnš; Bab. *Dirī'amuš* (*vul*); Sus. *mTariyamauš* (*vauš*); ΔΑΡ[Ε]ΗΟϹ [BNAQL 87]).

1. Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus, Dan. 6 1 [2 28 [29]] 9 1 and 11 1 (*κυρου* [BAQ—*i.e.*, Theod.; 87—*i.e.*, the LXX], *Δαρειου* [Aq. Sym.]). The name is here applied in error to the conqueror of the new Babylonian empire. In Dan. 9 1 Ahasuerus is the father of Darius the Mede, who, we are informed (cp 11 1), 'was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans' after the death of Belshazzar. We are told of Darius that he was then (538 B.C.) sixty-two years old, from which it follows that Ahasuerus his father must have been a contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar. With this agrees Tob. 14 15, where it is said (but not by ℵ*) that the population of Nineveh was deported by Nebuchadrezzar and Ahasuerus. All this proceeds upon a mistake. Nineveh was conquered by Cyaxares (Old Pers. Uvakhshātara), the predecessor of Astyages, with the assistance of Nabopolassar (Nabū-pal-usur) the father of Nebuchadrezzar. In the list of Median kings one searches in vain for a name that can by any possibility be taken for that of Ahasuerus or Darius. Even if it be argued that Darius was indeed a Mede, though nowhere called king of Media, we have to reckon not only with the notices given by the Greek historians but also with the Nabū-nā'id-Cyrus cylinder, from which it appears that Cyrus himself, immediately after the fall of the capital, ascended the throne of Babylon, and appointed to the governorship of the province of Babylon Gobryas (Old Pers. Gaubaruva, Bab. Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, who, it would appear, was superseded, as king, by Cambyses the Persian. This Gobryas may very well have been the person who, seventeen years afterwards, joined forces with Darius Hystaspis against the pseudo-Smerdis. As governor of Gutium, which lay on the Median frontier, he may well have been called a Mede, and, as the ally of Darius, have been confounded with him. The name, however, of the father of Gobryas was Mardonius (Marduniya), not Xerxes, and it is not to be supposed that Cyrus made such a political blunder as to entrust the control of so important a province as Gutium to a Mede. See DANIEL, BOOK OF, § 13.

2. Darius I. Hystaspis, king of Persia (521-485 B.C.), who allowed the Jews to rebuild their temple, is referred to in Ezra 4 5 24 5 5 6 1 Hag. 1 1 2 10 Zech. 1 1 7, and probably in Neh. 12 22.[1] His liberality towards the Jews is in complete accord with what we know otherwise of his general policy in religious matters towards the subject nations. He took the great Cyrus for his model, and contrasts strongly with Cambyses.

If Cambyses dealt the sacred Apis ball of Memphis a mortal wound, Darius presented the city with a new Apis, and restored the temple of Amun-Ra at the oasis of El-Khargeh with great splendour. In Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean, temples were indeed sometimes destroyed by his generals, especially where, as at Naxos and at Eretria (Herod. 6 96 101), [illegible]

[1] It is stated in Neh. 12 22 f. that the priests were registered under 'Darius the Persian'; the Levites (if we emend the text) not till the period from Eliashib to Jaddua. The text of vv. 22 f. has passed through changes, probably through the redaction of the Chronicler. See Kosters, *Herstel*, 109. [For other views see Meyer, *Entst.* [illegible], and NEHEMIAH, § 1.]

revenge was to be gratified; but he himself gave special orders to spare Delos, and also caused three hundred talents of incense to be burnt on the altars of Apollo and Artemis. If he discerned some affinity between Apollo and his own god Mithra, he may well have seen resemblance enough between Yahwe and Ahuramazda to lead him to do homage to the god of Israel.

C. F. E.

3. Darius III. Codomannus, the last king of Persia (336-331). Cp DANIEL, Book of, § 12; PERSIA.
4. 1 Macc. 12 7 AV; RV Ashes. See SPARTA.

DARKON (דַּרְקוֹן; BDB compares Ar. *darika*, 'hasten', *darakatun*, 'shield'; ΔΑΡΚΩΝ [B] Δερ. [AL]). The Bne Darkon, a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, § 5); Ezra 2 56; Neh. 7 58 (Δορκων [BNA]); 1 Esd. 5 33 (reading ΒΒΑ Λοζων (δερκων [L]).

DART. On the various Heb. and Gk. words see WEAPONS.

DATES (דְּבָשׁ, 2 Ch. 31 5 AV^mg; LV HONEY (7 ?))

DATHAN AND ABIRAM (דָּתָן, ΔΑΘΑΝ, meaning obscure; and אֲבִירָם, see ABIRAM), Reubenites who led a revolt against Moses in the interval between the return of the spies and the final march towards Canaan.

1. The story in Numbers. In Nu. 15-17 the revolt of Dathan and Abiram is mingled and confused with another revolt, that of Korah. Consequently, it is difficult, indeed impossible, to interpret the narrative as it stands. There are sections of the narrative from which Korah disappears altogether. We have three causes for the revolt, impatience with the civil authority of Moses, discontent with the exclusive right of the Levitical tribe (as against Israel in general) to exercise priestly functions, and a desire on the part of the Levites who were not descended from Aaron to vindicate their equal right to the priesthood. These various motives are not combined, but appear in various parts of the narrative independently. The confusion reaches its highest point when we are told that the company of rebels who had already been swallowed up by the open earth were devoured by fire from Yahwe (cp 16 35 with 35).

If, however, we turn to Dt. 11 6, we find the means of escaping from this confusion ready to our hand. There

2. In Deuteronomy. Moses begs the Israelites to remember what Yahwè their God 'did to Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, the sons of Reuben; how the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their households and their tents and every living thing that followed them, in the midst of all Israel.' From this passage, with which cp Ps. 106 17, we might naturally conclude that the Deuteronomist had a text of early Israelite history before him, in which the revolt of Dathan and Abiram was mentioned without any reference to Korah, and the rebels, instead of being devoured by fire, were swallowed up alive by the earth.

We ask, therefore, if any such independent narrative of the revolt led by Dathan and Abiram can be extracted

3. Original narrative. from the composite text of Nu. 16. The answer must be given, and is in fact given by all recent scholars, in the affirmative. We have but to read 16 1b 2a 12-15 25 26 27b 32a 33 34 by themselves, in order to obtain an account which is nearly complete and is also consistent and intelligible. This is the history from which the Deuteronomist has borrowed his summary—from which he has taken not only his facts but also his words and phrases. That, however, is not all. The verses just mentioned form a literary unity. Their style is partly that of the Yahwist, partly that of the Elohist, whose allied works here, as elsewhere, have been combined by an editor into a whole. The rest of the narrative in ch. 16 f. is in the style of the priestly writer (P), a style so clearly marked and uniform that it cannot be mistaken. The Deuteronomist makes no allusion to the priestly narrative—for the simple reason that in his time it did not exist. One difficulty remains. In v. 1 On is mentioned as one of the rebels;

but not a word is said of him in the sequel. Here in all probability the text is corrupt, and most scholars accept the emendation proposed by Graf (*Gesch. Bücher*, 89): 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Pallu, son of Reuben.' The emendation is abundantly justified by a comparison of Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 5 1 Ch. 5 3.

When we separate from the later priestly story of the rebellion of Korah, with which it was mingled

4. The old tradition. by the compiler of the Hexateuch, the old tradition is in substance as follows. Dathan and Abiram belonged to Reuben, the eldest tribe, which had, however, forfeited its claim to the hegemony or primacy among the sons of Jacob (see the so-called Blessing of Jacob; Gen. 49 3 f.). As Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram resent the supremacy of Moses. When Moses bids them come up to judgment, they insolently refuse. They reproach him with his unfitness for rule. Instead of leading them into a land flowing with milk and honey, he has led them away from Egypt, which deserved to be so described, and has exposed them to the deadly perils of the wilderness. It is only by blinding the people that he can maintain his position. Moses, in answer, protests that he has neither done them any hurt nor robbed them of so much as an ass, and he begs Yahwe to pay no respect to their offering. These last words refer, apparently, to the sacrifice which every Israelite might offer for his household, and may be compared with Gen. 4 4 f., where the Yahwist tells us that Yahwe looked favourably on the offering of Abel but not on that of Cain. The writer is not thinking of any special priesthood, but simply takes for granted that Yahwè, whose favour was always sought by sacrifice, will not accept the offering of rebels against just authority. Thereupon Moses, accompanied by the elders of Israel, goes down to the tents of his opponents. He predicts the divine chastisement which will fall upon them, and his threat is fulfilled. The earth opens her mouth and Dathan and Abiram go down into Sheol, the receptacle of the shades; only they, unlike other men, go down into it alive. Their wives and little ones perish with them.

We have made no attempt to distinguish between the work of the Yahwist and that of the Elohist. There

5. Redaction. are marks of style and expressions proper to the one and to the other, and again and again the same thing is mentioned twice. Kuenen (*Onl.*, § 8, n. 14) and Kittel (*Hist.* I 412 n.) attribute the narrative (of course after excision of P) as a whole to the Elohist; Cornill (*Einl.*[6] 20), with better right, to the Yahwist. The frequent doublets show that two hands have been at work. We believe that Yahwist and Elohist told much the same story, and that the editor who combined their histories into one here made the Yahwist his basis, adopting at the same time some expressions from the Elohist. We cannot see any solid ground for Dillmann's belief that the Yahwist represented Dathan and Abiram as claiming the priesthood. He urges the words in v. 15, 'respect not thou their offering', but such a curse, while all Israelites were allowed to sacrifice, might be naturally invoked against any enemy. The Yahwist makes little or no mention of a special priesthood, and though, no doubt, he was familiar with the institution, assuredly did not impugn the right of lay Israelites to offer sacrifice. The whole narrative now before us depicts a rebellion directed against Moses as a civil ruler. Had Dathan and Abiram claimed to exercise priestly functions we should have heard more about it. See KORAH.

W. E. A.

DATHEMA (ΔΑΘΕΜΑ [A], -ΘΑΙΜΑ [N], -ΜΕΘΑ [V], Syr. ܕܬܡܐ) in 1 Macc. 5 9, ΔΙΑΘΗΜΑ ΤΟ ΦΡΟΥΡΙΟΝ, Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 8 1), one of the strong places in Gilead to which the Jews had fled for refuge when threatened by Timotheus and his host. It was relieved, with great slaughter of the enemy, by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5 9 ff. 24 ff. 37 ff.).

Dathema has not been identified; from the description it must have lain between Bosora and Maspha (Mizpeh). The Syr. reading may be only a mistake for *Damtha* (Ew. *Hist.* 5 314); but within the distance from Bosra of a night's march (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 1) lies the modern *Kemtheh*, a considerable village and station on the Haj road (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 7).

DAUGHTER. The word 'daughter' (בַּת, θυγατηρ) in EV often has Hebraistic senses, the chief of which are here mentioned.

1. Native Canaanite or Philistine women are 'daughters' of Canaan (Gen. 36 2) or of Philistia (2 S. 1 20).

2. 'Daughter' is a synonym for 'girl' or 'woman' (Gen. 30 13 Judg. 12 9 [A 'daughters']; Cant. 2 2 [6]); in addressing a person (Ruth 2 8 [A 'daughter']; Mt. 9 22).

3. The population of a place, or the place and its population, may be called collectively a 'daughter.' A typical phrase is בַּת צִיּוֹן (Is. 1 8 10 32, etc.): lit. 'daughter of Zion,' but, since the genitive is appositional, more correctly rendered 'people of Zion' (so sometimes in *SBOT*). So, too, 'daughter of Babylon' (Ps. 137 8), 'daughter of Egypt' (Jer. 46 11 19 24); also 'daughter of my people' = *i.e.*, my country-people (Is. 22 4 Jer. 4 11). A phrase which is generally synonymous is 'sons' (*i.e.*, inhabitants) of Zion, Babylon, etc. See *ZDMG*, 40 109; König, *Syntax*, § 255 *e*.

4. Dependent towns may be called 'daughters.' Thus the 'daughters of Judah' in Ps. 48 11 [12] are the cities of Judah (cp GENEALOGIES, i. § 1). Cp the use of 'mother' for a provincial capital in 2 S. 20 19. See TOWN, VILLAGE.

5. 'Daughter,' like 'son,' in combination with a noun, may also express some speciality of character or capacity. Examples of this are few in number. A 'daughter of Belial' is certainly a 'grossly wicked person' (1 S. 1 16). 'Daughter of troops' (בַּת־גְּדוּד; Mic. 5 1 [4 14]) is explained 'those who subject to attack'; but the text is doubtful. 'Daughters of music' (בְּנוֹת שִׁיר, 'daughters of song') in Eccles. 12 4 might be singing women; but others think that the sounds of music are thus figuratively described.

DAVID (דָּוִיד, דָּוִד; ΔΑΥ[Є]ΙΔ [BAL][1]). The name may be explained (1) as meaning 'beloved, a friend,' NAMES, §§ 5, 56; or (2) as meaning 'paternal uncle,' if we pronounce דּוֹד (*i.e.*, Dod), for which Gray (*HPN* 83) offers Semitic analogies, though the explanation is certainly 'at first sight unlikely'; or (3), best of all, as an abbreviation of Dodiel, which was perhaps the name of one of David's sons (see DANIEL i. 4), or of Dodijah = DODAI (*q.v.*). See also DODO.

The chronology of the life of David is most uncertain. We have elsewhere (see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 29, 37) assumed 930 B.C. as the first year of the reign of Rehoboam. To accept the round number of forty years assigned to the reign of Solomon in 1 K. 11 42 and to that of David in 2 S. 5 4 and in 1 K. 2 11 as strictly historical, would be uncritical. The chronological statements referred to are, at most, editorial guesses which may, as good critics think, be not very far from the mark.[2] The early history also of David is in many respects uncertain. It intertwines to a great extent with the still obscurer record of his predecessor (see SAUL); and keen criticism is necessary to arrive at the kernel of fact which there undoubtedly is in the legends that have come down to us. Winckler indeed denies that there is such a kernel of facts in the romantic story of David's early vicissitudes. Such exaggerated distrust, however, appears to arise from a preconceived theory respecting David, and most critics hold strongly to the view that the imaginative element in the story of David is but the vesture which half conceals, half discloses, certain facts treasured in popular tradition. If it should appear that this imaginative element contains some details which we have allowed a warm place in our regard and it would pain us to miss from the history of Israel, we must comfort ourselves with the thought (1) that what remains unshaken becomes more precious than ever, and (2) that even pure legends are of great historical value for the characterisation of the age which produced them.

(*a*) *First appearance.*—The only ancestor of David known to early traditions was his father Jesse,[1] who was believed to have been a citizen of Bethlehem.[2] David was the youngest of his four[3] sons (so 1 S. 17 13 14 [omits]; cp 16 5-9), and was sent to keep his father's sheep in the steppes of Judah. Such at least is the statement of one of our traditions, which, at any rate, has the merit of accounting for the agility, endurance, and courage, so constantly ascribed to David (cp 1 S. 17 34 24 2 2 S. 17 9). There, too, David is supposed to have acquired that skill in music (cp Gen. 4 20 *f.*) which led to his first introduction to Saul, after which he became the king's armour-bearer and slew Goliath. This, however, is not in accordance with the older and more trustworthy account, which simply tells us that David was a valiant Israelitish warrior who happened to be also clever with his tongue and with his lyre, and who was sent for from Bethlehem (a feature borrowed, perhaps, from the other tradition) to charm away Saul's melancholy. Nor is the statement that the shepherd-lad slew Goliath the Philistine consistent with the plain and thoroughly credible, because unlegendary, tradition given elsewhere, that the slayer of Goliath was Elhanan, and the period of his exploit not in Saul's but in David's reign[4] (see ELHANAN, GOLIATH). We must, therefore, if the superior antiquity and probability of a narrative are to count as recommendations, give up the more romantic of the two sets of statements respecting David's introduction to Saul and his early prowess. That he became Saul's armour-bearer and musician need not be disputed.

1. Stories of earlier days.

(*b*) *Break with Saul.*—Another point in which the ordinary view of the life of David needs rectification is the occasion which gave birth to Saul's jealousy of David. The MT of 1 S. 18 6 states that 'when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistines,' the women came out of the cities of Israel, singing, 'Saul hath slain

[1] The MSS generally have δαυιδ. Lag. gives Δαβιδ in a few places.

[2] See Kamphausen, *Die Chronol. der hebr. Könige*, 16 *f.*; cp (for David) St. *GVI* 1 264 297. Wi. (*GI* 1 174) questions this.

[1] This is intelligible enough in the light of David's words in 1 S. 18 18 (not in ⊕B). That a later age claimed descent for the most popular of the kings from the ancient princes of Judah (Ruth 4 18 *ff.*) is also intelligible (see RUTH, BOOK OF); David was not to be of less distinguished origin than Saul (1 S. 9 1). Cp the case of Sargon. It was only in the time of Esar-haddon that a genealogy was produced giving the Sargonic dynasty (which had simply usurped the throne) the necessary line of ancestors. See the inscriptions quoted by Wi. (*Hebraica*, 4 52 *f.*).

[2] The connection with Bethlehem has been rendered doubtful by Marq. (*Fund.* 23 *ff.*), who thinks that the belief in it arose from a false reading in 1 S. 20 28, where, for 'asked leave of me unto Bethlehem' (cp ⊕BAL) he reads (with Klo.) 'asked leave of me until the meal-time' (*'eth lehem* for *beth lehem*)—a sound emendation. From the fact that David's sister ABIGAIL (1) (*q.v.*) married a man of Jezreel (near Carmel in Judah, the native place of David's favourite wife Abigail), and that David himself took his first wife from that place (see AHINOAM), Marquart suspects that the hero's real home was farther south than Bethlehem, perhaps at Arad. This view he supports by a plausible but unprovable conjecture, viz., that Shammah the Aradite (so he reads in 2 S. 23 25; see HAROD[illegible]) = *i.e.*, the man of Arad—is Shammah, David's brother, and [illegible] Ahiam b. Shobab the Aradite (2 S. 23 33; see HARARI[illegible]), was also a relation of David. Both these persons were enrolled among David's 'thirty.' The name of the home of David may conceivably have been forgotten, and (quite apart from 1 S. 20 28) a tradition such as that in 2 S. 23 14-17 may have suggested to narrators the choice of Bethlehem for his birthplace. This is probable. Cp Winckler, *Gesch.* 1 24.

[3] A later tradition increased the number to seven (1 Ch. 2 13-15) or rather eight (1 S. 16 10 *f.* 17 12 [B om.]). The names of three out of the seven in 1 Ch. *l.c.* (viz., NETHANEL, 2; OZEM, 1; and R[illegible] 4) appear to be fictitious; cp Gray, *HPN* 233, Marq. *Fund.* 25.

[4] The duplicate narratives of Saul's first meeting with David and of the slaying of Goliath respectively are:

(*a*) 1 S. 16 14-23 17 1-18 4 (part), and
(*b*) 1 S. 17 1-18 4 (part), 2 S. 21 19.

On these passages what is most necessary has been stated by Dr. *Introd.* 160; cp also the writers referred to in GOLIATH. WRS (*OTJC*[2] 433) finds some of the arguments for the existence of two opposite traditions as to David's introduction to Saul inconclusive. But there seems no strong objection to regarding the words אשר בצאן 'who is with the sheep' in 1 S. 16 19 as a harmonistic interpolation (see St. *GVI* 1 224 n. 2; Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 211), and it seems unnatural to take the words of Saul's servant in 1 S. 16 18 proleptically. The true continuation of 1 S. 16 23 is not 17 1, but a lost description of David's early exploits (see above), which was followed by 18 6 (in a shorter form)—*a*.

his thousands and David his ten thousands,' from which (see *v.* 8*b*) Saul inferred that the ambition of his spoiled favourite would not rest satisfied without the crown itself. It is certain, however, that MT does not give the original form of this passage. Whether the Hebrew text underlying the LXX contained the words 'when David returned, etc., and the clause at the end of *v.* 8, is a point on which critics differ. Even if, as Budde supposes, the LXX translator, to produce a simpler narrative, omitted these clauses, it is not denied by that critic that the former clause is an editorial insertion;[1] it was not, therefore, the slaughter of Goliath by the shepherd lad that (according to the tradition) made Saul suspect that David nourished hopes of becoming king.

This, however, is merely a negative statement. What was it, we may ask, that, according to the best analysis of chap. 17, aroused the jealousy of Saul? To the present writer, as well as to Stade and Wellhausen, 1 S. 18*b* (with the omission of the reference to Goliath) seems to presuppose some account of David's early exploits as a warrior which stood in no connection with the story of Goliath, and indeed was removed by the editor to make room for it. It was these early exploits of a trained warrior that excited the jealousy of Saul, but (since *v.* 8*b*-11, which $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ omits, are derived, like 27. 17-19, which also $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ omits, from another source) did not suggest the thought of David's wish for the crown. This is no doubt psychologically intelligible. Saul could not bear the sight of his too popular armour-bearer, and so he transferred him to a post which would remove him from his own immediate presence. The tradition adds that this served to promote David's interests. Even Michal, Saul's daughter (see MICHAL, EGLAH, IBHRIAM), fell under his fascination, and her jealous father resolved to put the young captain on a perilous enterprise, promising him his daughter's hand in return for the customary proofs of victory, but secretly hoping that he would never return. David went forth, slew a hundred Philistines, and won his wife;[2] but the anxiety of Saul went on increasing after such a manifest proof of the divine protection of David.

This is certainly an improvement upon the ordinary view which treats chap. 18 as a homogeneous narrative; but who can assert that this view of the facts produces the impression of being perfectly historical? It will be noticed that we have laid no stress on the song of the women (18 7). The fragment is indeed clearly ancient; but it seems best understood as coming from a time when David was already king. This, however, is not the most important point. We need a narrative of still greater simplicity and verisimilitude. It is, as Stade remarks,[3] more credible that Saul gave his daughter in marriage to David of his own accord, in order to bind the young hero to the family of his benefactor, and that Saul's jealousy broke out after, not before the marriage. Besides, it would be inconsistent in Saul, first, to send David away as a captain of a thousand (18 13), and then to bring him back to the court as the king's son-in-law. For this position had attached to it the captaincy of the body-guard (see 1 S. 22 14, $\mathfrak{G}^{BAL}$), which gave its holder a rank next to Abner the general (1 S. 20 25), so that Saul would be continually liable to fresh irritation from the sight of David. We cannot, however, positively assert that Stade's correction of the tradition brings us face to face with facts, and must be content to believe that the early story of David's life is not altogether a popular fiction, without insisting too

[1] See Budde's interesting analysis, as embodied in *SBOT*, Heb. edition. This critic seems to hold that the Goliath-story was originally closed by a description of the festal rejoicing which greeted the returning warriors and especially David, and that the same document then went on to relate the terror with which David's success inspired Saul, the king's removal of David to a high military post, and the episode of Merab. For Stade's view, see SAMUEL, ii.

[2] On the coarse but not in itself incredible requirement of Saul (1 S. 18 25 27 2 S. 3 14), see MARRIAGE, and cp St. *Gesch.* 1 232.

[3] *GVI* 1 233; cp We. *CH* 251.

much on the most romantic and interesting, and therefore least certain, parts of it. One of these least certain parts is the account of David's early relations with MICHAL (*q.v.*).

(c) *Various late narratives.*—On the episode of Saul's broken promise of Merab as a wife for David (1 S. 18 17-19) it is unnecessary to dwell. The story, as all agree, interrupts the original context of chap. 18, to which the insertion has been clumsily fitted by an interpolation in *v.* 21*b*. We have here, therefore, a notice drawn from a distinct source. The language of 27. 17 and 19 seems to presuppose the story of David and Goliath (17 25 speaks of the king's promise of his daughter, and the whole narrative implies that David is as yet a mere lad, too young in fact to marry). It might of course be historical in spite of its close connection with that highly imaginative story. Since, however, Michal, not Merab ($\mathfrak{G}^{L}$, however, has Μεροβ), appears in 2 S. 21 8 as the mother of Adriel's children, it is more than probable that the whole episode of Merab rests on a confusion of names.[1] In short, we have two variants of the same tradition, and the form given in 18 20 *ff.* is the more likely to be historical.

Nor need we pause long on some other late narratives. (i.) The account of Samuel's solemn consecration of David as king in 1 S. 16 1-13 has evidently not a historical but a religious motive. To devout readers the 'man according to God's mind' would have seemed to be disparaged if he had not, equally with his predecessor, been anointed by Samuel. (ii.) The episode of David's visit to the prophetic community at Ramah (19 18-24) is an attempt, in the style of the midrash, to explain the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' On this, as well as on (i.), see SAMUEL, ii. § 5. (iii.) The pretended madness of David at Gath (21 11-15; see ACHISH). To these we should, not incontrovertibly, add (iv.) a part of the story of David and Bath-sheba (see BATH-SHEBA).

2. At the court of Saul.

Let us now resume the thread of the narrative. David was at first known to the servants of Saul as a brave warrior and a skilled musician, and also as clever of speech and comely in person. Whatever he did seemed to prosper, for he had not only unusual abilities, but also a power of fascination which seemed a special sign of the divine favour (cp Ps. 45 2). His prowess in the war against the Philistines marked him out as one worthy to be the king's friend. He was, in fact, rewarded, first of all with the position of a royal armour-bearer, and then with the hand of Saul's daughter, Michal. For a time all went well. In the intervals of military service he played on his harp, and by his skill in music chased away the 'evil spirit' of melancholy, which already threatened to mar the king's career. Saul's gratitude, however, was not proof against the severe trial to which it was exposed by David's growing popularity, and, it would seem, by his close intimacy with Jonathan. The heir to the throne had, like Michal, passed under the spell of David, and become his devoted friend, probably his sworn brother,[2] and the disturbed mind of the king conceived the idea that Jonathan had stirred up David to be his father's enemy, in the expectation (we must suppose) of succeeding him as king (22 8). Saul brooded over this idea, and even reasoned with his son on the folly of supposing that his crown, if he came by these unholy means to wear it before the time, would be secure from such a powerful and ambitious subject as David (20 31). Hence, tradition reports, Saul 'spoke to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should slay David' (19 1), and even sought, in a fit of frenzy, to pierce David with his javelin (18 10 *f.* [$\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ omits] 19 9). Whether it was due to Jonathan's influence that the final breach between Saul and David was averted, we cannot tell; the story in 19 1-7 seems really another version of that in chap. 20. It is equally uncertain whether the story in 19 11-17 has any claim to represent the closing scene in David's life at Gibeah. There are difficulties in regarding it as the true sequel to 19 8-10. It may possibly come from another source,[3] and refer

[1] This is the view expressed in *EB*[10], art. 'David.' WRS there emphasises the fact that the episode of Merab (including *v.* 21*b*), like the section of chap. 17 to which it specially refers, is wanting in $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$, the text represented by which he regards as superior to that of MT in chaps. 17 *f.* (cp *OTJC*[2] 431 *f.*).

[2] See WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 5; COVENANT, § 4; and cp also, with caution, Trumbull, *Blood-covenant* ('85).

[3] Verse 10 should end at 'escaped,' and *v.* 11 should begin, 'And it came to pass that night that Saul sent' (so $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$, but not L).

to a slightly later period in David's life. The daring spirit of that hero might prompt him to visit his wife, even after his first flight,[1] or at least the first reciters of the tale may have meant it to be so understood. There remains the story in chap. 20, which (putting aside the opening words as a misleading editorial insertion, and 4-17 as an expansion, due to an early editor[2] who loved the theme of Jonathan's friendship for David) evidently gives a traditional account of the rupture between Saul and David. Whether it is historical however, is quite uncertain. There were, of cou gaps in the tradition, especially as regards the ea period of David's life. Two great facts were certain, viz., the transformation of Saul's original kindness towards David into its opposite, and the firm friendship between David and Jonathan. Out of these facts the reciters of legends, aided by a traditional acquaintance with the general circumstances of the time, had to produce the best detailed account of David's flight from Saul that they could.

As was natural, David turned his steps southward. In the hill-country of Judah he would find hiding-places

3 Flight. enough, and if the arm of Saul threatened to reach him even there, he could easily seek the hospitality of some one of the neighbouring peoples. This, it is true, would be most displeasing to a worshipper of Yahwè (see 26 19); but it must have already occurred to David as a possibility, for he soon afterwards placed his father and mother under the protection of the king of Moab (22 3 f.; see MOAB). At present, his first impulse was to fly with his men to the sanctuary at Nob, or perhaps rather Gibeon (see NOB), where he had already, it would seem, had occasion to consult the priestly oracle (22 15). On his arrival, so the tradition declares, he obtained bread, by a plausible but fictitious story, from the consecrated table, and, as a pledge of victory in the king's 'business,' the mighty sword of Goliath (see GOLIATH, § 3). We can hardly venture to accept this account as correct;[3] it is most probably a later writer's attempt to fill up a gap in the old tradition. Whatever took place, it is certain that David very soon hastened on to the fortified hill-town of Adullam. Here he was still in his native land, though probably not among Israelites (see ADULLAM); he could worship his own god, and might hope to be safe from his pursuers. In the fort (not the cave) of Adullam he was joined by his family, and by a small band of fellow-outlaws (about 400 in number). Meantime Doeg, the Edomite, who had seen David conversing with the priest Ahimelech at Nob (or Gibeon), had reported the circumstance with details, which may or may not have been his own invention,[4] to Saul, and the king inferred from the report that Ahimelech had used the sacred oracle in support of treasonable designs of David. It is only his rooted belief in David's treason that excuses the fierceness with which Saul destroyed, not only the eighty-five priests,[5] but also the entire population of the city of Nob or rather Gibeon (22 18 f.); see GIBEON, DOEG, ABIATHAR, BAN. He also indicated the expulsion of David from the royal family by giving Michal, David's wife, to a new husband (see MICHAL).

David now became a captain of freebooters, levying

[1] The danger of such an enterprise was diminished by the reluctance to violate the apartments of women and to attack a sleeping foe, which appears also in Judg. 16 2, and among the Arabs. Wellhausen cites a closely parallel case from Sprenger's *Leben Muhammad*, 2 143.

[2] See the text as exhibited by Budde in *SBOT*.

[3] It is incredible that David should have passed by the sanctuary without 'inquiring of Yahwè,' nor does the reference to the 'sword of Goliath' incline us much to accept the rest of the story. That the words assigned to Saul in 22 8 rightly express the king's belief is, however, more than probable.

[4] It is certainly not impossible that David did take the opportunity of consulting the sacred oracle. The reference to the sword of Goliath in 22 10 is interpolated (see Budde).

[5] So MT Peshi, and Vg.; ⊕ᵇᵃ, by a manifest error, 305. Jos., combining the two readings, 385 (*Ant.* vi. 12 c). ⊕ᵃ has 55.

blackmail on those who could pay it, in return for p

4. An outlaw. tection against Amalekites, Philistin or other enemies. We have an attr tive and sympathetic sketch of his conduct, and of generous spirit which softened the harsher details, in ch. 25. Besides the means of subsistence, David look of course, for timely warning of the approach of latter enemies. In this way he held his ground ma fully (with the support of the priest Abiathar) agai almost overwhelming odds, trusting that he was ben preserved for high ends. He must have felt that no but he could provide Israel with the leader that needed, though to work directly towards the atta ment of the crown would have been contrary to loyal nature. One point in his favour there was, t value of which can hardly be overrated—viz., the peculi conformation of the hill-country of Judah. It is necessa for the untravelled student to form by books and phot graphs some idea of those 'tossed and broken hi where the valleys are all alike, and large bodies of m may camp near each other without knowing it.' Maj Conder goes even further, and claims that throug recent identifications the narrative assumes a consisten which traditional sites have destroyed. 'From Gibe (Jeba' near Mukhmas) David flies southward to No thence down the great valley to Gath (Tell es-Sâfieh from Gath he returns into the land of Judah, the bounded by the Shêphêlah, most of which seems have been in the hands of the Philistines; and on th edge of the country between Achish and Saul, Philist and Judah, he collects his band into the strongest s to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich cornland of Judah. At the advice of the seer he retires to th hills, and if my identification of Hareth be correct, it but a march of 4 m. distance. Here, as at Adullam he was also within easy reach of his family at Bethlehem At Harâs he hears that the Philistines, whose advanc he probably barred when holding Adullam, had invade Ke'ilah immediately beneath him, and it is this propin quity alone which accounts for his attack upon th marauders.'[1] There can be no doubt that exac identifications of the sites referred to would give t narrative of David's outlaw-period a greater approxima tion to consistency. But this able explorer's identifi tions are too often (like that of Gath above) unprove and he has, on principle, omitted to take account of the composite character of the biblical narrative.[2]

We left David at Adullam; we next find him before another fortified town (1 S. 23 1-13), called KEILAH (*q.v.*), of which Ahithophel was perhaps a native (see GILOH). His hope was to secure the gratitude of the inhabitants by chastising the Philistines who were besieging it. Supported by an oracle, he attacked and defeated those most dangerous of foes. He was disturbed, however, by another oracle, warning him that the men of Ke'ilah would surrender their benefactor to Saul. The king was, in fact, on his way with his whole fighting force, and David would sooner trust himself to the intricacies of the wilderness than to the 'bolts and bars' of Ke'ilah. Whether David really went from the 'forest of Hareth' to Ke'ilah, is highly uncertain. The anecdote in 23 1-13 is not necessarily the sequel of the connected narrative in 21 1-9 22. Nor can we assume (with Conder) that the generous action related in chap. 24 took place immediately before the events described in chap. 25; for, as critics agree, the narrative is but a duplicate of the traditional story given in a better form in chap. 26.[3] If we ask how much of the

[1] *PEFQ*, '75, p. 149.

[2] See Conder, 'The Scenery of David's Outlaw Life,' *PEFQ*, '75, pp. 41-48.

[3] That the story in chap. 26 is more original than that in chap. 24 is obvious. The conversation which it gives is full of antique and characteristic ideas, wanting in chap. 24. That David is recognised by his voice is meaningless in 24 16 (Heb. 17), but appropriate in 26 17. See Bu. *Ur. Sa.* 197 f.; and cp Che. *Jud.*, [illegible]

details of these hairbreadth escapes is historical, the reply must be equally disappointing to literalists. The central facts of the stories are all that we can safely rely upon. Such a detail, for instance, as the meeting of David and Jonathan in the wilderness of Ziph (23 16-18) is obviously an innocent piece of romance; in fact it is but another version of the favourite story of the 'covenant between the friends.' Nor can we venture to assume that, if David once, in accordance with a chivalrous rule still common in Arabia, spared the life of his sleeping foe, either he or Saul displayed that delicacy of sentiment which a later age attributed to them.

Strangely enough, the two accounts of David's generosity towards Saul are the setting of a perhaps more completely historical story—that of David and Nabal (chap. 25). The portrait of David here given is less idealistic, but seems much more truthful than that in chaps. 24 and 26. Not less interesting is the sketch of Abigail. To her it was that David owed his avoidance of blood-guiltiness. To her, too, he was indebted for the improvement which took place in his social status. As the husband of Abigail, he was no longer a mere freebooter, but the wealthy head of a powerful Calebite family, and so took one step forward towards his ultimate enthronement at Hebron as king of Judah.[1]

5. With the Philistines.

How long David remained in the Calebite district of Carmel, we do not know. He is next introduced as despairing of being able to hold out any longer against his foe; 'there is nothing better for me,' he said, 'than speedily to escape into the land of the Philistines' (27 1). So he placed himself and his 600 at the disposal of Achish, king of Gath. Ill at ease, however, among the Philistine chieftains, he induced his new suzerain to give him as a residence the outlying town of Ziklag. Here he still maintained amicable relations with his friends in Judah, and though he craftily professed to be engaged in raids against the Negeb of Judah, he was in reality more honourably employed (see ACHISH, AMALEK, § 3).

At length, in the second year, a change in his relation to Achish became imminent. The Philistine lords, who had probably long been suspicious of his intentions, refused to let David join them in their campaign against Saul. David on his side professed eagerness to fight for Achish; but we are not bound to take his words too literally. Historians, it is true, differ in their view of David's conduct. It seems psychologically probable, however, that David was only too glad to be sent back by Achish to Ziklag, with a charge not to cherish revengeful thoughts against his friendly suzerain (1 S. 29 10, 𝔊). A picture, Homeric in its vividness, is given of the effect produced on David and his men by the sight that met them at Ziklag, which the cruel Amalekites had plundered (30 3-6). An oracle encouraged David to pursue his foes. He came up with them, and chastised them severely. The account closes with a list of the towns in Judah, to which David sent politic gifts. His ambitious plans were no doubt maturing.

6. At Hebron.

Meantime Saul had fallen on Gilboa and Israel was in a state of chaos. The Philistines were masters of the fertile lowlands of Jezreel and the Jordan, but disdained to interfere with the poorer country of Judah. There were some even in northern Israel who thought that David and David alone could help them, and among these were probably the men of Jabesh-gilead, to whom he sent graciously expressed thanks for their chivalrous rescue of the bodies of Saul and his sons (2 S. 2 5-7 cp 3 17). David,

[1] Wi. (*GI*, 1 25) sees underlying the Nabal-story a tradition that David was 'prince of Caleb' (a tribe or district), and, following C. Niebuhr, he even finds this title in 2 S. 8 8, where, according to EV, Abner says, 'Am I a dog's head?' but where Wi. renders, 'Am I the prince of Caleb?' (כלב). Marquart's theory (see above, § 1, note 2), that David was really a man of S. Judah, might be used to corroborate Wi.'s opinion. In any case, the facts on which Marquart's theory is based illustrate this period. See DOG, § 3 (5).

however, was content to let Abner have his way, and attempt to consolidate the weakened regal authority in the North, nominally for Saul's incompetent son, Ishbaal. For the present, David transferred his residence, in obedience to an oracle, to Hebron, placing his men in the neighbouring towns or villages. The elders of Judah took the hint, and solemnly acknowledged him as their king.

It was not a grand position. As king of Judah, David was no less a vassal of the Philistines than when he was only head of Ziklag;[1] indeed, he still retained Ziklag. This only shows his caution, however, not his want of patriotism. Even Abner could not venture to let the puppet king Ishbaal revolt from the Philistines;[2] rest was the first need both of Israel and of Judah. We cannot, however, suppose that David and his band were idle. It is, on the whole, probable that the conquest of the Jebusite fortress of Zion belongs to the period of David's tribal kingship,[3] and not (as is generally supposed) to the commencement of his enlarged sovereignty. When the Philistines made that bold attempt to seize David which is related in 2 S. 5 17, David, we hear, took refuge in 'the stronghold.' It is difficult to suppose that a different 'stronghold' is meant from that mentioned in 22 4 5 (which there is reason to assign to the same document). The Philistines themselves are uncertain where they will find David; clearly then David had more than one place of residence. We are also told that they 'came up' to seek David, and spread themselves out in the valley of Rephaim near Jerusalem. It is true that where the narrative 2 S. 5 6-9 is placed, it *seems* to have reference to the beginning of David's kingship over Israel. Probably, however, something has fallen out before *v.* 6. The lost passage presumably referred to David's removal of his residence to Jerusalem; the narrative which has been preserved explains how the king and 'his men' possessed themselves of the all but impregnable fortress.

By this important conquest David secured his position from all possible enemies, whether Philistine or Israelite. He also doubtless hoped to make Zion what it ultimately became—the capital of united Israel. We may assume that this caused uneasiness to Abner, who doubtless had dreams of a reunited Israel under the sceptre of a descendant or kinsman of Saul. These dreams must have been rudely interrupted by the news of David's success. Abner well understood what the conquest of Zion portended, and it was natural that he should seek to counteract David's ambition. He had no occasion to form an elaborate plan of operations; he had but to allow the unsleeping jealousy of Israel and Judah to display itself. There would be constant border hostilities, and Judah, as the weaker of the two, would (he must have hoped) be reduced to vassalage to Israel, and in time perhaps incorporated into the kingdom. A 'very sore battle' is reported between the men of Ishbaal and those of David by the pool of Gibeon. It began with a mere sham fight; but such a contest could not be expected to end without bloodshed, and Abner must have foreseen this when he and the men of Ishbaal set out from Mahanaim (2 S. 2 12-17). The result was disastrous for the cause of Ishbaal, and year after year the war was renewed with constant loss of prestige to the house of Saul. Fierce private passions, too, added to the horrors of the time (see ABNER; ISHBAAL, 1; JOAB, 1). At length, Ishbaal being removed, David stood alone, sad but confident, for who else could be thought of in this hour of need? Had he not in the olden time been Israel's leader against the Philistines, and was he not by marriage a member of

[1] This view is accepted by St., F. Mey., We., Kamph., Kittel.

[2] See Kamph *ZATW* 6 43-97 ['86]; Ki. *Hist.* ii. The older view (see St.) was that Abner upheld the banner of Israel against the Philistines; but Kamph. shows at great length that the evidence will not justify this.

[3] See Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.* 146 *ff.*; *Gesch.* 1 6.

Saul's house (2 S. 5 2 3 13-16)? So the elders of Israel accepted the inevitable, and anointed the son of Jesse king over Israel.

David was now, according to a not very early tradition,[1] in his thirty-eighth year; seven and a half years had elapsed since he first became king at Hebron. His training had been long and varied, and he might now fairly hope to finish the work which Saul had begun, and remove for ever the danger of Philistine invasions. The Philistines knew what they had to expect from the new king of 'all Israel and Judah,' and lost not a moment in 'seeking him.' They felt towards him as the Syrian king felt towards Ahab if he were only slain or captured, the fate of Israel was settled. They knew, too, the rapidity of his movements, and sought to capture him before he could retire into his newly-won stronghold of Zion. They were too late for this, and challenged him to battle in the valley of Rephaim westward from Jerusalem (2 S. 5 18-25; cp BAAL-PERAZIM). Two great victories are said to have been won on this occasion by David. We have also a record of individual exploits and of personal dangers run by David in 2 S. 21 15-22 23 8-17 (see ISHBI-BENOB, etc.), which must, it would seem, have stood originally close to 5 6-12 17-25. It is singular that this should be almost all that is told us respecting what, if entirely David's work, would be the greatest of all his achievements. One more notice indeed has come down to us (2 S. 8 1); but it is tantalisingly short. It states that 'David smote the Philistines and subdued them, and took' something of importance 'out of the hand of the Philistines.' The Chronicler thinks that what David 'took' was 'Gath and its towns' (1 Ch. 18 1), and this is certainly plausible, for deeds of high renown were performed near Gath (see ELHANAN, 1), and afterwards we find 600 men of Gath in David's service (2 S. 15 18; see below, § 11). It is more probable, however, that Ashdod was the city spoken of in the true text (see METHEG-AMMAH). Still it is doubtful whether such a total defeat of the Philistines as the passage just quoted ascribes to David, is historical. That the Israelites were delivered from the dread of these foes is indisputable; but that David broke the power of the Philistines is not probable. It is a reasonable conjecture that the deliverance of the Israelites was helped either by an Egyptian, or by a Musrite (N. Arabian) intervention.[2] Moreover, the friendly terms on which David appears to have stood with the Philistines at a later time suggest that he had made a treaty of peace with this people on conditions equally honourable to both sides, one of which, as we have elsewhere seen reason to think, was the restoration of the ark (see ARK, § 5).

7. King over Israel: the Philistines.

However this may be, David was certainly not deficient in the qualities of a general. This is plain from his wise measures on the rebellion of Absalom, of which we have very full particulars. His other wars, with neighbours only less dangerous than the Philistines, may be conveniently referred to here. We have a summary of them in the same section that refers to the subduing of the Philistines (2 S. 8 1-14, cp 1 S. 14 47, and see SAUL, 1 § 3), and further information respecting the Ammonite war in 2 S. 10 11 1 12 26-31. It is important, however, to study these notices critically, both from a purely literary, and from a historical, point of view. The two points of view, it is true, cannot be kept very long apart. A preliminary literary analysis, however, will quickly show us that in 2 S. 8 1-14 we are dealing, not with an original narrative, but with a panegyric made up from va sources, containing strong traces of editorial work. to 2 S. 10 the case is not at first sight so clear; b further investigation reveals here, too, the hand of editor. The contents also must be criticised, and will greatly clear up the problems of literary anal The historical results of the whole process are not u portant.[1]

8. Other wars.

(a) *Moab.*—Little enough is told us of David's with the Moabites (cp MOAB); but that little is sugges With cold-blooded precision the conqueror destr two-thirds (such is the meaning of 2 S. 8 2) of the fighting force of Moab. The description seems to i that it was an act of national retaliation, and the off which caused this may be plausibly conjectured. kingdom of Israel, as Kamphausen has shown, by no means so powerful as the early writers suppo The defeat on Gilboa had brought the Israelites to verge of ruin, and Saul's feeble successor had to terms, not only with the Philistines, but also with Moabites and the Ammonites, to whom his ca Mahanaim, was only too accessible. It is probable both Moab and Ammon granted him peace only u insulting conditions, and we can form some idea of insults that were possible in such circumstances 1 S. 11 2 2 S. 10 4. David of course had to give insolent neighbours a lesson.

(b) *Ammon.*—Passing on to the Ammonites, notice that, if there is a doubt as to the degree of severity of their punishment (2 S. 12 31),[2] there is no to the gravity of their offence (2 S. 10 1-5). The acc of the details of the war requires very careful critic The conduct of the host of Israel was entrusted to and it was owing to the politic self-restraint of general that David in person stormed the Ammon capital, and carried away the crown of the idol Milcom (see AMMON, § 8). The difficulty of the n tive is caused by the statements which it contain specting the Aramæan allies of the Ammonites and successes which David gained over them.[3] Was Zobah mentioned in 2 S. 10 6 (undoubtedly an an passage) as joining with Beth-rehob to send help to Ammonites, a powerful kingdom N. of Damascus which all Aram W. of the Euphrates was subject stated in 2 S. 10 16), or was it a small state near land of Ammon, which on various grounds agrees with our expectations? If the latter view be adop we must regard 2 S. 10 15-19a as a late editorial sertion, akin to the much edited passage 8 3-8, an that we know respecting David's relations to Aramæans is that Joab routed the forces sent by to help the Ammonites, so that they 'feared to help Ammonites any more' (2 S. 10 13 19b). The state of 8 6, in itself so improbable, that David ann Damascus, is due to a misreading of a passage w appears over again in v. 14. The editor, by mist read 'Aram' instead of 'Edom,' and then inter 'Aram' as 'Aram-Damascus.'[4]

(c) *Edom.*—Lastly we come to the war with Ed which, as we are told in 2 S. 8 14, was incorporate David into his kingdom. We are left entirely igno as to the cause of the war,[5] and know next to not of the details, though the conquest of such a diff region would have been well worth describing. A g

[1] See 2 S. 5 4 (the work of a Deuteronomistic editor).

[2] If an Egyptian intervention be supposed we must place it during the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty. See WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 380), who thinks that the notice in 1 K. 9 16 presupposes the Egyptian occupation of Philistia. Observe that Caphtorim is called a 'son' of Mizraim (see CAPHTOR, § 4). The alternative theory, however, seems much more probable (see *JQR* 11 [illegible] and cp MIZRAIM, § 2 c).

[1] On the criticism, see SAMUEL, ii. §§ 4, 6, and cp Bu *S.* 2. 245 *f.*, 249 *ff.*; Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.*; Wi. *GI* 1 138 *ff.*, 1 For a rather estimate of the evidence, see ISRAEL, § 19.

[2] RV[ms] gives the more favourable view (on which se *JBL* 22) that David put the Ammonitish captives to fo labour at public works.

[3] See Wi. *GI* 1 128-144.

[4] Klo., on the other hand, wishes to correct 'Edom' in into 'Aram.' The traditional view of 2 S. 8 5 *f.* has been th to be confirmed by 1 K. 11 24; but there the words 'when D slew them' are a gloss, not found in ⊕BL, as Klo. himself can points out.

[5] Wi. regards the war as the resumption of hostilities bet David as 'prince of Caleb' and his Edomite neighbours earlier period (*GI* 1 194).

victory is ascribed to David in the VALLEY OF SALT (q.v.) to the S. of the Dead Sea (2 S. 8 13, where read 'Edom' for 'Aram' with ⊕ [illegible]; Ps. 60, title). There is also an incidental reference to the war in 1 K. 11 15 f., which tells us that the Edomites contested every inch of ground, but received no quarter from their conqueror. This is the extent of our information.

To sum up. If it is one of David's titles to fame that he for a time united 'all the tribes of Israel from Dan to Beersheba' (2 S. 24 2), it is another that he secured the united kingdom from foreign attack. From Assyria and Egypt indeed there was then nothing to fear;[1] but the small neighbouring peoples needed the lesson which he gave them. That his suzerainty or sphere of influence extended to the Euphrates is not, however, supported, in the opinion of the present writer, by a thorough criticism of the documents. The editor of 2 S. 8, who perhaps wrote also 10 15-19a, confounded the two Zobahs[2] and made other mistakes, and on the basis of this mis-reading of the evidence he and his school erected the airy fabric of a Davidic empire large enough to be named respectfully among the 'world-powers.' This theory (for such we must call it) fell in with the later tendency to glorify David, and with the idea of a great Messianic kingdom of which the Davidic was a type (Am. 9 11 f., post-exilic; see AMOS, § 10, CHRONICLES, § 9). It cannot be resigned without regret, and should archæological discoveries disclose some grains of fact which may have assisted the growth of historical error, it will be a satisfaction to find that the ancient editors were not entirely arbitrary in their procedure. That David's power was respected as far north as Hamath (even if the report in 2 S. 8 10 be not altogether accurate) need not be denied. The question is, Can it be proved that friendship had given place, on David's side, to suzerainty?

9. Later theory of a Davidic empire.

David's next aim was to provide a worthy centre for the united people of Israel. In this he showed a truly masterly statesmanship. The kingship of Saul was not altogether different from the authority exercised by the greater 'judges.' It never entirely divested itself of a tribal character, as is clear from the striking narrative, 1 S. 22 6 8. At the risk of alienating the men of Judah, who, in fact, appear as the chief malcontents in subsequent civil disturbances, David transferred his royal residence from the remote southern city, Hebron, to Jerusalem. The new capital had not indeed all the natural advantages which could be wished (see JERUSALEM); but it had two great recommendations: (1) it was neither Israelite nor Judahite, having been recently won by David and his men, and (2) whilst easily accessible from the north, it lay close to David's own tribe of Judah. The king not only strengthened its fortifications, but also consecrated it by solemnly transferring to it the newly recovered national sanctuary (see ARK, § 6) from its temporary home at Baal (see KIRJATH-JEARIM) in Judah. This must not be disparaged as merely a proof of political wisdom. It was this, no doubt; but it also sprang from deep religious feeling, as the old tradition clearly states (2 S. 6 21; see ⊕BAL). David felt that the true principle of national unity and strength lay in fidelity to Yahwè, and it is to him therefore that the world is ultimately indebted for the streams of spiritual life which have issued from Jerusalem. That he built a palace for himself, but no temple for the ark, seemed a

10. The new capital.

[1] It is quite needless to suppose that David made a nominal recognition of the suzerainty of Egypt (Wi. *GI* 1 137). This is no doubt a necessary corollary to W. M. Müller's theory of the Egyptian conquest of Philistia; but that theory is not here accepted (see above, § 7, end).

[2] The cuneiform evidence for two Zobahs will be found in Del. *Par.* 250, Schr. *KGF* 122. The historical list of places given in Aśurbânipal's Annals, 7 108-114 (*KB* 2 216 f.) proves the existence of a Subiti to the S. of Damascus and near Ammon, and apparently distinct from that in the geographical lists (on which cp Tomkins, *PEFQ*, Apr. 1885, p. 213). See ZOBAH.

strange inconsistency to a later age. Whether the course that he took was prescribed by an oracle, it is now impossible to say; the narrative in 2 S. 7, with the accompanying prophecy, is one of the late Deuteronomistic insertions and cannot be safely followed.[1]

(*d*) *Army.* Both in military and in civil affairs David was careful to combine the necessary innovations with a due regard for the old habits and feelings of the people, which he thoroughly understood. The tendency to disintegration inherent in the old clan-organisation (see GOVERNMENT, § 18) he sought to counteract by the institution of a bodyguard [illegible] a natural development out of his old [illegible] scouters. This well-disciplined and also [illegible] twenty [illegible] army' was sufficient to [illegible] old national militia, but [illegible] suspicion. Specially [illegible] heroes of whom a list [illegible] It is uncertain whe[illegible] 'the knights';[2] [illegible] view. They were [illegible] of which some [illegible] were by no me[illegible] Gibborim (AV [illegible] the rebellion of Abs[illegible] entered David's service with [illegible] 15 18) and Uriah the Hittite [illegible] How well these Philistine[illegible] confidence, is proved by 2 S. [illegible] CHERETHITES, and on later [illegible] foreign guards (*e.g.*, Zeph. 1 8 [illegible] 44 6 *ff.*). WRS *OTJC*[2] 262 n.)

11. Administration, etc.

(ii.) The list of heroes in 2 S. 23 enumerates 'the Three' (שלשה): ISHBAAL (2), ELEAZAR (3), and SHAMMAH (1); then follow ABISHAI and BENAIAH, who occupy an intermediary position; and finally, the heroes themselves, thirty-seven in all (v. 39). There is some difficulty in arriving at this number (see ELIKA, ELIPHELET 1, 2), and the numerous textual corruptions preclude complete certainty as to their names and origin (besides the special articles cp Marq. *Fund.* 15 *ff.*).

The heroes seem to have been usually arranged in pairs according to their homes, thus Maharai and Heleb from Netophah (28 6, 29), two from Jattir (38), one each from the neighbouring places of Pirathon and Gaash (30), etc. It is noticeable that they are almost wholly of Benjamite and Judæan origin, and this supports the conjecture that the list in the main refers to the early part of David's life (cp, *e.g.*, 1 S. 22 1 *f.*), before his supremacy was spread over the rest of Israel. Note the mention of Asahel and Uriah, and that Benaiah is merely the head of David's guard, and has not apparently reached the position he holds in 2 S. 8 18 (see below (*c*) 2). The omission of Joab as the holder of any official position is remarkable, and suggests that he had not yet become 'captain of the host,' although the references in 2 7 8, 18 (Abishai, the brother of Joab; cp 2 2, 24), 37 seem to show that he was not unknown. It is highly probable that the whole chapter owes its present form to a comparatively late editor (cp Kue. *Einl.* i. 2, § 22, n. 13).

(ii.) In 1 Ch. 11 the same list is substantially repeated—in a few cases with better readings,—and a few names recur in 1 Ch. 27 1-14 (see below, (*c*) i.). Verses 41b-47 add sixteen other heroes, who, to judge from the gentilicia (often doubtful, see MAHAVITE, MESOBAITE, MITHNITE) were partly of east-Jordanic origin. The authenticity of these names is a difficult question. They may have proceeded from a source common to both compilers (see Kue. *Einl.* 1 2, § 30, n. 11); but the mention of Reubenites, and the preponderating proportion of theophorous names as well as the relative lateness of such names as Jaasiel, Jeiel, Joshaviah in this chapter, render their genuineness open to question.

(iii.) Further lists of warriors are found in 1 Ch. 12, which enumerates those who came to David (*a*) at Ziklag (v. 22), and (*b*) at Hebron (23 *ff.*). (*b*) The latter is purely fabulous. It represents the warriors as assembling from all the tribes (not ex-

[1] The modifications introduced into this narrative both by the author of the gloss in 7 [illegible] and by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 17) are interesting evidence of the constant recasting of old material carried on by the editors. See SAMUEL, ii. § 5, and cp We. *Prol.*, p. 1, 177).

[2] שלשים and שלישים were sometimes confounded (see 1 Ch. 11 11 15, 12 4 18, Var. Bib.). Klo. prefers שלשים (cp Di. on Ex. 14 7). At any rate such a term as 'the thirty' would soon become conventional (see 2 S. 23 9). Cp CHARIOT, § 10.

[3] Read 'and all the men of Judah the Gittite, 600 men,' with Klo., Kt., Bu. It seems doubtful whether David had really had any prolonged or bitter strife with the Philistines.

cluding the two halves of Manasseh ?), and gives a theocratic air to the whole by the inclusion of Aaronites. (a) In the first half (1-22) we have probably a few traces of old material, and very possibly a confused recollection of events in David's early life. The lists comprise men of Saul's brethren and of Benjamin (1 *ff.*), Korahites (6) and men of Gedor (7). In the case of the Korahites it is possible that the Chronicler is thinking of the later priestly class. His inclusion of such warriors among David's band is as intelligible as his ascription to David of the division of priestly courses and other works dealing with the priests and Levites. On the other hand, with Be., we may more probably think of the Judæan Korah (1 Ch. 2 43). It was under David that the S. Judæan populations attained power, and it is perfectly natural to suppose that individuals from among them joined him. This, of course, does not mean that the names are necessarily old or genuine. Finally, are enumerated (1) certain Gadites, 'captains of the host' (רָאשֵׁי הַצָּבָא), who put to flight David's enemies on either side of the Jordan (8-15); (2) Amasai (AMASA, *q.v.*), who, at the head of men of Benjamin and Judah, came to David in the 'hold' (16-18); and (3) certain chiliarchs of Manasseh (19). Underlying the account of Amasai, we may possibly find the traces of a confused and mutilated recollection of the revolt of Absalom, wherein Amasa plays so prominent a part in bringing Judah and the king together (2 S. 19 14). S. A. C.]

(*b*) *Justice.*—To the chief civil duty of a king—the administration of justice—David paid the utmost attention (2 S. 8 15, cp 1 1-4 *ff.*) for Absalom's complaint that the king was inaccessible (2 S. 15 3) is merely factious. He does not appear to have made any change in the old local administration of justice; but he introduced—simply by acting as supreme judge—an element which profoundly modified the traditional system (see GOVERNMENT, § 19).

(*c*) *Officers.*—In this and other departments David was aided by his great officers of state (2 S. 8 16-18); see BENAIAH, HUSHAI, JEHOSHAPHAT 2, JOAB, and below. It is important to notice that in all probability he had a Babylonian scribe or secretary (see SHAVSHA)—a late trace of the early preponderance of Babylonian civilisation in Palestine.

[It will be convenient here to note briefly the lists of David's officers, treasurers, etc.

i. 1 Ch. 27, a passage of obviously complex character, after reproducing (27 1-15) the first part of the list of David's warriors (see above *a* i.) in the form of a list of twelve *captains* of divisions (שָׂרֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת 1-15), enumerates twelve *princes* (שָׂרִים) of the tribes of Israel (16-24), including Levites, Aaronites, the twofold division of Manasseh and the post-exilic priestly names Hoshea, Iddo, Jeroham (?), Zichri; Jaasiel (*v.* 21) is probably borrowed from 1 Ch. 11 47. This is followed in 25-31 by a third list of twelve—David's *overseers* or *treasurers*; the names seem to be old (Gray, *HPN* 230 *ff.*), and so far as this goes, the list might be trustworthy (but cp Kue. *Einl.* i 2, § 11, n. 11. Besides Gray, *HPN* 229 *ff.*, see CHRONICLES, § 9, and cp We. *Prol.*[6] 171 *ff.*).

ii. David's supreme officers of state are variously enumerated in 2 S. 8 16-18 (cp 20 23-26 [where they are obviously out of place], 1 Ch. 18 14-17) and 1 Ch. 2[illegible] 32-34 (cp Solomon's officers 1 K. 4, and the list given by 𝔊BL at the end of 1 K. 2). In the case of the list in 2 S. the genuineness of the passage has been questioned by Bonk (*ZATW* 12 143) and probably rightly. JOAB b. Zeruiah is said to be 'over the host' (הַצָּבָא), but with the exception of 8 10 (David's wars) he appears, on the other hand, to be over the Cherethites and Pelethites (2 S. 20 7); and BENAIAH, who in the list is credited with this office (*v.* 18), was 'head of the כְּרֵתִי וּפְלֵתִי' 2 S. 23 23*b* (see COUNCIL, i. 2) and perhaps also 'chief of the brick-kiln' (1 K. 2 46*h* 𝔊BL; cp הַכַּרְכֹּן 2 S. 12 31). JEHOSHAPHAT (*q.v.*) b. Ahilud was recorder (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21) and Shisha (see SHAVSHA) the secretary. The priests were David's sons (but see MINISTER, CHIEF); but at the head stood Zadok b. Ahitub and Abiathar b. Ahimelech. Abiathar is a descendant of the famous Eli, Zadok is of unknown origin, and although mentioned first (cp similarly 2 S. 15 24 *ff.* 30) did not obtain pre-eminence until the time of Solomon.

The Chronicler's list (27 32-34) mentions a Jonathan, the רֵעַ of David, as a counsellor, and JEHIEL (*q.v.*), who was 'with the king's sons.' Ahithophel, and Hushai the 'friend' of David (see HUSHAI), are well-known characters in the revolt of Absalom; according to the Chronicler their places were filled by Benaiah and Abiathar. S. A. C.]

(*d*) In another respect too David followed the example of Oriental kings: with the aid of his ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, he built himself a palace of stone and cedar wood which rose proudly above the low dwellings of Jerusalem. There he combined a regal generosity with a not less regal luxury. Mephibosheth (MERIBBAAL) and Chimham were among his court-pensioners (2 S. 9 7 *ff.* 19 28 31 38); singing men and singing women livened his repasts (2 S. 19 35).

Another piece of genuine Oriental magnificence the harem (2 S. 5 13, etc.), which, though it does seem to have shocked the nation (2 S. 16 21), fraught with moral danger to the king, and was source of much of the unhappiness of his later ye It is clear from passages like 2 S. 13 21 14 24 15 1 14 6 12 14 that the moral weakness of his last days begun many years before, under the influences of harem.

[Lists of David's sons are found in (*a*) 2 S. 3 1-5 (= 1 Ch. 3 and (*β*) 2 S. 5 13-16 (= 1 Ch. 3 6-8, 1 Ch. 14 3-7). It is prob that originally these stood together, and Budde (*SBOT*) acc ingly places them before 8 15. (*a*) The former list gives names of the six sons born at Hebron and reflects David's po of strengthening his power by alliances with neighbouring c or tribes. Besides the two wives from Jezreel (in Judah) and Carmel (Caleb), we have one from the S. Palestin GESHUR [*q.v.*, 2] and, possibly, one from Gath (see HAGGI The two remaining names, SHEPHATIAH (more common in literature) and ITHREAM, are unknown. The death of Am left Chileab (if the name be correct—see CHILEAB) heir to throne, and it is therefore the more remarkable that nothing w ever is told us of his fate: for an ingenious conjecture, cp M *Fund.* 25 *f.* (*β*) The second list contains eleven name sons born at Jerusalem. Of these the first two, Shammua Shimeah) and Shobab, may probably recur (see above § 1, n These and the two following (Nathan and Solomon) are, acc ing to 1 Ch. 3 5, *all* sons of Bathsheba. The statement in has probably arisen from the desire to render Solomon's birth stainless as possible (Solomon is mentioned last), since from 11 *f.* it appears that Solomon was really the *second* son. Th names are increased to thirteen in 1 Ch. 3 14 by the addition Nogah and a second Eliphelet. Perhaps Nogah is original should be inserted in 2 S. (Th. Be.), thus raising the number twelve; but it is possible that it has arisen from the followi Nepheg and should (with Eliphelet) be omitted. It is no worthy that in 2 S. 5 13-16, 𝔊B (but not 𝔊A) has a double the second of which (based upon Ch.) agrees with 𝔊L in inc ing the two doubtful names. S. A. C.]

That the government of this great king was perfect successful cannot, of course, be maintained. His peop was far from homogeneous, and it is not surprising th the jealousies of Judah and Israel reappeared. Gr discontent was also produced by his attempt to numb the people, which was no doubt regarded by his subje as introductory to an attempt upon their liberties, a was checked only by the rebukes of his seer Gad a the breaking out of a pestilence[1] (2 S. 24).

According to the early narrative, the conscience the king accepted the rebuke; but most probably Dav still felt as a statesman that the position of Israel w precarious without that improved military organisati which he had contemplated. On the other hand, continued to tolerate some ancient usages inconsiste with the interests of internal harmony. The practice blood-revenge was not put down,[2] and, by allowing th Gibeonites to enforce it against the house of Saul (s GIBEON, RIZPAH), the king involved himself in a feud wi the Benjamites (cp 2 S. 21 with 16 8, which refers to a lat date). Yet he might have braved all these dangers b for the disorders of his own family. Need we tell ov again the story of his great moral disaster? Nowhe is the impossibility of upholding the saintliness of th king more apparent than here. And yet a laudab desire to believe the best of David has perhaps blunte the edge of the scalpel of the critic (see BATHSHEBA).

It is certain that the narrative in 2 S. 11 1-12 25 is not witho later insertions, and it is very probable that the most fascinatin part of the story was imagined by an editor in the interests reverence and edification,—in fact, that the process of convertin David into a saint had already begun. That later ages we profoundly shocked at David's action is a proof of the pro dential education of Israel to be the greatest of moral teache The Chronicler shows his own feeling very clearly by omitt the narrative altogether, though, had he accepted the vie adopted in the late heading of Ps. 51, he would have show

[1] The event must have been subsequent to David's forei war: the king has no longer any enemy to fear. On the stat ment of the boundaries of the kingdom in 2 S. 24 5-7 s TAHTIM-HODSHI, DAN-JAAN, and on the literary criticism chap. 24, see SAMUEL, ii. § 6.

[2] It is clear, however, from 2 S. 3 28 *f.*, 14 1-10, that hi sympathies were against this barbarous usage.

David to be more nearly a saint than he appears to us in almost any part of the Chronicler's biography.

The effects of David's sin lasted to the close of his life, for the undue influence of Bathsheba is conspicuous in the sad story of the competition for David's crown. Even apart from this, however, the royal princes could not but display the faults due to their birth and education. The narrative is impartially exact. We shudder at the brutal passion of Amnon, and the shameless counsel of the wily Jonadab. If a brilliant suggestion of Ewald may be accepted, we see the 'inauspicious expression,' or in plain English the black scowl that for two long years rested on the face of Absalom,[1] and the panic of the court when the blow was struck, and Amnon was assassinated in the midst of his brethren. Not less valuable psychologically is the graphic description of Absalom's unfilial revolt (see ABSALOM, 1).

On the tragic death of the popular favourite, better thoughts came to David's people, who bethought themselves of the many occasions on which he had saved them from their enemies. The men of Judah, however, took the opportunity of putting forward that claim to precedence (2 S. 19 41-43) which the king's policy had steadily ignored, and a rupture ensued between north and south, which, but for Joab's energy, might have led to a second and more dangerous rebellion (see, however, SHEBA, ii. 1). After this nothing seems to have occurred to trouble the peace of the kingdom. David had not many more years to live, for Absalom's rebellion must have occurred near the last decade of his father's life (Kittel, *Hist.* 2 175). The closing scene in the biography (1 K. 1 1-2 11) represents David as decrepit and bedridden, and an easy prey to the partizans of Solomon. The unedifying account of the palace-intrigue (see ADONIJAH, 1), which placed Bathsheba's son upon the throne, and was followed by the execution of Adonijah and Joab, shocked the Chronicler's sense of reverence. He therefore (as also perhaps the author of a lost Midrash on which he bases his work) substitutes for it a great religious function, in which David plays the leading part, and Solomon appears as the meek recipient of much highly spiritual advice and of minute instructions as to the building of the temple (1 Ch. 22-29).

We have now to estimate the character of David.[2] We may safely assert that, if the narratives can in the main be trusted, no ancient Israelite exercised such a personal charm as David, and that he owed this not merely to his physical but also to his moral qualities. In him the better elements of the Israelitish character start at once into a new life. There are some points in him that repel us; in these he is the child of the past. There is more in him that attracts us; in this he is a herald of the future. One of the later writers who have contributed to the story of Saul and David describes the latter as 'a man according to God's mind' (1 S. 13 14), which means, as the context interprets it, one in whom Yahwe God of Israel has found the qualities of a leader of his people (cp Jer. 3 15). That David was an

12. David's character.

[1] On 2 S. 13 32 see Ew. *Hist.* 3 172. The suggestion is given in fuller form by Dr. *FBS* 234, whose only doubt is whether a word (*Ta'mun*) meaning in itself simply "unluckiness" could be used absolutely to signify a "token of unluckiness" for others.' WRS (DAVID, *EB*[1]) accepted the view; Wi. and Bu. are also attracted by it. The present writer prefers Ew.'s alternative suggestion, viz., to read שִׁמְמָה instead of שִׂמְמָה (Kt) or שִׁיר (Kr.); but עָלָיו remains unexplained. Almost certainly Graetz is right. Read, with him, מִמְּשִׂמְחָה . . . עָלָיו, 'for hostility was in Absalom's heart'; cp ⊕ 1.

[2] The most helpful characterisation of David from a moderate traditional point of view is that of Köh. *Lehrb. der bibl. Gesch.* ii 1 184-188 373 ('84). Owing to the progress of criticism, however, all the earlier sketches of David's character need a thorough revision. A bridge between the old and the new is offered in Cheyne's *Adc* 16-73, where the results of recent criticism of the Books of Samuel and of the Psalter are presupposed, and all that is still tenable in the earlier estimates of David is restated. See also ISRAEL, §§ 15-22.

honest and vigorous ruler both in peace and in war, the evidence given above sufficiently shows. In after-times his name became the symbol of a righteous rule (Jer. 23 5), and further criticism of the records has only confirmed the eulogy given to David by Robertson Smith in 1877 that his administration of justice 'was never stained by selfish considerations or motives of personal rancour.'[1] Nor does he deserve to be blamed for his cruelty to Israel's foreign enemies, when we consider the imperfect development of the idea of morality in his time, and the fate that would have been in store for himself and his people, had the conquerors and the conquered changed places. He doubtless thought it absolutely necessary to cripple Israel's cruel and malicious neighbours; to the Canaanites at his own door he was gentle.[2] Compare him with Sargon or Ashur-bani-pal, in whom cruelty was joined to the lust of conquest, and how great is his moral superiority! Nor can we easily admit a doubt as to the genuineness of his religion. He lived in the fear of God, according to the standard of his times.

The generous elevation of David's character is seen most clearly in those parts of his life where an inferior nature would have been most at fault: in his conduct towards Saul (with which the story of RIZPAH is in no way inconsistent), in the blameless reputation of himself and his band of outlaws in the wilderness of Judah, in his repentance (which we so greatly desire to believe) under the rebuke of Nathan, and in his noble and truly religious bearing on the revolt of Absalom, the accuracy of the account of which is guaranteed by the antique elements which it contains. His unfailing insight into character, and his power of winning men's hearts and touching their better impulses, appear in innumerable traits of the history (*v. s.*; 2 S. 14 18-20 3 31-39 23 15-17). His knowledge of men was the divination of a poet rather than the acquired genius of a statesman, and his capacity for rule stood in harmonious unity with his lyrical genius. But was David really a poet? Did he, like the Arabian prince Imra' al-Kais, fascinate his half-primitive people by song? The old tradition knows him as a musician (1 S. 16 14-23); late editors of the psalms, but not Amos (as most have supposed[3]), as a poet. Several poems, too, are ascribed to his authorship in the Books of Samuel, and those who inserted them had a very definite belief on the subject (see SAMUEL, ii. § 7). One

13. Was he a poet?

[1] It would be a strange exception to this rule if out of pure vindictiveness David urged his son Solomon to put certain persons who had injured him to death (1 K. 2 1-9). Three answers may be given to this charge. (1) If David spoke in substance these words, it was because he feared to leave Joab's bloodshedding unexpiated and Shimei's solemn curse unneutralised by the death of the offenders: continued clemency would, according to the prevalent belief, have been dangerous. (2) The words ascribed to David imply a vigour of mind and a regard for the interests of the kingdom which the narrative does not permit us to assume in the dying king. After neglecting to communicate with the elders of Israel and Judah respecting the successor to the throne, it is not likely that David's mental powers suddenly rallied, so as to enable him to make this forcible and even eloquent speech. (3) This is precisely one of the occasions on which a narrator was likely to invent. Solomon needed to be excused to unfriendly readers for having put Joab and Shimei to death. The excuse (which in the narrator's view was perfectly valid) could best be given by introducing it into a last speech of David.

[2] The allusion is to Araunah, or rather Adonijah, as the name should probably be read. See ARAUNAH.

[3] Even the MT of Ps. 56 only [illegible] Like David, they devise for themselves instruments of (*i.e.* to accompany) song.' This does not suit the context, which says, who chant (read, בְּמִזְמֹרוֹת; cp 5 2; 4 fell out) to the sound of the harp,' and then speaks of the wine-bibbing and the rich unguents. Some detail of the [illegible] must be referred to in Ps. 56. All but the last word may [illegible] the conjecture of an ancient editor (before ⊕ was made), who found the letters of his text almost illegible. On ⊕ see Wellhausen, *Z ATW* [illegible] Probably the verse should read thus, בְּמִזְמֹרוֹת עֲשִׂיתָ נֵגֶן מִקְדָּשׁ לְקוֹל שִׁיר 'with (?) play on the timbrel and harp, and [illegible] at the sound of song.' Like David, [illegible] P. Peters and Winckler have independently [illegible]. Cp Is. 5 12, and especially Job 21 12; [illegible] Am. 6 23.

of them—the deeply-felt elegy on Saul and Jonathan—was taken from the so-called Book of JASHAR (*q.v.*, § 2), and another—the short elegy on Abner—may have been copied from the same book. These occur in 2 S. 1 19-27 and 3 33 *f.* respectively. They have an antique air and are worthy of David. Whether any religious elements formerly present have been removed, we cannot say; but there is no special reason to think so. That the song of triumph in 2 S. 22 (= Ps. 18) and the 'last words of David' in 23 1-7 (both highly religious compositions) are Davidic, is not, on grounds of criticism, tenable. Nor can any of the psalms in the Psalter be ascribed with any probability to David. The eager search for possible Davidic psalms seems to be a proof that the seekers have taken up the study of the Psalter at the wrong end. That David composed religious songs is of course probable enough. When he and his companions 'played before Yahwè with all their might, and with songs and with (divers musical instruments),'[1] it is reasonable to conjecture that 'some of these songs had been made for the purpose by the poet-king.'[2] But how much resemblance would these psalms have had to the psalms of the second temple? and how could the David known to us from history have entered into the ideas of Psalms 32 and 51, which are assigned by Delitzsch and Orelli to the sad period of David's great sin? Would not that have been one of the greatest of miracles? See PSALMS.

[In the above sketch sentences have been here and there borrowed from the late Robertson Smith's art. 'David' in the *EB*, especially where David's character and his originality as a ruler are referred to. The advance of criticism since 1877 required a fresh survey of the subject. On Renan's view of David in his *Hist. d'Israel*, see WRS *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1888, p. 134 *f.* Duncker (*Hist. of Ant.* vol. ii.) is hardly less unsympathetic than Renan, and his narrative needs adjustment to the results of critical analysis. St.'s *GVI* 1 223-298, and We.'s *Prol.*, ET, 261-272, and *JG*[3] 56-64, are of the highest importance. Wi.'s *GI* 1 is fresh and original, but often rash. Cheyne's *Aids* ('92), part 1, relates to the David-narratives; Ki.'s analysis in Kau. *HS*, the results of which are tabulated in chap. 1, is provisionally adopted. See also Dr. *TBS* ('90); Kamph., *Philister und Hebräer zur Zeit Davids*, *ZATW* ['86] 43-97; Marquart's *Fundamente* ('97); and the articles in this Dictionary on Samuel and Chronicles (with the books there referred to). Prof. W. R. Smith's article in *EB*[9] should be taken with the corresponding portion of Ewald's *History*. Chandler's *Life of David* (1st ed. 1766) gives answers to the very real difficulties suggested by Pierre Bayle which are now superseded. St helin's *Leben David's* ('69) is recommended by Robertson Smith for the numerous parallels adduced from Oriental history. The late H. A. White's art. in Hastings' *DB* has great merit. For an account of David as a tactician, see Dieulafoy's monograph.] T. K. C.

DAVID, CITY OF (עִיר דָּוִד), 2 Sam. 5 7 1 K. 2 10 See JERUSALEM.

DAY. Among the ancients the day was reckoned in a great variety of ways. 'The Babylonians reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the Athenians from sunset to sunset, the Umbrians from noon to noon, the common people everywhere from dawn to dark, the Roman priests and those by whom the civil day has been defined, as also the Egyptians and Hipparchus, from midnight to midnight' (Plin. *HN* 2 79, § 188). 'From dawn to dark' (*a mane ad tenebras*) was the ancient and ordinary meaning of a day (יוֹם) among the Israelites; night, as being the time 'when no man can work' (Jn. 9 4), might, it was considered, be left out of account altogether, or, at all events, as being the evident complement of the 'day' and involved in it, did not require explicit mention. Thus the word 'day' came to have a twofold meaning, at one time signifying the period from sunrise to sunset, at another including day's inseparable accompaniment, the night, and embracing the whole period from one sunrise to the next. Only in cases where the context had to be brought out, or there was risk of ambiguity, was it necessary to name the night (לַיְלָה) expressly, as, for example, in Gen. 7 12 31 39. Apart from this and the combination of יוֹם and לַיְלָה, the Hebrews possessed no expression for the civil day as including day and night; for the designation עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, 'evening and morning,' which makes its first appearance in the second century B.C. (Dan. 8 14), equivalent to the Greek νυχθήμερον (2 Cor. 11 25), is but a combination precisely similar to the older יוֹם and לַיְלָה.

1. Ancient reckoning.

The Israelites regarded the morning as the beginning of the day; in the evening the day 'declined' or 'went down,' and until the new day (בֹּקֶר, 'morning') broke it was necessary to 'tarry all night' (cp Judg. 19 6-9 and the series in Nu. 11 32, 'all that day and all the night and all the next day'). Not till post-exilic times do we find traces of a new mode of reckoning which makes the day begin at sunset and continue till the sunset following. In P, it is true, the expression 'day and night' (*e.g.*, Lev. 8 35 Nu. 9 21) is unhesitatingly used, not 'night and day,' and the evening following the fourteenth day of the first month is regarded as the evening of the day (Ex. 12 18); but Lev. 23 32 certainly reckons the day as extending from evening to evening, and the same mode of reckoning seems to have been in the mind of the writer (P) when, after describing the work of each day he invariably adds, 'So there was evening and there was morning, a first [second, third, etc.] day' (Gen. 1 5 8 13 etc., וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד, שֵׁנִי, שְׁלִישִׁי). The later mode of reckoning is shown also in the above-mentioned expression in Dan. 8 14 (עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר), in the order of the words 'evening, morning, noon' in Ps. 55 17 [18], and in the 'night and day,' 'night or day,' of the late passages Is. 27 3 34 10 Esth. 4 16.[1] In connection with this later Jewish custom one has to remember the importance which the new moon (visible only in the evening) has for the Israelites in the determination of their feasts, and it must not be forgotten that other ancient peoples who observed lunar divisions of time (Athenians, Gaulish Germans) also began their day with evening. At the same, it is undeniably a somewhat unnatural mode of reckoning, and as far as Israel is concerned can have come into use only when it was desired to fix times with legal and uniform precision for the nation at large.

2. Its subdivision among the Israelites.

The ancient Israelites had no precise subdivision of the day for accurate measurement of time. They designated the various periods of the day by the natural changes which marked its successive stages, or by the successive occupations in ordinary daily routine. Thus it was in the nature of things that morning (בֹּקֶר), midday (צָהֳרַיִם), and evening (עֶרֶב) should be distinguished, and equally so that morning should be spoken of as the rising of the [illegible] the breaking of the day (Gen. 1 [illegible], 32 24 [illegible]), the rising of the sun (Gen. 19 23; 32 31 [illegible]), the [illegible] of the day (Gen. 18 1 1 S. 11 11) or the [illegible] of the day [E V the perfect day] (Prov. 4 18); afternoon, the time of the day's decline (Judg. 19 8); and evening, the time of the going down of the sun (Gen. 15 12 [illegible]) or 'the wind of the day' or evening breeze (Gen. 3 8 Cant. 2 17 [illegible] day is cool] 4 6). Specially noticeable is the expression בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם, 'between the two evenings,' met with [illegible]

[1] 2 S. 6 5. We emend, with Klost., after 1 Ch. 13 8.
[2] Che. *Ps.* 192.

[1] In Dt. 28 66 Jer. 14 17 the original text had 'day and night' (see ⊕); a late transcriber substituted 'night and day' [illegible] with the [illegible] expression current [illegible]

P (Ex. 12 6 16 12 29 39 41 30 8 Lev. 23 5 Nu. 9 3 5 11 28 4 8), which can mean only 'towards evening,' 'about the evening time,' since it is used to indicate the same period that is called in Dt. 16 6 the time of the going down of the sun (cp Ex. 12 6 Nu. 9 5 11). Whether the form ought to be taken as a dual, and 'the two evenings' understood as meaning 'the evening of the sun and the evening of its still visible light,' may be left an open question; but it is important to note that the evening sacrifice prescribed by the law to be made בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם—*i.e.*, towards evening (Ex. 29 39 41 Nu. 28 4 8)—was offered in the first century of our era in the afternoon between half-past two and half-past three (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4 3 and Mishna, *Pesahim* 5 1; also Acts 3 1 10 3 30, where the prayer associated with the evening sacrifice also is made at the ninth hour), and that only the Samaritans and Karaites maintain the old correct interpretation. The change possibly may not have taken place till after the Maccabean period; for in Daniel (9 21) the daily offering is still spoken of as מִנְחַת עֶרֶב, 'the evening oblation,' and no place in the OT gives any hint of a change (cp on the other hand, the reminiscences of psalmody by night in the temple: 1 Ch. 9 33 23 30 Ps. 92 2 3 [3 4] 134 1; cp 119 62). By reference to functions of daily recurrence, morning is called 'the time of incense' (Lk. 1 10); the middle of the afternoon, the time of the offering of the Minha (1 K. 18 29 36); and the evening, 'the time that women go out to draw water' (Gen. 24 11), or 'the time of the evening oblation' (Dan. 9 21; cp Ezra 9 4 *f.*). Cp also 'cock-crowing' as denoting early morning (Mk. 14 30 72).

3. The term 'hour.' The OT affords no evidence that the Israelites divided their day into twelve hours as the Babylonians did. The sundial (?) of Ahaz (2 K. 20 9-11 Is. 38 8), whatever it was (see DIAL), did not lead to a more accurate measurement of time on the part of the people, and even at so late a date as that of Daniel (4 16 5 5) the Aramaic word שָׁעָה ('hour') does not mean any exact portion of time. Reckoning by hours is met with first in the NT, where the day consists of twelve hours (Jn. 11 9) or twelfths simply designated as first [second, etc.] of the day, reckoned as beginning at sunrise (cp Acts 2 15 Mt. 20 3 5 6 27 45 46 etc.). The hour was thus with the Jews a variable quantity, as it was also with the Babylonians, the twelfth part of the day ranging from forty-nine to seventy-one minutes according to the season of the year. The division of the day into twelve parts and the further development of the sexagesimal system as a whole had commended itself to the Babylonians from their observation that, at the vernal equinox, the time between the appearance of the first direct ray of the sun and that of visibility of the entire disk above the [illegible] amounted to a 360th of the whole time during which the sun was visible in the heavens, or the 720th part of a full day reckoned from one sunrise to another.

Equal divisions of the night were of older date than equal divisions of the day. Three night-watches were

4. Night-watches. recognised: the first (רֹאשׁ אַשְׁמֹרֶת; Lam. 2 19), the middle (הָאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַתִּיכוֹנָה; Judg. 7 [illegible] watch, lit. 'guards, middle watch'), Ex. 14 [illegible] אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר; Ex. 14 24 1 S. 11 11). From the NT we learn that in the first century of our era [illegible] Roman division into four watches had in [illegible] superseded the old division into three. Mk. 13 35 [illegible] ὀψέ, κοκκορυσμός, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτοροφωνία; cp [illegible] 14 [illegible] Mk. 6 48 Lk. 12 [illegible] cp Acts 12 [illegible] From the beginning of the day [illegible] twelve hour the [illegible] division of the night was [illegible] Lk. 21 36 [illegible] cp also Acts 16 25 Lk. 12 [illegible] and [illegible] the parallel in Mk. 13 [illegible] Luke speaks of 'watches,' not 'hours.'

'Day' is sometimes used in a half-mythical sense. Thus in Hos. 2 17 [illegible] it means 'the day of Yahweh' [illegible] Jer. [illegible] Lam. 1 15 [illegible] Ps. 27 [illegible] day of [illegible] Is. 9 3 [4] 'day of battle.' On the expression 'day of Yahweh' in Joel

1 15 Ezek. 13 5 Is. 2 12) and 'day of judgment' (2 Pet. 3 7 ἡμέρα κρίσεως) see ESCHATOLOGY, i. Paul uses the expression ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα (1 Cor. 4 3) in contrast to ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου (Lk. 17 24 1 Cor. 1 8 [see Var. Bib.]; ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, Rev. 1 10: see Lord's DAY) to mean an ordinary 'day of trial' (Grimm[3] compares *Landtag*, *Reichstag*). See art. 'Tag' in Winer's *HWB*, as also in *PRE*, and Riehm's *HWB*; Benzinger, *HA* 202 *f.*; Nowack, *HA* 1 214 *f.*; Herzfeld, *GVI* (57) 2 184 *f.* and Schürer, *GVI* 2 234 3rd ed. 2 290. K. M.

DAY'S JOURNEY (דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם, Nu. 11 31; ΗΜΕΡΑϹ ΟΔΟϹ, Lk. 2 44). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. For 'sabbath day's journey,' see SABBATH, § 4, n.

DAYSMAN (מוֹכִיחַ), Job 9 33 EV; EV[mg]. UMPIRE (see Murray under 'daysman'; Davidson quotes Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, ii. 8 28). ⓢ[LXX] renders by *μεσίτης καὶ ἐλέγχων*. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10.

DAY STAR. 1. (הֵילֵל; ΕΩϹΦΟΡΟϹ), Is. 14 12 RV; 2. (ΦΩϹΦΟΡΟϹ), 2 Pet. 1 19. See LUCIFER.

DEACON and DEACONESS (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟϹ).

I. *The Word.*—We may consider first the use of the word and of its cognates.

In the Gospels the word *διάκονος* is used (1) literally, of a servant who prepares or serves a meal, Mt. 22 1 3, Jn. 2 5 9; (2) metaphorically (Mk. 9 35 10 43 Mt. 23 11 20 26, Jn. 12 26). It is never used by Lk. who, in what seems a palpable effort to save St. Mk., prefers the participle ὁ διακονῶν (22 27); in one place (10 40), however, he uses διακονία of the preparation of a meal. The verb (διακονεῖν) is likewise used (1) literally, of preparing or supplying food (Mk. 1 13 Mt. 4 11 [illegible] 1 31 (Lk. Mt. Lk.), Lk. 10 40 12 37 17 8 Jn. 1 [illegible] Mt. 2 44 (other more wide's), and death somewhat [illegible] Mk. [illegible] Mt. 27 55 Lk. 8 3) of the women who [illegible] his journeyings in Galilee; (2) metaphorically (Lk. 22 27 [illegible] Jn. 12 26).

1. Usage in Gospels.

The ordinary word for a servant in the Gospel is δοῦλος, a bond-servant or slave; but a δοῦλος [illegible] called [illegible] to διακονεῖν (Lk. 17 7 [illegible]), and [illegible] may be termed διάκονος (Mt. 22 8 10 12). [illegible] arises from [illegible] to a master; διάκονος, per [illegible] The latter word is free from the [illegible] the former. It was thus fitted for adoption as the description of any form of Christian service rendered to Christ or to his [illegible]

[illegible] in Acts we find διακονία frequently in this sense: Acts 1 17 25, the διακονία of apostleship; 6 1, the daily διακονία by which the needs of the poorer brethren w[illegible]

2. In Acts.

[illegible] the διακονία is used of the help in the famine rendered by Antioch to the brethren in Judæa (a sense which recurs in Paul's epistles). In 29 4 P[illegible] speaks [illegible] διακονία which [illegible] God has wr[illegible] διάκονος [illegible] in Lk.), but διακονία [illegible] serving [illegible] Timothy and Erastus, who [illegible] Paul [illegible]

[illegible] the four chronological groups of the Pauline epistles, the [illegible] the word for its cognates is 1 Thess. [illegible] διάκονος [illegible]

3. In Epistles.

[illegible] *hitherto* [illegible] used in the gospel [illegible] the words are freely used [illegible] whom ye [illegible] are spoken [illegible] 12 [illegible] that the words [illegible] In 2 Cor. the [illegible] where the [illegible] the [illegible] διακονία [illegible] the same [illegible] the [illegible] the latter [illegible]

also is inserted); similarly, 'Epaphras, who is a faithful διάκονος, on our behalf, of Christ' (Col. 1 7). 'The work of διακονία is referred to in the widest sense in Eph. 4 12; and in Col. 4 17 Archippus receives the message: 'Look to the διακονία which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou mayest fulfil it.' In Philemon Paul says of Onesimus the runaway slave, 'that on thy behalf he may minister to me' (διακονῇ, v. 13). In Philippians the only instance is of special importance; for the epistle is addressed 'to all the saints . . . in Philippi, together with ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι' (1 1).

The fourth group consists of the Pastoral Epistles; and here the general sense of the words is still the most frequent. The apostle thanks God (1 Tim. 1 12) for having appointed him unto διακονία. Timothy is to be a good διάκονος of Christ Jesus (4 6), and is charged to fulfil his διακονία (2 Tim. 4 5). Of Onesiphorus the apostle recalls how he 'ministered' in Ephesus (1 18); and of Mark he says, 'he is useful to me for διακονία' (4 11). On the other hand, the passage of most importance for our purpose is the code of regulations laid down in 1 Tim. 3 8-13 for a class of persons who are definitely designated διάκονοι.

Before considering these regulations we may return to Rom. 16 1, 'I commend to you Phœbe our sister, who is [also] διάκονος of the church which is in Cenchreæ.' It is possible to interpret the word here either in the general sense in which Paul uses it so often, or in the official sense which we find in the later epistles to the Philippians and to Timothy. It is no objection to the official sense that the person so designated is a woman; for we shall presently see that at Ephesus the Order included deacons of either sex.

4. Case of Phœbe.

On the other hand, since there is not in the two earlier groups of Paul's epistles any other indication that διακονία is a special office in the Church, this, which occurs in the second group, would be a solitary and somewhat puzzling exception. Moreover, as Cenchreæ was the E. port of Corinth, this case practically belongs to the Corinthian church. In that church special mention is made of the διακονία of Stephanas and his household, the word διακονία being used in its broadest sense. There also Chloe and her household were of note. It may be, therefore, that Phœbe was another woman of influence who held a corresponding pre-eminence of service in the neighbouring port, a pre-eminence that earned for her at the apostle's hands the honourable title of διάκονος of the church; for she had been a helper (perhaps we should render it 'a patroness,' προστάτις) of many and of the apostle himself. If we could assume that the diaconate was formally established in the Corinthian church at this time, we should certainly conclude that Phœbe was one of the women who served it; but this assumption is in sharp contrast with the silence of Paul's epistles as to any kind of definite ecclesiastical organisation at Corinth.

Of Phœbe, then, we may say with security that she is a witness to the important services rendered by women in the primitive Church; but in tracing the history of the diaconate it will not be wise to assume that the word διάκονος is used of her in the strictly official sense. As a matter of historical evidence this passage must be left out of the count as being, at any rate, uncertain testimony. For a technical diaconate in Paul's writings we are thus reduced to two passages, Phil. 1 1 and 1 Tim. 3 8-13.

II. *Origin and functions of the Diaconate.*—The first recognition of any need of organisation in the Christian community occurs in connection with the daily meal in Jerusalem (see CHURCH, § 11). The word deacon is not applied in Acts to the seven men who were on this occasion appointed to the service of the poor;[1] we have already noted that διάκονος does nor occur in Lk. or Acts. Nevertheless, by the later Church tradition, they were constantly regarded as the earliest deacons; and so strong was this feeling that the number of deacons in some churches was limited to seven. Names apart, they truly represented the essential feature of the diaconate, as the Church's organ for service to her poorer members. In other communities, especially in the Greek world, this service was destined to take a different form; but the deacons of the Pauline epistles at Philippi and Ephesus had a similar function, though the circumstances in which they discharged it were very dissimilar. The definite title is met with first in the Greek churches, and here the order from its commencement is found to include the services of men and women alike. The admission of women to the diaconate could scarcely have [illegible] in the Jewish communities; but it was probably felt to be natural in places where women [illegible] in social [illegible] recorded a larger liberty. W[illegible] the germ of the institution in the appointment of the Seven in Jerusalem, we must

5. Origin of Diaconate.

[1] Cp Hatch, *Early Christian*[illegible]

look to the Greek churches for the development of definite and permanent order.

As the personal ministry of Paul drew to a close, a as it became evident that the 'return' of Christ w indefinitely postponed, it was natural that ecclesiasti organisation should assume a new and increasing i portance. It is in harmony with this that we find t apostle in a later epistle recognising expressly 't bishops and deacons' at Philippi, very much as had recognised the 'episcopate' of the presbyters Ephesus, when he thought that he should see the again no more (Acts 20 28). 'Those who ruled,' ar 'those who served' under them, were coming to for definite classes, to which the natural designations overseers (ἐπίσκοποι) and servants (διάκονοι) were be ginning to be formally appropriated. Accordingly, i the first epistle to Timothy the apostl lays down regulations for the tw classes under these titles. The differences in th regulations help to show us the nature of the function to be discharged in the two cases (1 Tim. 3 1-13). Th rules which should govern the choice of deacons mus be cited in full

6. Functions.

'Deacons in like manner must be grave, not double-tongued not given to much wine, not eager for petty gains, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And they too are first to be tested, and then to minister, if they be irreproach able. Women in like manner must be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Deacons are to be husbands of one wife, ruling well their children and their own houses; for they that have ministered well acquire a good standing for themselves and much boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'

The essence of these regulations is that deacons, whether men or women, must be persons of character, who can rule their tongues and are temperate in the use of wine. Trustworthiness is demanded of the woman, as strict honesty is of the man: this doubtless points to the fact that Church moneys would pass through their hands. Deacons are to know what they believe, and to live in accordance with it; but no aptitude for teaching is demanded of them, nor any qualifications for exercising discipline. The service of the deacons is the house to house service, which deals primarily with temporal wants.

In the AV the women spoken of here are represented as the wives of the deacons. This interpretation puts a serious strain on the original Greek, and it is now generally abandoned. It finds no parallel in any demand for special qualifications in the wives of bishops. It belongs to a period when the diaconate of women had been wholly lost sight of; and it cannot be maintained in face of the fact that women were undoubtedly admitted to this office in the early ages of the Church's history.

For the later confusion between deaconesses and widows, see WIDOW; and for a full historical account of the female diaconate see *The Ministry of Deaconesses* by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson (98).

J. A. R.

DEAD, THE, and DEATH. The preliminaries may first be briefly considered. To kiss the dead (Gen. 50 1) and to close their eyes (Gen. 46 4) and mouth (Mishna, *Shab.* 23 5) immediately after death was looked upon as a deed of natural piety. In NT times the body was washed (Acts 9 37), anointed with sweet-smelling ointments (Mk. 16 1 Lk. 24 1 Jn. 12 7), and wrapped in linen cloth (Mt. 27 59 Mk. 15 46 Lk. 23 53), or the hands and feet were bound with grave-clothes and the head covered with a napkin (Jn 11 44). The age of these customs must remain uncertain, as they are not alluded to in OT; but the old belief that in Sheôl the dead would be known by their dress, the king by his diadem, the soldier by his sword, the prophet by his mantle (1 S. 28 14 Ezek. 32 27), leads to the inference that the dead were buried dressed as in life. In later times delicate foods, ornaments, gold and silver, and all kinds of valuables were placed with the body in the graves of

1. Disposal of the dead.

princes and nobles[1] (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 3 4). If what we read (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 4 xvi. 7 1) as to the plundering of David's grave by Hyrcanus and Herod is to be accepted this custom also is very old. EMBALMING [q.v.] was not in use. On sacrifices to the dead, cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 3.

The usual method of disposing of the dead was by burial (Gen. 23 19 25 9 35 8 Judg. 2 9 8 32 etc.). In 1 S. 31 12 13, where we read of the burning of the body of Saul, the text is corrupt (see Kittel *ad loc.*; also the case with Am. 6 10).[2] Burial was looked upon as something abominable in an opposite to the ordinary (Am. 2 1). It was used by priestly law and old custom only in a few cases, to render the death a heinous more severe (Josh. 7 25 Lev. 20 14 21 9); cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. The aversion to the burning of the body was connected with the belief that the soul even after death was bound to the body. Not to be buried was a terrible disgrace which one could hardly wish even to his greatest enemy (Am. 2 1 1 K. 13 22 14 11 16 4 [illegible] 9 10 Is 33 12 Jer. 7 32 8 2 9 22 [23] 14 16 16 4 Ezek. 29 5). The spirits of the unburied dead wander restlessly about and in Shĕōl are condemned to lie in the corners (Ezek. 32 23 Is. 14 15 etc.). Burial alone so bound the spirit to the body that it had rest and could return no more. It was therefore the sacred duty of every one who found a corpse in the open field to give it burial (1 K. 14 11 16 4 21 24 Jer. 7 33 2 S. 21 10, and especially Tob 1 18 2 3). In cases of death by stoning the pile of stones took the place of a regular grave (Josh. 7 26). Cp the Greek idea as given, for example, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

Rapid interment was necessary on account of the hot climate, and even without express biblical authority we may assume that then, as now, in the East, it usually took place on the day of death (cp Dt. 21 23). The body was carried to the grave on a bier (2 S. 3 31 מִטָּה; Lk 7 14 [σορός]). Coffins were not used by the Israelites (2 K. 13 21); Joseph's bones were placed in a coffin (אָרוֹן; σορός) in conformity with the custom of the Egyptians (Gen. 50 26).[3] The stone coffin (sarcophagus)[4] was adopted by the Jews (as also by the Phœnicians) from the Egyptians long after the exile, but only by the wealthy. The procession of friends, who would of course often be mourners,[5] was accompanied by hired mourners singing lamentations (2 S. 3 31; cp MOURNING CUSTOMS).[6] The place of burial was determined by the belief that the unity of the family and tribe continued after death. The bodies of those who wished to be reunited with their parents and family in Shĕōl had to be buried in the family sepulchre (see TOMBS, ESCHATOLOGY).

See Benzinger, *Arch.* (94), § 23; Nowack, *HA* (94), § 32; and Bender in *JQR*, 1894 *f.*

I. B.

2. Biblical references. 'Death' (מָוֶת, θανατος) can mean, not only the process or state of death, but also the realm of the dead, 'Death-land.' See Is. 28 15 Hos. 13 14 Ps. 6 5 [6] 9 13 [14] 22 15 [16] 68 20 [21] 89 48 [49] 107 18 Prov. 2 18 7 27 Job 28 22 38 17 Rev. 1 18 6 8 20 13 *f.* In Rev. 6 8 RV prints Death, to correspond to Hades. Both are personifications; cp the later Jewish representations of ABADDON [q.v.] and *Mâweth* ('Death') as two of God's chief angels (cp DESTROYER). 'The dead' in AV corresponds not only to מֵתִים (often) but also to רְפָאִים (Ps. 88 10

[1] On Job 3 15, where some plausibly find an allusion to the treasures in royal tombs, see TOMBS.

[2] See, however, the ingenious suggestions of WP's [illegible] *Sem.*[2] 372. Wellh. is fully conscious of the difficulty of Am. 6 10 (*D. Kl. Propr.*[illegible] 87); also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 48.

[3] In Job 21 32 σορός (bier, coffin) is used in 𝔊A to render גַּיְא, 'tomb' or 'sepulchral mound'; but σωρῶν [BC] or σωρό [𝔅] is the better reading. See TOMBS.

[4] Cp BED, § 3.

[5] Cp Lk. 7 12. Whether we may compare Job 21 33 is uncertain. Di. denies, Duhm affirms this. The whole passage is obscure and not very coherent.

[6] On the mourning-women in primitive Babylonia see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 684. They also washed, prepared, and arranged the dead body.

[illegible] Prov. 2 [illegible] 9 18 21 16 Is. 14 9 26 14 19; inconsistently Job 26 [illegible] 'dead thing') [illegible] RV sometimes has 'they that are deceased' (e.g. Job 26 5, in mg. always 'the shades'; Heb. Rephaim).

We will examine the above passages, beginning with (a) [illegible] which [illegible] RV, [illegible] Davidson, render thus:

> He [illegible]
> He [illegible] and [illegible] thereof.

Davidson comments: [illegible] deep [illegible] waters [illegible] the upper world. Yet the power of God [illegible] from his abode beneath that the [illegible] God (Ps. 88 11) but said scarcely appear [illegible] of the dead. Perhaps we [illegible] (*Times*, 10 362 [May [illegible]]).

> He [illegible] the sea and its billows to start (in alarm),
> He [illegible] the waters and the floods thereof.

(b) In Ps. 88 4 [11] the shades are represented as incapable of praising and praising God. Dean Kirkpatrick sees a reference to the resurrection, an idea which in the psalmist's mind [illegible] (c) Prov. 21 16 no return from the shades. (d) Prov. [illegible] (Dante). (e) Ps. 115 17. [illegible] (f) Is. 14 [illegible] (g) Is. 26 14 [illegible] 'The shades will not rise [illegible] (cp Is. 26 19 [illegible] 'Thy shades will be raised [illegible] earth [illegible] The resurrection [illegible] See [illegible]).

Bottcher (*De inferis*, § 112 *ff.*) [illegible] the word *Rephā'im* רְפָאִים, *prov.* [illegible] The giants are 'hurled' to Shĕōl, and then, as the [illegible] 'Shĕōl' gave them [illegible] Delitzsch, Is. 14 9 and Job 26 [illegible] the transference of the title *Rephā'im* from the giants to all other inhabitants of Death-land. This theory [illegible] takes the [illegible] of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy [illegible] gives [illegible] meaning to רְפָאִים. It also assumes [illegible] a passage in Job 26 which is certainly corrupt. It [illegible] however, hold that *Rephā'im* [illegible] the [illegible] of works [illegible] natural development of רְפָאִים (cp Jer. 6 24 etc.) 'Art thou [illegible] become weak (חֳלִיתָ) as we?' ask the shades (Is. 14 10 RV). But this is [illegible] Hezekiah would hardly have spoken of the spirits of the dead [illegible] the wise ones. 'I see a god coming up out of the earth,' says the wise woman to Saul (1 S. 28 13 RV). The word ought to mean 'the [illegible] or the like. In the later OT books the condition of [illegible] in Shĕōl is portrayed in very gloomy colours; but these books do not express the primitive popular belief. No doubt *Rephā'im* is a mutilated or [illegible] form of some primitive religious term. A sister-form is most probably TERAPHIM [q.v.]. (Cp Sayce, *Herbert Lect.* 4 30, n.)

§ 1 [illegible] B., § 2 [illegible] K. C.

DEAD SEA, THE, the usual English name for the lake in which the course of the Jordan terminates. [illegible]

1. Names. [illegible] nowhere in OT or NT, though it was not uncommon in [illegible] (*ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη*, Philo, *v.* 7; Galen [illegible]; Justin xxxvi. [illegible] 261 and [illegible] Vir. of Josh. 3 16) *mare* [illegible] *mare mortuum*).

In the OT [illegible] lake as [illegible] (יָם) [illegible] in the expression [illegible] 'the Salt sea' (יַם הַמֶּלַח; [illegible] ἡ θάλασσα τοῦ ἁλός, [illegible] ἡ ἁλμυρά, *mare salsum*, *m. salis*, *m. salinum*), [illegible] RV 'sea of the Arabah' (יַם הָעֲרָבָה), [illegible] ἡ θάλασσα [τῆς] Ἀραβά; *mare solitudinis*, *m. deserti*, [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[2] Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and A.* [illegible]

where both designations are employed 'Salt sea' is used to explain the expression 'sea of the Arabah'); and, in three places, 'the eastern [east, former] sea' (הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי: ἡ θάλασσα ἡ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς Φοινικῶνος, ἡ θ. ἡ πρώτη; *mare orientale*).[1] In Dead. Sea. (2 48 19 9) and in Josephus (often; see especially *BJ* iv. 8 4) it is Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη; so also in Pliny (*lacus Asphaltites*; *HN* v. 15 15). Josephus also has ἡ Σοδομῖτις λίμνη (*Ant.* v. 1 22); cp the Sodomitish sea (*mare Sodomiticum*) of 4 Esd. 5 7. This name occurs also in Edrisi (3 5, transl. Jaubert, 1 318), who calls it the sea of Sodom and Gomorrah and the sea of Zaghar (Zoar). Its name in Arabic (at least since the eleventh century) is *Baḥr* (or *Buḥeirat*) *Lūṭ*; but this does not prove the name of Lot to have remained attached to the sea in local tradition for four thousand years. It arises simply from the fact that Lot and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned in the Koran.

From the biblical point of view the Dead Sea is not very important. The references to it in the OT occur generally in topographical connections, especially in delimitations of the eastern frontier of the land of Israel. There are two notable exceptions: (*a*) where it comes into the story of the Cities of the Plain, and (*b*) where it is referred to in the prophetic descriptions of Ezek. 47 and Zech. 14 8. The NT does not refer to it at all.

From the geographical point of view it is otherwise: the interest of this lake is quite extraordinary.

2. Geographical interest. The Jordan valley, running from N. to S., begins to sink below sea-level as far N. as a little below Lake Huleh; the Lake of Galilee is some 680 feet lower, and thence the 'Arābah or Ghōr continues to fall till the surface of the Dead Sea is reached at a distance below the sea of some 1300[2] feet. At the opposite extremity of this lake ends another valley, coming from the S., formerly called the ARABAH [*q.v.*]. Thus the lake constitutes the deepest portion of what is the most strongly marked depression (unconnected with the sea) on the surface of the globe.[3] It has no effluent. Should the question be asked, whether in former times the Jordan (after passing through the Dead Sea) may not have flowed on southward falling at last into the Red Sea (Elanitic Gulf or Gulf of 'Akabah), it may suffice to point out how much below sea-level the Dead Sea is, and, further, that the valley to the S. of the Dead Sea is really t[illegible]. One runs N., the other S., and the intersection [illegible] watershed is at a height of 650 feet above the level of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean (according to the *PEF* survey).[4] Thus the two basins are hydrographically distinct, which is confirmed by a strat[illegible] study of the sedimentary deposits on the valley floor (Lartet).

The geological investigation of Palestine and of the Dead Sea, carried on mainly by Fraas, Lartet, Hull, and Blanckenhorn, has proved, contrary to previous ideas, that the Dead Sea cannot possibly date from the historical epoch, and that it must have presented, at any rate from the beginning of the quaternary epoch, practically the same aspect and configuration as at present. Traces can still be seen, however, of a past time when the water stood as much as 1180 feet above its present level, as well as of another phase in which the difference was only 348 feet; in short, the waters have gradually subsided to their present position.

3. Geological investigation.

The actual level is that at which the evaporation [illegible] counterbalances the daily influx of water from the Jordan and the other affluents. Of these last, the chief, indeed, [illegible] winter torrents, are: (*a*) on the eastern side, reckoning from N. to S., the Wādy Ghuweir, the Wādys Zerkā-Ma'īn (Callirrhoe), Mōjib (Arnon), Beni-Hamīd, ed-Derā'a (Kerak), Numēreh, el-Aḥsā (or es-Ṣāfiyeh); (*b*) on the S., the Wādys Ṭufileh, el-Jeib, el-Fikreh (these three traverse a marshy plain, the Sebkhah, which stretches immediately southwards from the Dead Sea and is bordered by gigantic thickets of reeds); (*c*) on the western side, going from S. to N., the Wādy el-Muḥauwaṭ, the Wādy Seyāl (to the S. of which lies Sebbeh, the ancient fortress of Masada), the spring of 'Ain-Jedy (Engedi), the Wādy en-Nār (Kedron) and the spring of 'Ain el-Feshkhah (cp BETH-ARABAH), to the S. of which is the headland known as Rās el-Feshkhah.

The amount of daily evaporation[1] has been estimated at 13½ millimetres, and the daily contribution of the Jordan alone at 6,000,000 tons (the volume of the Rhone at its influx into the Lake of Geneva is 22,000,000 tons). Another feature of it is its great density, which arises from its salinity (the mean is 1.166). At a depth of 1000 feet the solid matters contained in the water represent 27 per cent of the total weight. These substances are mainly chlorides of sodium, magnesium, and calcium, also certain derivatives of bromium. The chloride of magnesium gives the water a very disagreeable taste; the chloride of calcium gives it its slightly oily consistency. The eyes, and some assert also the skin, are powerfully affected by contact with it. Garments receive from the evaporating water a saline deposit, with indelible spots of an oily appearance. The salt encrusts also the many trees and pieces of wood which lie stranded on the shore; so much so that they form a characteristic feature of the landscape, and recall the striking antithesis in Jer. 17 5-8.

4. Characteristic features. A bath in the Dead Sea at once proves its difference in density from other seas or from fresh-water lakes. Eggs float on it. The human body, being lighter than the water, swimming becomes difficult, the head alone of the swimmer tending to sink. The boiling point of the water is 221° F. It is remarkably limpid, and has a beautiful colour, now blue, now green. To think of this lake as sombre and sad is quite an illusion; its intense colouring, its varied effects of light, its scarped overhanging slopes broken by deep gorges, produce a picture of wild and sublime beauty. 'The scenery round the sea is very fine,' says Conder; 'it is compared, by those who have seen both, to that of the Lake of Geneva.' The present writer, whose home is in Geneva, agrees with this comparison, it being understood that it is between the northern portion of the Dead Sea and the eastern end of the Lake of Geneva towards the embouchure of the Rhone. Another common error about the Dead Sea is that its waters have no motion; on the contrary, it is constantly agitated by the winds, and storms sometimes drive huge billows to the shore. It does not owe its name to this imagined immobility, but rather to the fact that no sort of living creature—fish, crustacean, mollusc, etc.—can subsist in its waters, the only exceptions being certain inferior organisms and microbes, as shown by the investigations of Ehrenberg and of the zoologist Lortet (not to be confused with the geologist L[illegible]). This fact—which is conclusively proved by the dead [illegible] not only of the fish carried down into it by the Jordan, but their bodies serve as food for numerous birds which frequent the neighbourhood), but also of salt-water [illegible] has given rise to various incorrect ideas. Thus [illegible] been said that birds attempting to fly over it drop down dead; this is a mere imagination—a fable which [illegible] the present writer is [illegible] from ocular testimony—or perhaps it may [illegible] a confusion with some other lake [illegible] 14 ff.). It is equally false to say that the [illegible] Sea derive their barrenness from the [illegible] its waters. What hinders the [illegible] its vicinity is not the presence of the [illegible] the absence of fresh water whether from [illegible] or by precipitation. Wherever there is fresh

[1] Notwithstanding the contrary [illegible] of the [illegible] in *ZDPV*, 1898, 112-13, it is certain that הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן in Dt. 34 2 (AV 'the utmost sea'; RV 'the hinder sea', mg. 'the western sea') is not the Dead Sea, [illegible]

[2] The (not very wide) [illegible] most part be explained by differences [illegible] one season and another, which can cause the level of the lake to rise or fall some 10 or 15 feet. It is at its highest in April and May.

[3] The discovery of the great depth of the surface of the Dead Sea [illegible] hand, and Moore [illegible]

[4] The distance [illegible] 46 m., and to the Dead Sea over [illegible] m.

[1] The evaporation produces whitish or bluish clouds which float above the water. Hence 'a smoking waste' (Wisd. 10 7) [illegible]

running water, as at Engedi, where there is a thermal spring (79° F.), vegetation flourishes (cp Cant. 1 14) and, as elsewhere throughout the Ghor, exhibits a combination of tropical plants with others belonging to the Mediterranean region. Finally, the scant population of its shores is to be accounted for more by the torrid temperature (above 100° F. in the shade) than by any infertility or positive insalubrity.

In fact, the lake has not always been so deserted: witness, for example, the town of TAMAR at the SW. extremity. Even the shores of the Sea of Galilee have gradually come to be wholly abandoned except in three or four localities. The shores of the Dead Sea too had once a very different aspect. Both in antiquity (we learn this from Tac. *Hist.* 5 6 and also from the Madeba mosaic) and so recently as the time of the Crusades when Kerak and other fortresses had such an important position, the waters of the Dead Sea were enlivened with passing vessels. Nor were the curative qualities of the water of the Dead Sea unknown in the Roman period. Julius Africanus speaks of these baths as wholesome (Reland, 253 f.), as also does Galen (*ib.* 241 f.), who (wrongly) adds that an artificial substitute could be obtained by the simple expedient of saturating ordinary sea water with added salt. Mention is often made of the mephitic odour exhaled by the Dead Sea (see NIBSHAN); but it has not been shown that the lake itself is the cause of this. It may be occasioned either by the marshy lagoons by which the lake is bordered, or by the mineral springs of the neighbourhood. The sulphurous odour, which reminds one of that of rotten eggs, is particularly noticeable near 'Ain el-Feshkhah.

5. Dimensions. The lake, as we have seen, lies N. and S., with a maximum length of 47½ m., a maximum breadth of 10 m. (Josephus gives 66 and 17 m. respectively) and a superficial area of 360 sq. m. (the Lake of Geneva being 224 sq. m.). It is divided into two unequal portions by a peninsula, 11-12 m. in length and about 40-80 ft. above the level of the lake, flat for the most part, but with a range of hills rising 300 ft. This peninsula, formed of white calcareous marl, with deposits of salt and gypsum, projects from the E. shore; it is separated from the W. shore by a channel about 3 m. in breadth. The name of the peninsula is el-Mozra'ah or el-Lisān; the last designation, meaning 'the tongue,' has been brought into connection with the mention of the bay (EV 'the bay' mg.: 'Heb. tongue') that looketh southward' in Josh. 15 5; but whilst the modern Arabic term is applied to the land in the middle of the lake the two biblical passages refer to the water at the two ends of the lake (cp 18 19, 'the tongue of the Jordan').

The N. promontory of the Lisān has been named Cape Costigan after the S. Cape Molineux in honour of two British explorers who navigated the Dead Sea in 1835 and 1847 respectively. We ought also to mention the expeditions of Moses and Beck in 1837 and of Symonds in 1841, and especially that of Lieut. Lynch of the U.S. navy in 1848 and that of the Duc de Luynes in 1864, both of which were of great importance.[1]

The portion of the Dead Sea to the N. of the Lisān is much the larger, and reaches a great depth (12-18 ft.). The S. smaller portion is quite shallow (10-18 ft.), and in parts even fordable. Possibly this portion is of less ancient date than the rest of the lake, and may have arisen within historic times in consequence of some subsidence of the land. The shores immediately bordering on this section are the most saline of the whole country. There are salt marshes in the neighbourhood, and it is there that, running parallel with the W. shore, the curious range of rock salt, a veritable *mers d'avaine*, Lartet (p. 87) picturesquely calls it, occurs. It is called Jebel Usdum or Hajar-Usdum or Khasm-Usdum,—thus echoing the name of Sodom,—and rises to a height of 600 ft., with a length of 3¾ m. and a breadth of over ½ a mile. In its immediate vicinity can be seen, occasionally at least, detached pillars of salt, suggesting some resemblance to a rudimentary colossal statue.

Another peculiarity is the presence of asphalt in the Dead Sea basin (see BITUMEN), whence the Greek name

6. Its asphalt. of Asphaltitis (cp Tac. *Hist.* 5 6; Str. 16 2 42; Dioscor. 1 100; Diod. Sic. 19 [illegible]). Near the lake are found beds of a white chalky marl, and also of bituminous marl. It is not, however, from these deposits on its shores that the water of the Dead Sea derives its bituminous constituents, but rather, no doubt, from deep subaqueous beds; there has been observed a marked coincidence between the appearance of considerable bituminous masses floating on the surface and the occurrence of the earthquakes which at intervals desolate the whole of that region. When these take place quantities of bitumen are broken loose and come to the surface; the natives are diligent in collecting them, but hitherto no methodical exploitation of these mineral resources on a commercial basis has been attempted. The existence of bituminous constituents in small quantity in the water can always be shown.

Notwithstanding the presence of this bitumen, of sulphur springs, and of masses of sulphur which are met with, here and there, as also of certain igneous formations, the region of the Dead Sea must not be included in the category of volcanic territories properly so called. On the contrary, in opposition to the assertions of certain travellers too richly endowed with imagination (e.g., Kassegger and von Wolden), the very competent geologists already named agree in doubting whether any large part in the formation of this region ought to be attributed to igneous forces.[1]

The cretaceous beds rise in regular [illegible] the W. bank from the margin of the lake. On the other shore the arrangement is no less regular; but under the cretaceous beds there are carboniferous strata and beneath these are other formations still more ancient. At the most it may be admitted that certain volcanic agitations have made themselves felt in the depths of the lake. Blanckenhorn (*ZDPV*, 1896, p. 62) recalls and attaches importance to an observation made by Molyneux and quoted by Ritter (703 f.) relating to a whitish belt of foam stretching from the NW. of the lake towards the Lisān, following on the whole the median line of the lake, above which a whitish vapour lingered in the air. From this phenomenon, supported by certain other indications, he concludes the existence of a fault in the floor of the lake which is prolonged in the channel skirting the Lisān and terminates in the S. portion of the lake near the embouchure of the W. Mujamma'. On 11 [illegible] March of this year (1896) the author of this article witnessed the same phenomenon as that seen by Molyneux in 1847.

In a general way we might describe the geological formation of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea basin by

7. The story in Gen. 19. the technical expression *effondrement*. The phenomenon occurred at the time of the transition from the tertiary to the quaternary epoch. It is not possible, therefore, to establish any relation between the formation of the Dead Sea as a whole and the catastrophe described in Gen. 19. At most that narrative might possibly admit of being connected with certain events of a more local character and of secondary importance, which might have occurred within historic times (see LOT, SIDDIM, SODOM).

As we have not to deal with the historical side of the question, but with the geological only, it will suffice to say (*a*) that the text of Genesis speaks of a rain of fire and brimstone and a pillar of smoke rising to heaven [illegible] (*b*) that there is nothing to show that the cities [illegible] were in the plain of Siddim; (*c*) that the remark [illegible] 14, 'the plain of Siddim *which is the Salt Sea*' may [illegible] conjecture of the narrator or even the gloss of a copyist [illegible] (*d*) [illegible] must be kept [illegible] (Gen. 13 10 12 19 17 25 20); (*e*) that [illegible] between the actual position of the Pentapolis and the position assigned to it by [illegible] as the cities interested perhaps [illegible] (*f*) that the position of Zoar is as [illegible] four cities; finally (*g*) that scholars [illegible] Pentapolis in the N. of the Dead Sea [illegible]

In complete contrast with its sombre narratives [illegible] doomed cities, the O.T. in two prophetical passages of Ezekiel and Zechariah [illegible] describes the transformation of the waste and barren [illegible] the Dead Sea [illegible] causing all that it touches so that [illegible] trees about [illegible]

[1] Sir [illegible] Burton, Tristram, Stanley, and more recently, even some who reached Hebron at least, have been [illegible] travellers.

[1] The well-known geologist [illegible] Hoffmann has adopted this view.

Reland, *Palestina*, 238-258; Seetzen, *Reisen*, 1 405-430 2 217-274 293-305 317 16 4 352-365 367-389 401-403; v. Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, 384-94; Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* 201-253 463-501 601-608; *Phys. Geogr. of the Holy Land*, 187-216 (65); Ritter, *Vergl. Erdkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel, von Palästina, etc.* ii. 1553-780; *Der Jordan und die Beschiffung des Todten Meeres* (50); Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, 2906-952; de Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte* (53); Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran et aux bords de la Mer Morte*, 215-300; Fraas, *Aus dem Orient: Geologische Betrachtungen* (67), 62-67 73-78; *Das Todte Meer* (67); Tuch, *Ueber den Ursprung des Todten Meeres nach dem AT* (63); Lynch, *Narrative of the US Expedition to . . . the Dead Sea* (49); *Official Report of the US Expedition*, etc. (52); Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la Mer Morte* (75, *seq.*), see especially vol. iii., *Géologie*, par M. Louis Lartet; A. Stoppani, *Il Mare Morto* (75); E. Falcucci, *Il Mar Morto e la Pentapoli del Giordano* (81); Hull, *Mount Seir* (89), chap. 13 *f.*; *Memoir on the Geology and Geography of Arabia Petræa, Palestine*, etc. (89); Guérin, *Description de la Palestine* (74): *Samarie*, 160-96; Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui* (84), 381-442; Tristram, *The Land of Israel* (82), 255-360; G. A. Sm., *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land* (94), 497-516; Blanckenhorn, 'Entsteh. u. Gesch. d. Todten Meeres,' *ZDPV*, 19 1-59 (96); 'Noch einmal Sodom u. Gomorrha,' *ib.* 21 65-83 (98); 'Das Tote Meer u. der Untergang von Sodom u. Gomorrha' (98); Diener, 'Die Katastrophe von Sodom u. Gomorrha im Lichte geologischer Forschung,' *Mitth. der K.-K. Geogr. Ges. in W'ein*, 1897, pp. 1-22). LU. G.

DEAL, TENTH (עֲשִׂרֹן), Lev. 14 10. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

DEATH (ΘΑΝΑΤΟϹ), see DEAD, THE.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΑΒΕΙΝ [B*], -Ρ [AL], ΛΑΒΕΙΝ [B^b]), king of Eglon, defeated and slain by Joshua (Josh. 10 3 cp 23).

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΑΒΕΙΡ [BAL]). (1) A place in the S. of Judah (Josh. 10 38 *f.* etc.); see KIRJATH-SEPHER.

2. In Josh. 15 7, דְּבִרָה is by AV taken as a place-name on the N. boundary of Judah; it has been identified by some with the present Thoghret ed Debr near Tal'at ed-Dam (Adummim) on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho.

The text, however, is uncertain and the word may not be a place-name. 𝔊 renders: 'to the fourth part (רִבְעִית) of the vale of Achor.' Di. suggests the translation 'backwards'—*i.e.*, 'westwards'—דְּבִיר meaning 'behind'; but there is no other instance of its geographical application.[1]

3. Josh. 13 26; RV^mg. LIDEBIR.

G. A. S.

DEBORA, RV **Deborah** (ΔΕΒΒΩΡΑ [BN^K], ΔΕΜΒΩΡΑ [A]), the grandmother of Tobit (Tob. 1 8).

DEBORAH (דְּבוֹרָה, 'a bee,' § 68; cp WRS in *Journ. Phil.* 14 [85] 120 *f.*; ΔΕΒΒΩΡΑ [BAL]). 1. A heroine who, with the aid of Barak, delivered the Israelites from their Canaanite oppressors. The victory is celebrated in the triumphal ode, Judg. 5. The Israelites, particularly the tribes which had settled about the plain of Jezreel, had been reduced to great straits by the Canaanites, who, holding the fortified cities along the plain (Judg. 1 27), blockaded the main roads and cut off communication, while from their strongholds they harried the country so that the unwalled villages were deserted (5 6 *f.*). Incited by Debōrah, the Israelites at last took up arms against their oppressors. Under Barak as their leader, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh united with Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali, and gave battle to Sisera and the confederate Canaanite kings in the plain not far from Taanach and Megiddo. The Canaanites, notwithstanding their formidable iron chariots, were put to rout; the waters of the Kishon completed their ruin. Sisera, seeking refuge in flight as a nomad's tent was killed by a woman, Jael.

1. Occasion of her leadership.

The history of the struggle is related somewhat differently in chap. 4[2] according to which Barak, at the summons of Deborah, raised ten thousand men of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, occupied Mt. Tabor, and from that position attacked Sisera as the latter was advancing against him. A more serious difference is that in chap. 4 the oppressor of Israel, from whom it is by Deborah, is Jabin king of Hazor, a city in Upp whilst Sisera is only Jabin's general. In the act ever, Jabin plays no part; and we can only su the story of Sisera has, by mistake, been with a tradition of a conflict between som northern tribes and the king of Hazor (cp also

From chap. 4 we learn that Deborah was a p —an inspired woman; that her husband's n Lappidōth; and that her home was between B Ramah, whither the Israelites resorted to her ment. Chap. 5 15, however, seems to prove was of the tribe of Issachar; and other consi would incline us to think that she lived in or plain of Jezreel. (For a conjecture on this su DABERATH.) That her home was in Mt. Ephr have been inferred by the author of 4 5 (an addition to the narrative) from the existence of of Deborah under a tree below Bethel, where, a to the patriarchal legend (see below, no. 2), the Rebekah was buried (Gen. 35 8).

Barak, who shares with Deborah the glory victory, was from Kedesh in Naphtali (4 6). T is somewhat remote, and in the acc Sisera's flight seems impossible.

2. Barak.

been conjectured by Wellhausen (*CH* 221) that th of the more famous Kedesh in Galilee has he planted an obscure KEDESH (*q v.*, 2) in Issachar 6 72 [57]—mentioned with Daberath not far fro Tabor); a suggestion which is the more plausi 5 15, if the text be sound, connects Barak als Issachar (cp BEZAANANNIM, KISHION). It is p that Kedesh in Naphtali, in the immediate vic Hazor, comes in some way from the story of Jab

The Song of Deborah bears in itself the eviden it is the work of one who had lived through the struggle which it celebrates, and that reason of inestimable value historical monument. It is also n one of the oldest Hebrew poems which have come to us, but one of the greatest. On its date cp S and POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 (iv.). See also TORICAL LITERATURE, § 2.

3. The Song of Deborah.

Few odes in the world's literature, indeed, c compared with this triumphal Te Deum. Unfortun the text, especially in *vv.* 8-15, has suffered grie from the injuries of time.

Until very recent times, Deborah has been unive believed to be the author. It is ascribed to her title; and this testimony was thought to be conclu confirmed by *v.* 7, 'Until I, Deborah, arose.' The of the Hebrew verbs in this verse, however, is ambig and the clause might equally well be interpreted, thou didst arise, Deborah' (cp *v.* 12); whilst 𝔊 an render in the third person (cp *v.* 15). On the hand, the natural inference from *v.* 15, and espe from *v.* 12, is that the heroine is not the poet.

On the subjects of this article see, further, M *Judges* ('95), and cp JAEL. On the Song of Debo cp HADRACH, KADESH (2), KISHON, MEROZ, an A. Müller, *Das Lied der Deborah* ('87); G. A. Co *The History and Song of Deborah* ('92); additi literature in Moore, *op. cit.*, 127, 136.

More recent studies, chiefly in the text, are: Grimme, *ZA* '96, 572 *ff.*; Marquart, *Fundamente d. a. und Gesch.* (Budde, *Acte d. Xme Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 2 20 *ff.* (Rubien, *ZDW*, '98, 541 *ff.*; Riess, *Preuss. Jahrb.* 91 (D. H. Müller, *Actes d. I Xme Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 1 ('98).

G. F. M

2. Rebekah's nurse who, according to J, died and was b below Bethel under the oak known as ALLON-BACCUTH (Gen ΡΕΒΒΩΡΑ [F], ΔΕΒΟΡΡΑ [L]). She is alluded to, but unname 24 59, where she accompanies Rebekah on her departure Bethuel [J]. To connect these two traditions would make about 150 years old at the time of her death. [For a rad emendation of the text which removes this difficulty, see DIN See, further, DEBORAH (1).

DEBT (נֹשֶׁה 2 K. 4 7; ΔΑΝΙΟΝ, Mt. 18 27). DEBT

[1] Read מִדְּבָרָה, 'to the wilderness'—*i.e.*, of Judah. Betharabah (cp 15 6) was one of its cities (15 61 *ff.*).

[2] On the relation of chaps. 4 and 5 in general, see JUDGES, § 7

(בְּשֵׁם? Ezek. 18 7 ΧΡΕΟΦΙΛΕΤΗΣ, Lk. 7 41). See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16, and TRADE AND COMMERCE.

DECALOGUE (Η ΔΕΚΑΛΟΓΟΣ, sc. ΒΙΒΛΟΣ; *decalogus*, sc. *liber*), a term adopted from Patristic Greek and Latin, and meaning what we commonly call the ten commandments. Ultimately, the name comes from the LXX which in this case adheres closely to the original Hebrew and speaks, not of ten commandments, but of ten words (δέκα λόγοι or ῥήματα, Ex. 34 28 Dt. 4 13 10 4). The decalogue, according to the biblical narrative, was uttered by God from Horeb and written by him on two tables of stone which he had prepared. Afterwards, when Moses had broken the tables in indignation at the idolatry of the people, he was bidden to hew other tables on which God again wrote the ten words. They were the foundation of a covenant (*berith*) between Yahwe and his people (Dt. 1 13) and were placed in the ark as the 'testimony' (*'edûth*) or revelation of Yahwé's will (Ex. 25 16); see COVENANT, § 6 (ii.)

1. Meaning of the term.

The two parallel texts of the decalogue, one in Ex. 20 the other in Dt 5, present striking points of difference. In Exodus the sabbath is to be kept, because Yahwé made all things in six days and rested the seventh; in Deuteronomy, because the slave as well as his master needs rest. Here, too, as in the command to honour parents, there are amplifications of language peculiar to the recension in Deuteronomy. In Exodus the Israelite is forbidden to covet his neighbour's house, and then wife, slave, and cattle are specified as possessions included within the Hebrew idea of house or household. In Deuteronomy the commandment is adapted to a later and more humane view. First, the Israelite is not to 'covet' his neighbour's wife. Next, he is not to 'desire' his neighbour's house, land, slaves, etc. The separation of the wife from mere property is very significant (see FAMILY, § 6).

2. The two texts.

How comes it that the parallel texts vary so seriously? The answer now generally given is that originally the decalogue was composed of concise precepts, which were expanded in different ways by later editors. The decalogue was incorporated in his work by the Elohist; it was repeated by the Deuteronomist and lastly by the Priestly Writer. No wonder then that, in the final redaction of the Pentateuch, each text of the decalogue offers clear marks of the Deuteronomical style, whilst in Ex. 20 8-11 the Deuteronomic motive of humanity has been supplanted by the example of God's rest after the week of creation—evidence of a super-redaction in the spirit of P (cp Ex. 31 17*b* Gen. 2 2*b*). Commandments 6-9 preserve their primitive form. We may therefore on that analogy restore the decalogue to its original form thus:—

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 20

1. Thou shalt have no other gods beside me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any (graven) image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahwé thy God for a vain end.[1]
4. Remember the sabbath day to hallow it.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

(*a*) In their arrangement the commandments fall into two pentads, or sets of five each, corresponding to the two tables. The first table sets forth the law of piety in the pure worship of Yahwé and in reverence to parents, the second table exhibits the law of probity or duty to fellow Israelites, comprehend, however, in an exclusively negative form. This is the scheme known to Philo (*De Decalogo*, 12) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii 5 5), adopted by the Greek and Anglican churches, as also by the Scottish and other churches of the Calvinistic type, and approved, among recent scholars, by Dillmann.

3. Arrangement.

[1] Perhaps for purposes of sorcery.

Another arrangement adopted by Knobel and, in 1869, by Kuenen is to count the opening statement, 'I am Yahwe thy God,' etc., as the first 'word,' and bind the commandments against foreign gods and image worship into one. This is the Talmudic division, which is still in force among the Jews, and is also of greater antiquity in the Greek church than some have supposed.[1]

Augustine, too (and he is followed by Roman Catholics and Lutherans), treats the prohibition of serving other gods and worshipping images as one commandment. He makes this the first, however, not, like the modern Jews, the second 'word.' Hence he has to divide the prohibition of coveting into two commandments, viz.: one against coveting a neighbour's wife, the other against coveting his goods. The objection to the Talmudic scheme is the awkwardness of a law which makes up the number ten from one statement of fact and nine precepts. The Augustinian scheme cannot be fitted to the text in Exodus and can scarcely have been intended even by the Deuteronomist.

The order given by the Vatican text of the LXX in Exodus is 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not murder,' and in Deuteronomy 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not steal.' Probably the variation arose from the feeling that the prohibition of adultery, as the destruction of family life, should be immediately connected with the injunction to honour parents.

We come next to the question of date. The Elohist document (perhaps a later edition of it) is our earliest external witness, and that does not carry us back beyond the middle of the eighth century B.C. Nor does internal evidence point to a much earlier time. The character of the decalogue, which is not ritual but almost purely moral; the prohibition of images, apparently unknown to Elijah and Elisha; the refinement which forbids thoughts of covetousness (the Hebrew cannot fairly be taken otherwise); all lend support to the view that the decalogue is grounded on the teaching of the great prophets of whose discourses we have written records. It has been compared with the loftier teaching in Micah 6 6-8, and may belong to the same age, *i.e.*, at earliest that of Manasseh (see, further, MOSES).

4. Date.

The reasons against a date very much earlier are clinched by the modern discovery that there was another decalogue older in character. True, we cannot say for certain how each particular precept of this older decalogue ran. We do know, however, that reference is made to it by the Yahwist in Ex. 34 28, and further, that the decalogue itself is imbedded in 1 1-26, and there is, therefore, no doubt about its general character. Wellhausen's reconstruction is as follows:[2]—

5. Second and older Decalogue.

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 34

1. Thou shalt worship no other god.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep.
4. Every firstling is mine.
5. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks.
6. And the feast of ingathering at the year's end.
7. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.
8. The fat of my feast shall not be left over till the morning.[4]
9. The best of the firstfruits of thy land shall thou bring to the house of Yahwe thy God.
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.[4]

The Yahwistic legend which encloses this decalogue is simpler and more natural, for here it is Moses not

[1] Geffken (*Eintheilung des Dekalogs*, 1838) found it [illegible] first in Syncellus (*circa* 790 A.D.) and Cedrenus (11 [illegible]); but Nestle has shown that it is to be met with in the Codex Vaticanus and the Amorostanus. See Nestle, *Exp. Times*, 8 426 (July) and cp Redpath, 'Codex Zittaviensis,' *Exp. Times*, 6 [illegible] (May 97).

[2] *CH* 331 *f.*; cp Stade, *GVI* 1 510; Staerk, *Deuteronomium*, [illegible]

[3] [illegible] to the more original text in Ex. 23 15.

[4] The number ten is gained by omitting the command of the seventh-day rest (which is out of place in the cycle of annual feasts) and the command that all males should appear before Yahwe three times in the year (which is merely a recapitulation of the three [illegible]).

Yahwè, who hews the tables and writes the words. The decalogue represents that ritual of outward worship which was essential to the early stages of national religion, but was subordinated to ethical monotheism by Amos and his successors. Yet even this decalogue must be put long after the time of Moses. The feasts mentioned imply an agricultural life, and must have been adopted by the Israelites after their settlement.

See Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, i. 267 *ff.* (§§ 85, 86); and, for the later criticism, Kuenen, *Hex.* 244; Smend, *ATKeil.* 271 *f.*, 478 *f.*; Rothstein, *Das Bundesbuch*, (88); Budde in *ZAW* (91), pp. 99 *f.*, 220 *f.*; Bantsch, *Das Bundesbuch* (92); Meissner, *Der Dekalog* (93); Montefiore, *JQR* iii. 286 *ff.*; Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, i. 136 *ff.* Robertson Smith (*EBi* art. 'Decalogue') in 1876 held that the decalogue, as a system of 'ten words,' was as old as Moses, though the original fourth commandment must have had a much simpler form. He also rejected the hypothesis of a second decalogue. How largely he had modified his views in later years on both points may be gathered from *OTJC*[2] 334 *ff.* See also Exodus, ii. 4. W. L. A.

DECAPOLIS (Δεκαπολις [Ti. WH]) is the name given in the gospels (Mt. 4 25, Mk. 5 20) to a territory in Bashan and Gilead covered, or affected, by the power of a league of ten or more Greek cities (called in Mk. 7 31 τὰ ὅρια Δεκαπόλεως, by Pliny *HN* v. 15, *Decapolitana regio*). Josephus calls the league itself both Δεκάπολις (*BJ* iii. 9 7) and αἱ ἐν τῇ Συρᾳ δέκα πόλεις (*Vita*, 65 74). Other early instances of the name are Ptolemy v. 15 22, and *CIG*, no. 450, of the time of Hadrian. Eusebius describes the Decapolis of the Gospels as a region (see below, § 2).

1. Greek cities and confederations.

The first Greek cities in Syria were founded by the veterans of Alexander, and from his time their numbers were rapidly increased by the immigration of Greeks under the patronage of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. On the west the Greeks settled in ultimately Hellenised Phœnician and Philistine towns; but beyond Jordan many of their settlements were upon fresh sites. Among the oldest were Pella, Dion, Philadelphia (on the site of Rabbath-Ammon), Gadara, and Abila—all strong fortresses by 218 B.C. (Polyb. 5 71; 16 39; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3; Stark, *Gaza*, 381). Bosra had become largely Greek in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 5 24 *ff.*). Gerasa and Hippus are not mentioned till the first century B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 3 4; *BJ* i. 4 8).

As the Hellenic world came under Roman sway, various confederacies of Greek cities were formed, both for purposes of trade, like the Hanseatic League, and for defence against alien races (Mommsen, *Prov. of the Rom. Emp.*, Eng. ed. i. 264 *f.*). Such confederation was nowhere more necessary than in Syria, where, after the success of the Maccabees, and especially under the Jewish king Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.), the Greek cities must needs have combined against the common danger of overthrow and absorption by their Semitic neighbours. Such combinations, however, if they were formed, proved a failure till the Roman legions led by Pompey reached Syria in 65. Then the Greek cities took a new lease of life. Several called themselves after Pompey, and several dated their eras from the year of his Syrian campaign, 64-63 B.C. Among these were Gadara, Hippos, Pella, Dion, Abila, Kanata, Kanatha, and Philadelphia. Pompey gave them, or after this time they gradually received, municipal freedom, the rights of coinage, asylum, property in the surrounding districts, and association with one another. They were, however, put under the Roman Province of Syria (*Ant.* xiv. 4 4 *BJ* i. 7 7), and taxed for imperial purposes; their coins bore 'the image of Cæsar'; and they were liable to military service (*BJ* ii. 18 19). Some of them, certainly with the reservation of their rights, were afterwards transferred from the Governor of Syria to the direct authority of Herod.

From Pompey's time to Hadrian's (106 A.D.), Rome's grasp of Eastern Palestine was neither constant nor effective. It was during this time, and in this region of

unsettlement, that the League of the Decapolis [illegible] The precise year we are unable to fix; it may [illegible] been till after Herod's death in 4 B.C., but [illegible] was soon after Pompey's ca[illegible]

2. The Decapolitan league.

At first, as the name implies, the [illegible] comprised ten cities. Only one [illegible] of Jordan—Scythopolis, the ancient Bethshean [illegible] manding the approach to the others, by Esdraelo[illegible] the Greek cities of the coast and the Levant, Scy[illegible] remained the capital of the league. All the other [illegible] either upon the three great roads which, [illegible] traversed E. Palestine, or on the trunk r[illegible] which ultimately joined: Pella, Gadara, and Hippos [illegible] E. edge of the Jordan valley, and the Lake of [illegible] Dion, Gerasa (modern Jerash), and Philadelphi[illegible] near the S. road; Raphana, somewhere near the [illegible] road; Kanatha (now Kanawât, see KENATH), [illegible] the central road joins the great trunk road from [illegible] S. at the foot of the Jebel Haurân; and Damas[illegible] the junction of this road with the northernmost [illegible] three roads. All the sites are certain except th[illegible] Raphana and of Dion. These form the earliest l[illegible] we have—Pliny's in *HN* 5 16 [18]. Other citie[illegible] added. Ptolemy gives eighteen, omitting Raphan[illegible] adding other nine, mostly towards Damascus,—Al[illegible] a branch of the Yarmuk 12 m. E. of Gadara; K[illegible] either the modern Kerak or el-Kuneiyeh in en-N[illegible] Kapitolias, probably the modern Beit er-Râs, [illegible] Irbid; and some of the Semitic towns incorpora[illegible] the extension of the Empire in 106, such as Edre[illegible] Bosra. Each of these cities held sway over the te[illegible] in its neighbourhood. Round Hippos was Hi[illegible] (*BJ* iii. 3 1); round Gadara the country of the Gada[illegible] (Mk. 5 1 according to one reading), which, if w[illegible] judge from the trireme on some Gadarene coins, ext[illegible] to the Lake of Galilee. In the fourth century Je[illegible] calls all Gilead the 'region of Gerasa.' These sub[illegible] properties or spheres of influence must have to[illegible] one another, and the remains of the long aqueduct [illegible] the centre of Haurân by Edrei to Gadara is one [illegible] of how far they extended. The 'Decapolitan re[illegible] (coasts of Decapolis) was, therefore, a wide and [illegible] if loosely defined, territory lying on the E. of the [illegible] of Galilee and stretching across a large part of Gi[illegible] Eusebius (*OS*) defines the Decapolis of the Go[illegible] as lying in Perræa round Hippos, Pella, and Ga[illegible] Pliny, however, describes it as interpenetrated by [illegible] Jewish Tetrarchies (*HN* 5 16); and in particular [illegible] territories of Herod Antipas in Galilee and Perræa [illegible] probably so joined across Jordan as to cut off, from [illegible] E. Decapolis, the suburban territory of Scythopolis.

Within this region of Decapolis Hellenism was [illegible] dominant in the time of the ministry of Jesus, and th[illegible]

3. Civilization.

it flowed out upon Galilee. Th[illegible] proved by a trace or two in [illegible] Gospels themselves (*e.g.*, the presence of a large [illegible] of swine in Gadara), by the ample ruins, still extant [illegible] Greek architecture (the most glorious period of wh[illegible] however, was not till the time of the Antonines), [illegible] especially by the constant communication between [illegible] Decapolis and the Mediterranean ports and Gre[illegible] and by the flourishing state of Greek literature in [illegible] Ten Cities. The Decapolis had, in each city, temp[illegible] to purely Hellenic deities, theatres, amphitheatres, [illegible] various athletic institutions. Yearly were the παγκρά[illegible] celebrated—games in which every form of phys[illegible] strength was exhibited. There was a vigor[illegible] municipal life of democratic constitution. Gadara [illegible] the birthplace or home of Philodēmus the Epicurean [illegible] contemporary of Cicero), Mēleager the epigrammati[illegible] Mēnippus the satirist, Theodōrus the rhetorician ([illegible] tutor of Tiberius), and others. The Greek writers [illegible] Damascus are still better known. Gerāsa had a sch[illegible] famous for its teachers. Besides, the League, bei[illegible] largely a commercial union, pushed the Greek metho[illegible] of trade across W. Palestine; the result is seen in t[illegible]

many commercial and travellers' terms and names for objects of trade and human consumption which, in the centuries immediately before and after Christ, passed from Greek into Hebrew. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Besides the ancient authorities already cited, see Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 207; *De Mens. et Pond.* 15; Stephanus Byzant. *De Urbibus* (Basil., 1568, ed. Dindorf, Lips., 1825) 198, 201, 606; E. de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1874; Schür. *Gesch.* 204 *ff.*; GASm. *HG* chap. 28; and various works of travel in E. Palestine. G. A. S.

Literature.

DECK (כֶּרֶשׂ). Ezek. 27 6 RV^mg; EV BENCHES. See SHIP.

DEDAN (דְּדָן, oftenest Δαιδαν [BKADEQ]), a son of RAAMAH (see GEOGRAPHY, § 23), son of CUSH, Gen. 10 7 (P), or of Jokshan, son of Keturah, Gen. 25 3 (J), 1 Ch. 1 32.

Δαδαν [ADEQL], Δο. [NL], Δαιδαμ [BAQ], Δαρδαν [L] 1 Ch. 1 32, Δαιδα. [D], Δαν [L], και δαν [Q-L], μασσια [L], τουδαδαν [B].

As the name of a people it also occurs in Is 21 13 ('caravans of DEDANITES' [so RV; AV DEDANIM], in connection with the 'land of Tema'; Δαιδαν [BKAQ], but in Aq. and Sym. δωδανιμ; and in Theod. and Orig. δαιδ. [Q^mg]), Jer. 25 23 (with Tema and Buz), 49 8 (where it is thought of as adjoining Edom), Ezek. 25 13 (where ⊕^BAQ reads δωκόμενοι; cp ⊕^BAL for דדן in Lev. 26 17; Peah. דדן). Ezek. 27 20 (with Arabia, Kedar, Sheba, and Raamah, as trading with Tyre), 38 13 (with Sheba), but not 27 15 (see RODANIM). These passages (to which add Gen. 25 3, 1 Ch. 1 32) all point to Arabia, but some to the southern, some to the northern region. דדן occurs in Min. and Sab. inscriptions (see especially Glaser, *Skizze* 2 397). Probably Dedan was a tribe with permanent seats in S. or central Arabia (Glaser, *l.c.*, locates N. of Medina) and trading settlements in the NW. F. N.

DEDICATE, DEDICATION. For קִדֵּשׁ, *kiddēsh* (lit. 'to separate,' more usually rendered 'to consecrate, 'hallow,' or 'sanctify') see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1 *f.* For חָרַם, *ḥāram*, see BAN.

חָנַךְ, *ḥānak*, ΕΓΚΑΙΝΙΖΕΙΝ, means prop. 'to initiate'; see CATECHISE, and cp BDB, *s.v.* Various dedication ceremonials are described, mostly in late documents.

There is the dedication of the temple in 1 K. 8 63 (see *v.* 64; ἐνεκαίνισεν) ‖ 2 Ch. 5 2-7 5 (7 5: ἐνεκαίνισεν), a 'dedication' of the altar being separately referred to in 2 Ch. 7 9 (ἐγκαινισμοί); that of the altar of the tabernacle is described in Nu. 7 1 *ff.* (Ps ἐγκαινισμοί); that of the walls of Jerusalem as rebuilt by Nehemiah in Neh. 12 27 *ff.* (ἐν ἐγκαινίοις τειχους). No special rite is prescribed for the dedication of a new house referred to in Dt. 20 5 (ἐνεκαίνισεν). On the dedication of temple and altar in the Maccabean period, see the following article. The dedication or ratification of a covenant with blood, and the dedication or inauguration of a new and vital way of access to God are alluded to in Heb. 9 18 (see COVENANT) and Heb. 10 20.

DEDICATION, FEAST OF THE. On the 15th of Chislev of the year 145 of the Seleucid era (= Dec. 168 B.C.), during the religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, a pagan altar was set up on the altar of burnt offering at Jerusalem, and on the 25th of the same month sacrifice was for the first time offered upon it (1 Macc. 1 41-64, 2 Macc. 6 1-11; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5 4). Three years afterwards (165 B.C.), Judas the Maccabee had recovered Jerusalem and the temple. The temple was then cleansed, the altar of burnt offering displaced by one entirely new, new sacred vessels made, and the temple reconsecrated with great festivities. These lasted for eight days, beginning on 25th Chislev 148 of the Seleucid era (Dec. 165 B.C.), that is, on the very day on which, three years before, the altar had been desecrated (1 Macc. 4 36-39).

In commemoration of these events, the feast of the dedication (חֲנֻכָּה [Megilla, iii. 4 6; Bikkurim, 1 6; Rosh hashana, 1 3, etc.]; τὰ ἐγκαίνια, Jn. 10 22; αἱ ἡμέραι ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, 1 Macc. 4 59; καθαρισμὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ 2 Macc. 1 18), lasting eight days from the 25th of Chislev, was celebrated 'with mirth and joy' (μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς) annually. According to 2 Macc.

10 6 it was observed after the manner of the feast of Tabernacles, and in another passage it is even called the feast of tabernacles of the month Chislev (ἡμέρας τῆς σκηνοπηγίας του χασελευ, 2 Macc. 1 9). The special and distinguishing peculiarity in its celebration was the illumination of synagogues and houses.

At the door of each house one light, at least, in the case of those who could afford the expense, as many lights as the number of persons in the house had to be displayed; on the second [illegible] number of lights must be doubled, on the third trebled, and so on.

Jewish tradition explains the eight-days duration of the feast and the custom of displaying lights, by the assertion that [illegible] found only one small cruse of consecrated oil, but that it [illegible] for eight days instead of only for one.

The probability is that the illumination, like the duration and other features of the feast, was taken over from the feast of tabernacles and referred to the relighting of the golden candlestick (1 Macc. 4 50). See CANDLESTICK.

No mention of this custom of illumination is made in the books of Maccabees or by Josephus; the description of the feast by Josephus as 'the feast of lights' (φῶτα), however, doubtless has reference to them (*Ant.* xii. 7 7), and his explanation of the name as coming from the unexpectedness of the restoration of religious freedom to the nation (εκ του παρ' ελπιδος ολως ταυτην φανεισαν την εξουσιαν [sc. της ἐρημωσεως]) also may be safely taken as having the same reference. In both of the letters prefixed to 2 Macc. the observance of this feast is urgently pressed on the Jews in [illegible] (2 Macc. 1 9 1 18); it is natural to [illegible] some that when, in the second of these (on the text of [illegible] Ball in *Expos.* [illegible] ἱστορία), the story of Nehemiah's [illegible] discovery of the sacred fire is referred to, the writer saw a parallel to it in the relighting of the altar-fire by Judas, and desired to associate the commemoration of both events with one [illegible]. From the time of year and the employment of lights and green branches in the celebration, Wellhausen (*IJG* 210 [ed. of 1897]) conjectures that the feast originally had reference to the winter solstice, and only afterwards came to be associated with the events recorded in Maccabees.

The proper psalm for the Feast of the Dedication is Ps. 30; hence its inscription, שיר חנכת הבית, ψαλμος ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ του οἴκου 'Dedication-song of the house (temple).'

See the commentaries on 1 Macc. 4 59 and Jn. 10 22; also A. G. Wahner, *de festo Encaeniorum templi secundi, quod maccabaicum vocant*, Chr. Th. 1711; Oehler, in *Z. f. L.* 12 454 [ed. of 1845]; Che. *OPs.* 17 *f.*; *Ps.* 147; Nowack, *H* [illegible] *f.*; Schürer, *GJV* 146, n., with its references to [illegible] the post-talmudic feasts. Cp also articles by Krauss and Levi, *REJ* 31 24-45, 204-219, 220-237 (34). I. B.

DEEP, THE (תְּהוֹם, *tehōm*; always without art. except in Is. 63 13; Ps. 106 9; Ass. *tiâm u, tâmtu, tâmdu*, 'the sea'; ἀβυσσος, in Job 38 30 corruptly ασεβοις [gen.], in Prov. 8 27 ἐπ' ἀνέμων [?]; Prov. 8 28 της ἐπ' οὐρανῶν; Ecclus. 43 23 [ἀβυσσον; ⊕ Heb. gives בחרים; ⊕ αὐτήν; but the clause is corrupt]).

Originally *tehōm* was feminine: note the phrase תְּהוֹם רַבָּה, Gen. 7 11; Is. 51 10 Am. 7 4 Ps. 36 7 and the plur. ending *ōth*. See also Gen. 49 25 (γης εχουσης παντα) Dt. 33 13; Ezek. 31 4. But, at first apparently with the plur. [illegible] came to be disregarded, and *tehōm* treated as a synonym of [illegible] (plur., Ex. 15 5 [πόντος] 8 [κυμα] Ps. 77 16 107 26; [illegible] 814 Jn. 26 Hab. 3 10 Ps. 42 8 [not 104 [illegible] cp Ex. 1 [illegible] Job 28 14. On Dt. 8 7 see Kön. *Syn.* 467).

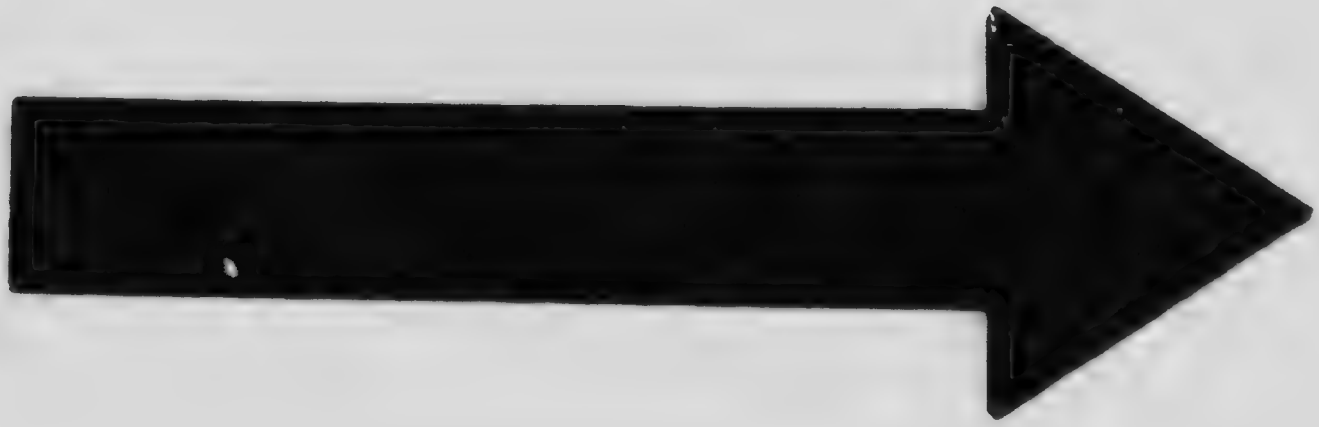
See ABYSS, DRAGON, end.

DEER, FALLOW (יַחְמוּר). Dt 14 5 1 K. 4 23 [5 13] AV; see ROE, 4.

DEFILE, DEFILEMENT (טָמֵא). Lev. 18 24 *f.* See COMMON, and cp CLEAN, § 14.

DEGREE occurs in a passage of some interest with reference to early church offices. What is the 'good degree' (AV) or rather, good standing (RV) which is assured to those who have 'served well as deacons'? βαθμὸς καλος is the phrase. According to Hort (*Chr. Eccl.* 202) it means the vantage-ground of influence and moral authority won by the excellent discharge of ecclesiastical duties. Theodoret, de Wette, etc., however, find a reference to a divine reward at the great judgment; whilst Jerome and other Fathers, Baur, Holtzmann, and von Soden think it is promotion to the episcopate that is intended. Observe that the qualities required of an ἐπίσκοπος in vv. 2-7 are analogous to those required of a deacon.

On 'songs of degrees' (a purely conventional rendering) see PSALMS; on the 'degrees' of 2 K. 20 9 (= Is. 38 8), see DIAL.



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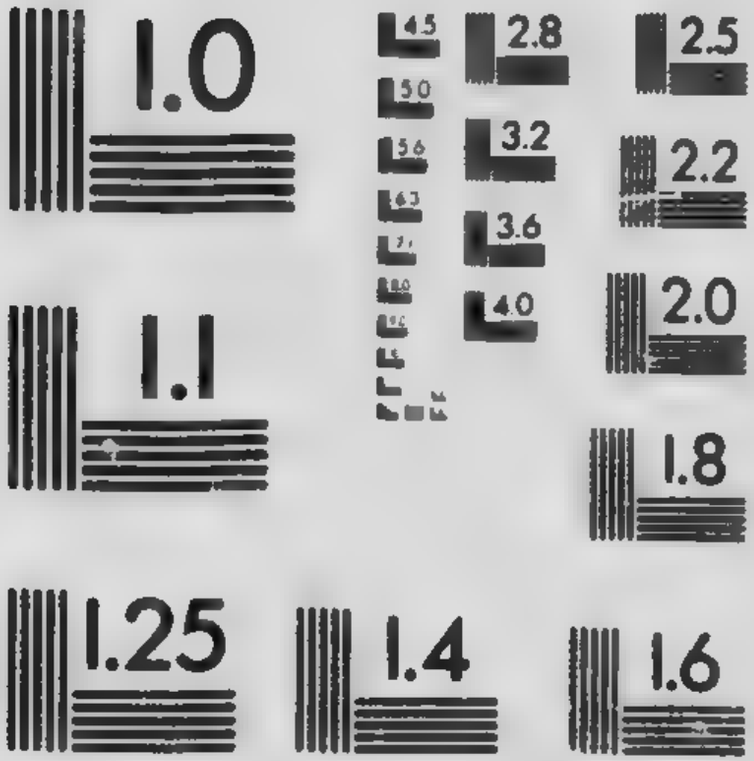

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DEHAVITES. RV **Dehaites** (דֶּהָוְיֵא, Kt., but דֶּהָיֵא, Kr.; Δαγαιοι [A], -λαιοι [L], but A omits 'Elamites'), generally regarded as one of the peoples represented in Samaria among the colonists of ASNAPPER (Ezra 4 9). They stand apparently between the Susanchites (Susians) and the Elamites. No plausible identification has yet been offered (see Schr. *KAT*[2] 376, 610).

The reason is plain, as soon as it is mentioned. If we point, with G. Hoffmann (*ZA* 2 54), דְּהוּא, and take this with the following word עֵילָיֵא, we shall get the phrase 'that is, Elamites' (בּ literally, οἱ εἰσιν ἠλαμαῖοι), which is an explanatory gloss on the preceding word 'Susanchites.' So Marti, *Gram. der bib. Aram. Sprache*, 40*.

DEKAR (דֶּקֶר), 1 K. 4 9 AV; RV BEN-DEKER, AV[mg.] BEN-DEKAR (*q.v.*).

DELAIAH (דְּלָיָה, דְּלָיָהוּ, perhaps 'God hath drawn out,' § 30; Δαλαια [ℵA], -αϲ [BQL], some compare Δελαιαϲταρτοϲ in Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18, which is more correctly given by Niese as Λεαϲταρτοϲ).

1. Son of Shemaiah, a prince of Jehoiakim's court; Jer. 36 (𝔊 43) 12, δαλιας [ℵ], -λεας [A]); 25 (-λαισα [ℵ c.c mg. sup.], γοδολιας [BA?]).
2. Head of one of the priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24 18 (δαλαια [L], αδαλλαι *v.* 17 [B]).
3. (AV DALAIAH), a descendant of Zerubbabel (-λααια [B], -λεα [L]), 1 Ch. 3 24.
4. The B'ne Delaiah were a post-exilic family who were unable to prove their pedigree; Ezra 2 60 (Λαχεα [B], δαλαια [L]) = Neh. 7 62 (-λεα [B]) DALAN, 1 Esd. 5 37 (ασαν [B], δαλαν [A]).
5. Father of Shemaiah (-λεα [B], -λλαιας [L]), Neh. 6 10.

DELILAH (דְּלִילָה, 'delicate?' § 67; Δαλ[ε]ιδα [BAL]; دليلة, *DALILAH*), Judg. 16 4-20. Whether the name has, like SAMSON [*q.v.*], any mythological connection we cannot at present say. Delilah dwelt in the vale of SOREK (*q.v.*), and we may presume that the tradition regarded her as a Philistine. Her temporary relation to the Philistine princes hardly warrants us in calling her a 'political agent' (Smith's *DB*[2] *s.v.*). See SAMSON.

DELIVERER, THE (Ο ΡΥΟΜΕΝΟϹ [Ti. WH]) Rom. 11 26 Is. 59 20 (גֹּאֵל); see GOEL.

DELUGE. Postponing the various interesting questions, as well of comparative folk-lore (§§ 18-20) as of biblical theology (§§ 10 *ff.* 17), which are connected with the title of this article, let us confine ourselves at present to *the relation between the Hebrew Flood-story and that of Babylonia.*

1. Babylonian Flood-story. Of all the parallel traditions of a deluge the Babylonian is undeniably the most important, because the points of contact between it and the Hebrew story are so striking that the view of the dependence of one of the two on the other is directly suggested even to the most cautious of students. The account in the Berossian excerpts will be referred to below (see § 16); but we may state here that the genuine Babylonian character of the Berossian story has, since 1872, been raised above all doubt by George Smith's discovery, in the remains of the library of Ašur-bāni-pal, of a copy of a very ancient cuneiform Deluge-story derived, it would seem, from the city of Šurippak in Babylonia, and by a more recent discovery by Scheil (see § 6). The former story fills the first four columns of the eleventh tablet of the epic of Gilgameš,[1] a cycle of legends to which, in studying the early narratives of Genesis, we have so frequently to refer (see, *e.g.*, CAINITES, § 6).

2. Epic of Gilgameš.

A paraphrase of its contents is all that we can give here: translations of recent date and critical in character will be found in *KAT*[2] 55 *ff.* (by Paul Haupt); Jensen's *Kosm.* 367 *ff.*; A. Jeremias's *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 32 *ff.*; Muss-Arnolt's essay in *Bibl. World*, 3 109 *ff.* ('94); and Gunkel's *Schöpf.* 423 *ff.* (by H. Zimmern).[1] The gods, more especially Bēl, wroth at the sins of m determine to bring upon them a judgment consistin a great all-destroying flood. One of the gods, howe namely Ea, selects a favoured man, named Pār napišti,[2] of the city of Šurippak, for deliverance. T is the Xisuthrus of Bērossus, and be it observed that name Xisuthrus is found, in all probability, by transp ing the two component parts of Atra-ḫasis—*i.e.*, 'very wise,' or, still better perhaps (so Haupt), 'the v pious'—one designation of the hero of the cunefo account. Pār(?)-napišti is in a dream acquainted by with the purpose of the gods, and commanded to bu a ship (*elippu*, cp Aram. אילָפָא), the form of which prescribed, as a means of saving his life, and to ta with him into it 'seeds of life of all kinds' (*ll.* 2 Accordingly, the ship is built; its dimensions[3] given with great precision by the poet, who mentic that it was coated within and without with bitum (*kupru*), and that cells were made in it. Into this ves Pār(?)-napišti brings gold and silver and 'seeds of life all kinds,' besides his family and servants, beasts of t field, and wild beasts of the field (*ll.* 84 *f.*). Shor before the Flood, the beginning of which is made know to him by a special sign, Pār(?)-napišti himself enters t ship and bars the door, while his steersman, nam Puzur-Bēl, takes over the direction of the vessel (*l.* 94 Upon this the deluge begins: it is thought of as unloosing of all the elemental powers, torrents of rai storm and tempest, together with thick darkness. T waters rise higher and higher, till the whole land b comes a sea; all men and animals, except those in t ship, perish. Six days and nights the flood rages; c the seventh day a calm sets in. Then Pār(?)-napišti oper the air-hole (*l.* 136; *nappašu*=*nanpašu*, cp נפש), an sees the widespread ruin. At the same time lan emerges, and the ship grounds on the mountain Nisir (*l.* 141).[4] After seven days more Pār(?)-napiš sends out successively a dove, a swallow, and a raven The dove and the swallow, finding no place of rest return to the ship; but the raven is seen no more Upon this Pār(?)-napišti clears the ship and offers sacrifice on the summit of the mountain. 'The god smelt the savour, the gods smelt the sweet savour. Th gods gathered like flies about the sacrificer' (*ll.* 160 162). As for Bēl, however, he is at first displeased a the deliverance of Pār(?)-napišti and his household; bu on the representations of Ea,[5] who points out the rash ness of his act in causing a universal deluge, an recommends the sending of wild animals, famine, an pestilence, as a more fitting mode of punishing huma sins, Bēl becomes reconciled to the escape of Pār(?) napišti, and even gives him and his wife a share of th divine nature, and causes them to dwell 'afar off, at th mouth of the rivers'[6] (*ll.* 199-205).

Before attempting to explain this Deluge-story, and comparing it with the corresponding Hebrew account, we must consider the position which it occupies in Babylonian literature. It stands at present, as we have seen, in close connection with other traditional stories, and particularly with the cycle of Gilgameš-legends. The hero, Gilgameš, who, after his various adventures, is visited with a sore disease, sets out on the way to his

[1] [The exploits of this hero are celebrated in the twelve chants or lays of the epic. The text of the Deluge-story was published in 4 R (1st ed. 50 *f.*, and ed. 43 *f.*) and most recently by Haupt, *Das Bab. Nimrodepos*, 95-150 ('91)].

[1] The references here given to lines of the Deluge-story accord with Zimmern's numeration.

[2] [Cp § 15 *d*. The reading of the first part of the name is uncertain; Pār-napišti ('sprout, or offspring, of life'), Šit-napišti ('the escaped one'), Šamaš-napišti ('sun of life'), Ūm-napišti ('day of life'), and Nūḫ-napišti (see NOAH) have found their respective supporters.]

[3] [See Haupt, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* 9 419 *ff.*]

[4] On the land and mountains of Nišir, cp *Annals of Ašur-nāsir-pal*, 2 33-39 (*KP*[2] 2 150 *f.*). They were situated between the Tigris and the Lower Zab, between 35° and 36° N. lat. (Del. *Par.* 105).

[5] [Jastrow sees here traces of a collision between the cultus of Bēl and that of Ea.]

[6] [See below § 15 (end), and, for a legendary parallel § 14.

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ancestor Pār(?)-napišti, whose dwelling is remote from that of all other men, beyond the river of death (cp CAINITES, § 6, ENOCH, § 2). From this fortunate possessor of eternal life, Gilgameš hopes to learn how to obtain, not only the cure of his disease, but also the same supreme felicity. Pār(?)-napišti answers by a detailed description of the Deluge, in which he was himself so prominent a figure, and at the end of which he was admitted to the life of the gods. Obviously, the present connection of the Deluge-story with the Gilgames-tradition is secondary in character, and it becomes all the more reasonable to maintain that the Hebrew Deluge-story too has only an artificial connection with the framework in which it now stands. Noah may originally have had no more connection with Nimrod than Pār(?)-napišti with Gilgameš (see NIMROD, NOAH).

The secondary character of the present connection of the Babylonian Deluge-story being granted, can we venture to indicate a more original connection?

3. Hint from Bērōssus. According to Bērōssus,[1] Nisuthrus (the hero of the Deluge) was the last of the ten primitive Babylonian kings, whose immensely long lives so forcibly remind us of those ascribed to the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis, and, as has been repeatedly pointed out,[2] are closely related to the theory of an artificially-calculated cosmic year. The Berossian cosmic year had the enormous duration of 518,400 ordinary years, and each of its twelve months consisted of 12 sari—*i.e.*, (12 × 3600), 43,200 ordinary years. According to this system, ten cosmic months are equivalent to 432,000 years, and this is exactly the number of the years assigned by Bērōssus to the ten antediluvian Babylonian kings (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 4, end). The theory of the Babylonians appears to have been that these ten primitive kings reigned during the first ten cosmic months of the great cosmic year (each king for a cosmic month), and that the Deluge fell at the end of the tenth month. Now, the eleventh month was for the Babylonians (who began the year with the vernal equinox) the time from the middle of January to the middle of February—in other words, the middle of the rainy or winter season.

It is also to the winter season that the position of the Deluge-narrative in the Gilgameš-epic points—

4. Confirmed by epic. more particularly to the eleventh month Šebāṭ (Jan.-Feb.). For, as Sir Henry Rawlinson saw, the twelve tablets of the adventures of Gilgameš stand in relation to the passage of the sun-god through the twelve months of the year, and the principal event on every tablet has its analogue in the corresponding one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which, as is now certainly known, had their origin in Babylonia. Now, it is the eleventh tablet that contains the Deluge-story, and the eleventh zodiacal sign is Aquarius. The conclusion is obvious. Lastly, it is also probable that the Assyrian name of the eleventh month, Šabāṭu (probably 'destruction'), and its ideographic designation as '(month of the) curse of rain,' both have reference to the Deluge. Clearly the connection of the Deluge-story with the story of the ten primitive kings is much more close and original than its present connection with the Gilgameš-legends. The fixing of the great catastrophe in the eleventh month is a fact of importance with reference to the question, which will shortly (§ 8) claim to be answered: Has the Deluge-story a historical kernel, or is it simply and entirely a nature-myth?

The elaborate account in the Gilgameš-epic is not the only cuneiform record of the Babylonian Deluge-story.

5. 3rd Bab. document (Peiser). Peiser has published (*ZA* 4 369 *f.* ['89]) a mythological text, with a map, giving a primitive picture of Babylonia at the time of the Deluge under

[1] For the Berossian story, see below, § 16.

[2] See especially Marcus v. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs und Babels* ('57), 237 *ff.*

Pār(?)-napišti. The text is very fragmentary; but as far as it can, with the help of the map, be understood, this is the notion of the Flood which it suggests.—The Persian Gulf was conceived of as encompassing Babylonia, and round about this ocean lay seven islands. The mountain of the Deluge was due north of Babylon, but still within the tract enclosed by the ocean. It is noteworthy that the time of the Deluge is apparently designated in this text—'the year of the great serpent.'

[Further, among the tablets in the Constantinople museum Scheil has recently discovered a mutilated fragment of a new Deluge-story, containing

6. Scheil's fragment. part of columns 1 *f.* 7 *f.* In the twelfth line occurs the word *hibiš* ('effaced'), which, according to Scheil, suggests that our tablet is but a copy of a much older original which had been injured. The date of the tablet itself, however, is sufficiently ancient: 'month of Sivan, day 25, the year in which Ammi-zaduga built the fortress of Ammi-zaduga at the mouth of the Euphrates'—not much later than 2140 B.C. By whom the story is told, is not evident. The complaints of humankind are spoken of first; the god Ramman appears to be angry with them. Thereupon a god pronounces evil upon mankind; reference is made to a destroying flood-storm. In the seventh column the god Ea speaks. He vituperates with the other god for wishing to destroy men. 'Some men at least, let them come into [the vessel] . . . . . the oar . . . . let him come . . . let him bring . . . let him . . . .' That the great Deluge is referred to is now clear: the occurrence of the word *eṭiba* must dispel all doubt. In the eighth column only two lines are complete; but these contain a reference to Atra-hasis (Nisuthrus), who is introduced speaking 'to his lord'—*i.e.*, to the god who has proved himself a friend to the human race. The name of the scribe suggests to Scheil that this version of the Deluge-story is that which was current in the city of Sippar[1] (see § 16).]

We have also a list of royal names which bears the inscription, 'These are the postdiluvian kings of Babylon,

7. Other references. thus implicitly confirming the Berossian distinction between kings before and kings after the Deluge (cp *CGT* 161). The word here used for Deluge is *abūbu* (cp below, § 13), which elsewhere is of frequent occurrence,[2] the Deluge being referred to as an event of hoary antiquity—as, when it is said of old inscriptions that they go back to the time before the Deluge (*ina abūbi*). See TIT-ABIB.

We have now to take up the question, What was probably the true origin of this Babylonian Deluge-story, looking at it by itself, without

8. Origin of Deluge-story. comparing the Hebrew records? The first thing that strikes us is the harmony between the narrative and the local conditions of Babylonia, which justifies us in regarding that country as the native place of the story. It is more difficult to determine whether any real historical event lies at the foundation of the narrative, or whether we have to do with a mere myth. In itself it would, of course, not be inconceivable that in days of yore an unusually extensive flood from the Persian Gulf, combined with continuous rain-fall upon the Babylonian lowlands, and destroyed countless human lives, that a dim tradition of this event was preserved; and that the Babylonian Deluge-story was a last deposit produced by this genuine occurrence. Judging, however, from what is known of the growth of myths and legends, especially among the Babylonians,

[1] The reason is that one element in the name of the scribe is Aya (Ved. 'Now it was chiefly at Sippar that the goddess Aya was worshipped from [illegible] with Shamas (the sun-god), her name was [illegible] by the Babylonians. Scheil, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes. Image a part du Kouyounjik et travaux,' etc., [illegible] xx. (' [illegible]).

[2] *Abūbu*, 'Storm,' is also used as a title of the god Marduk's weapon in the Creation-story, Tablet iv. 49, and King Hammurābi calls himself *abūb tukumat m.*, 'tempest of battles,' *KB* 3a 115.]

we think that this is far from probable. The entire character of the narrative, and the connection with other myths indicated above, are much more favourable to the view that we have to do, not with a legend based upon facts, but with a myth which has assumed the form of a history (cp below, col. 1063, note 3). The colouring may have been partly supplied by the cyclones which, in an alluvial country like Babylonia, frequently make their appearance from the sea; but the origin of this myth will have to be sought in quite another direction. We noticed above that the great catastrophe is placed by the Babylonians in the middle of the winter season, in the eleventh month[1] (Šebaṭ = Jan.-Feb.), which was regarded as specially the time of storms, and had for its patron the rain-god and storm-god Rammān. To the present writer it seems most probable that the Deluge-story was originally a nature-myth, representing the phenomena of winter, which in Babylonia especially is a time of rain. The hero rescued in the ship must originally have been the sun-god.[2] Thus, the Deluge and the deliverance of Pār(?)-napišti are ultimately but a variant to the Babylonian Creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2 *f.*). Now we can understand the very peculiar designation of the Deluge-period mentioned already. The 'great serpent' is no other than the personified ocean, which on the old Babylonian map (see above, § 5) encircles Babylonia, just as 'leviathan the wreathed serpent' (Is. 27 1) is the world-encircling ocean personified as a serpent:[3] it is the same monster that is a central figure in the Creation-story.

The question as to the relation of the Babylonian to the Hebrew Deluge-story can now be satisfactorily answered. If, as we believe, the former had its origin in Babylonia, and is fundamentally a myth of winter and the sun-god, the Hebrew story must have been borrowed from the Babylonian. In this case, Dillmann's theory of a common Semitic tradition, which developed among the Hebrews in one way, and among the Babylonians in another, is once more put out of court (see CREATION, § 4). H. Z.

9. Of Hebrew story.

The Israelitish story of the submergence of the earth (*i.e.*, of the part known to the narrators) by a Deluge is found in the Book of Genesis (6 5-9 19) in two forms, belonging respectively to J_2 and to P, which have been welded together (see GENESIS, § 8). There are also allusions to the story (all late) in Ezek. 14 14 20 Is. 54 9 Ps. 29 10 Is. 24 5 18 Job 22 15 *f.* (?). It remains to be seen, however, whether the two forms of the tradition in Genesis are really independent; it may be that, as in the case of the Creation-story (see CREATION, § 12), P has only given a somewhat different setting to data which he has derived from J_2. It is no objection to this view that P's account is longer and in some respects less fragmentary than that of J_2. The editor (or editors) naturally preferred the former, because P's work was systematically adopted as the framework of the combined historical narrative. The three principal points in which P is fuller than J_2 are (1) the announcement of the coming deluge to Noah, and the command to build an ark (or chest), the measurements of which are prescribed; (2) the notice of the place where the ark grounded; and (3) the appointment of the rainbow as the sign of the covenant between God and man. On all these points, we may

10. P dependent on J_2.

[1] The fragments of Berossus mention Daisius (May-June) as the month of the Deluge. This notice is suspicious on several grounds. The writer who excerpted Berossus probably identified the eighth Babylonian month with Arabesamna (Oct.-Nov.) with the eighth Syro-Macedonian month Daisius. The biblical records clearly makes the Deluge begin in Marḥeswān. On this view, both Berossus and the OT placed the beginning of the Deluge early in the winter, instead of in the middle of that season—an easily intelligible variant.

[2] [The same view is given in Che.'s art. 'Deluge,' *EB*9. See below.]

[3] Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 46. See BEHEMOTH and LEVIATHAN, § 3 (*f.*), SERPENT, § 3 (*f.*).

safely presume, information was given in J_2. To suppose that the latter began with 'And Yahwe said to Noah, Go thou with a into the ark,' would be absurd, and Budde right in supposing that the measurements in Gen. 7 15 come from J_2, who on his sid derived them from some form of the Baby (cp GOPHER-WOOD). Budde has also made that J_2 gave a statement as to the resting-p ark, which he placed among the mountains Kasdim. P knew that there were higher than these in the N., and transferred the ARARAT (*q.v.*, § 3); though it is probable the support of the later Babylonian tr Bērōssus).

Nor need we doubt that the episode of also was told by J_2, to whose delicate im would be in a high degree co is true, there is nothing lik Deluge-story given in the Gilg but we do not know all the variants of the myth. Most probably, however, J_2 may honour of having invented this exquisite covenant. The covenant is distinctly Isra the sign should be Israelitish too. A proba contact for the rainbow episode is suggest words of the Babylonian poet (*ll.* 92-102 'A dark cloud came up from the foundation Rammān (the storm-god) thundered therein. noise of Rammān penetrated to heaven; it brightness into obscurity.' The flashes of li the storm-god's arrows (Ps. 76 3 [4] 78 48 and when the storm ceases, the god lays asi (this is said, *e.g.*, of the god Indra, after his the demons). If the Hebrew story in its ori referred to the thundering of Yahwè, w believe that when J_2 appended the accou covenant he said to himself that the bow wh had laid aside could be no other than th There is, at any rate, no exact mythic paralle to the use made of the rainbow in Gen. 9 12-1

11. Rainbow episode.

There are also other points of difference and P. (*a*) The latter is without the vivid the sending out of the birds (J_2); such a prosaic writer woul think these superfluous. (*b*) important point is P's non-recognition of the between clean and unclean animals (Gen. 7 2 his not mentioning the sacrifice which, accor (Gen. 8 20), Noah offered after leaving the cause of these deviations of P is obvious. Hi theory of the origin of the cultus imposed o necessity of harmonising the tradition with it.

12. P's deviations.

(*c*) Not less remarkable is the difference and P as to the duration of the Deluge. Ac J_2, seven days elapsed after the command to enter the ark; then the rain-storm[1] came, an forty days and forty nights; then in three ti days the waters disappeared. The computa gives more occasion to debate.

It is stated in MT (7 11) that the deluge began on teenth of the second month, and that on the twenty the second month in the following year the earth was If this is correct, the flood lasted 1 year 11 days; lunar year forms the basis of the computation, 35 which make a solar year. This looks very much like correction; the flood really lasted a lunar year. reads in 7 11 'twenty-seventh' (ϐADEL) instead of 'se In this case the solar year would be meant,[2] and the the deluge (365 days) would be the same as that of Enoch (365 years). We also learn that 'the water on the earth 150 days' (7 24 cp 8 3). This ought to

[1] Cp Ps. 29 10. P (7 11) ascribes the deluge pa partly to the breaking up of the 'fountains of the g (*lit.*, of the waters under the earth, cp Gen. 49 approaches more nearly to the Babylonian accou speaks of the sea as being driven on the land by a Possibly J_2, in its original form, made some reference or to the subterranean waters.

[2] On P's year cp also YEAR.

five months (7 11 8 4). But 150 days are more than five lunar months; it is clear that solar months must be meant (see, however, Di. *Gen.* 129 *f.*, and his dissertation on the Calendar, *Monatsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1881, pp. 930 *f.*; Bacon, 'Chronology of the Account of the Flood in P,' *Hebraica*, 8 (92) 79-88; Nowack, *HA* 2 220).

We are thus enabled to some extent to reconstruct the Deluge-story of J_2. No doubt some archaic incidents have been lost, but P has preserved three of the most important details which were found in the earlier narrative, though he has moved the Mountain of the Ark northwards. He has also retained מַבּוּל (*κατακλυσμός*), J_2's term for the Deluge:[1] outside of J_2 and P in the Deluge-story, the term occurs only in Ps. 29 10 (post-exilic), and in Gen. 6 17 7 6 an editor has glossed it by the word מַיִם 'waters'; also תֵּבָה, 'chest'[2] (*κιβωτός*, Vg. *arca*), used elsewhere only of Moses' ark of Nile-reeds (Ex. 2 3 5, *θ[ε]κ[ί]δ[ι]* [BAF] *θηβη* [L]), and we may presume that the words גֹּפֶר (see GOPHER-WOOD) and כֹּפֶר[3] 'bitumen,' both occurring in 6 14 and nowhere else, were retained from the lost narrative of J_2.

13. J_2's narrative.

But what of J_1? Did his narrative of the origin of man contain any Deluge-story? No—at any rate, if the theory ably propounded by Budde be accepted. J_1's narrative contained Gen. 2 4*b*-3 4 1*a*2 16*b*-24 6 1 *f.* 4 9 20-27 (but on *v.* 27 see JAPHETH) 11 1-8: it included no Deluge-story. In this record Noah appears as the first agriculturist, and the inventor of wine. A corruption of the text, and perhaps editorial convenience, led to his identification with the hero of the Deluge, who (it is held) had originally the name of Enoch, but had now to take that of Noah in exchange (see NOAH). We need not, however, suppose that the Deluge-myth was unknown to the Israelites before J_2 wrote. It is in reality a pendant to the Creation-story: we should naturally have expected both stories to reach the Israelites at the same time. We have, indeed, no direct evidence of this; but the expression הַיָּבֵשׁ has a very archaic appearance. At one time יבש must have had a meaning in Hebrew, and that time must have been long anterior to J_2. But the Deluge-myth, like the companion-story which underlies Gen. 1, did not, it seems, take a firm hold on the Israelitish people: when J_2, or (more probably) the earlier writer from whom he draws, shaped his story, the Deluge-myth had passed out of mind, and needed to be revived by the help of some one acquainted with cuneiform documents (cp CREATION, § 11 *f.*).

14. J_1 had no Deluge-story.

(*a*) Of the earliest Israelitish Deluge-myth and of its Canaanitish original we know nothing. (*b*) Lucian (160 A.D.), laughing in his sleeve, gives the Syrian Flood-story of his day;[4] but it has been partly Hellenised, and probably Judaised (a 'great box or chest,' λάρναξ, is spoken of), and we can lay no stress upon it. Its origin was no doubt Babylonian. 'Most people,' says Lucian, 'relate that the founder of the temple (of Hierapolis) was Deucalion-Sisythes.' (*c*) The Phœnician version of the myth, if there ever was one, has perished.[5] (*d*) The

15. Other Semitic Del.-stories lost.

[1] מבול, 'destruction': hence 'deluge' from Bab.-ass. *nabālu*, 'to destroy'; cp נפלים, a softened form of נבלים, Gen. 6 4 Nu. 13 33. The word was chosen probably as a synonym for Bab.-ass. *abūbu* (deluge), on account of the assonance, when the Bab. Deluge-myth first became naturalised in Canaan. On the etym. cp Frd. Del *Par.* 156; Haupt, in *KAT*(2) 60; Cheyne, *Psalms*(1), 380, *Hebraica*, 3 175; Jensen, *Exp. Times*, 9 (98) 284 (derives from נבל, 'to rain' (against which see Del. *Genesis* [87] 172, and cp König, *Lehrgb.* 2 153). On the form of the Syriac loan-word *mānūl*, cp König, 1 495. Such a notable mythological word as *abūbu* was certain to be naturalised in Canaan in some form (cp BELIAL).

[2] תֵּבָה may be of Egyptian, but can scarcely be of Bab. origin, as Jensen (*ZA* 4 273 *f.*) represents. The word *tebitim* in the phrase *ina elippi tebitim* is most naturally connected with √טבע.

[3] Cp *kupri* in the parallel passage in the Gilgameš-epic.

[4] *De Dea Syra*, chap. 12 *f.*; cp Jos. *Ant.* i. 3 .

[5] Gruppe's opposite view (*ZATW* 9 135 *ff.* [89]) is unsatisfactory.

Arabs, like the Egyptians,[1] certainly never had any, though the legendary el-Hidr (see col. 1064, n. 1), who in the Alexander legend conducts the hero to the waters of life, and in the Koran, according to the commentators (*Sur.* 18 59), is found by Moses 'at the confluence of two seas (rivers?),' may be a reflection of Par-napišti, or rather Hasis-atra (from a shortened form of which el-Hidr may be derived).

Outside of Babylonia, therefore, the only extant Semitic tradition is that of J_2 and P. This is obviously based on the Babylonian myth, and the substitution of a 'chest' for a 'ship' is due either to reflection, or to a confusion between two Bab. [illegible] words, and in any case not to independent tradition. J_2's account is the typical one; P's statements as to the length of Enoch's life and the duration of the Deluge seem to rest on Jewish Aggada.

The typical Babylonian myth is that in the Gilgameš-epic (see above), which appears to be the local tradition of the city of Šurippak (see Frd. Del. *Par.* 224; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 387); but the variant discovered by Peiser[2] (§ 5), and the much fuller one transmitted by Bērossus,[3] also are valuable. The Babylonian king, Xisuthrus, is the hero of the Berossian Deluge-story; in this way Bērossus disguised the name of Atra-hasis, transposing the two parts of the name or title.[4] Xisuthrus, he says, was accompanied on board the ship (*σκάφος, πλοῖον, ναῦς*) by wife, children, friends, and steersman, and took with him quadrupeds and birds. He was ordered to turn the course of his vessel 'towards the gods.' How long the flood lasted we are not told. When it went down, he sent out birds three times; the third time the birds did not return. Then he discovered that the ship had grounded 'on a certain mountain.' With wife, daughter, and steersman, he disembarked, erected an altar, sacrificed, and then passed out of sight with his companions. Those who remained heard a voice which announced that Xisuthrus had been taken to be with the gods as a reward for his piety; also that the land in which they were was Armenia (cp Gen. 8 4 P). They were, further, commanded to dig up the sacred books which Xisuthrus, before embarking, had buried at Sispara to transmit them to mankind. This form of the story was, therefore, the local tradition of the ancient city of Sippar, on the left bank of the Euphrates (the *Abu Habba* of to-day). We may plausibly assume that the fragment discovered by Scheil (see § 6) also belonged to the story current at Sippar. Here, however, we find, only Atra-hasis as the name of the hero of the Deluge. This name, however, is perhaps to be regarded rather as a title than as a personal name.

16. Berossian variant.

The epic narrative fills up the lacuna in the Berossian story. It presupposes a division of the period of the Deluge into an (at present) uncertain number of weeks. The same predilection for the number seven is visible in J_2's account (see Gen. 7 2 4 8 [6] 1 12). Similarly the epic agrees more definitely than Bērossus with J_2 in its notice respecting the birds. Seven days after the calming of the waters Pār-napišti sends out first a dove, then a swallow, then a raven. J_2 less naturally puts the raven before the dove: probably he did not draw directly from a Babylonian source (see above, § 11, end; § 14, end). The other details of the Deluge have been simplified by J_2 (or his prede-

17. The Epic, J_2, and Gen. 5 23.

[1] There is no Egyptian Flood-myth. It is hardly allowable to quote the myth of the Destruction of Man (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 164-165) as a 'very deluge myth,' for the story has a ritual purpose.

[2] Cp Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 56 *f.*

[3] See Müller, *Fragm. Histor. Graec.* 2 501 (Eus. *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, 1 19 *f.*), and cp Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9 12 (Abydenus where the hero's name is Sisithrus. Lucian (see above, § 15 (*b*)) had heard the name Sisythes.

[4] Probably, according to Haupt, the adverbial accusative *atra* was affixed in the later period of the language. (*Proc. of Amer. Or. Soc.*, March 1894).

cessor). The rather grotesque polytheistic setting has disappeared: P, who retained the plural form ('Let us make man') in Gen. 1 26, found nothing corresponding to this in the old Deluge-story. In Gen. 8 21 ('And Yahwe smelled the sweet savour') we find a reminiscence of the mythic description in the epic (see above, § 2); but the most startling part of the description has vanished. The cause assigned to the Deluge is nobler in J_2 (P) than in the epic. In the latter (*ll.* 168-175) Ea reproaches Bēl with having punished the innocent with the guilty: the offence consisted, it appears, in the neglect of the accustomed sacrifices to the gods.[1] In J_2 (P), on the other hand, no special stress is laid on sacrifices, and no limitation is made to the sweeping declaration that 'the earth is filled with violence' (Gen. 6 13), whilst the injunction laid upon the survivors after the Deluge is not that they should be 'reverent' in a ritual sense, but that they should not deface the image of God by shedding man's blood (Gen. 9 6). The close of the epic narrative, however, redeems the character of the poet, and irresistibly suggests the theory, supported elsewhere, that 'Noah' should rather be 'Enoch.' It was for the children of the Hebrew Xisuthrus to re-found a human race of finer quality than that which had perished. Xisuthrus himself was too great and good a man to encounter or endure more the ordinary trials of humanity. Atra-hasis was transported to the earthly Paradise, 'afar off at the mouth of the rivers'[2] (the Euphrates and the Tigris).' The Hebrew Xisuthrus, like his model in the Berossian account, 'was not (=disappeared), for God had taken him' (Gen. 5 24).

Both Bērōssus and the priestly writer represent a period later than Aśur-bāni-pal's epic. The earthly Paradise was no doubt the original home of the translated Xisuthrus, though we cannot suppose that it was always placed 'at the mouth of the rivers': mythic geography is notoriously fluctuating. The earliest location of Paradise was on the slopes of the mysterious mythic mountain, which reached upward to the sky (cp CHERUB, i. § 7). When the idea of an earthly Paradise had worn out, men thought of Xisuthrus as in heaven, and this is really more in accord with the earliest form of the myth. For, though the theory offered above by Zimmern (§ 8) probably does embody the interpretation of the most cultured Babylonian priests, we can hardly regard it as a complete explanation. It is more like the afterthought of a semi-philosophic age than like the spontaneous imagination of primitive men. There would be more plausibility in the notion that some definite historical catastrophe lies at the root of the story, if we could only believe that tradition could preserve so remote an occurrence. The truth is that a definite occurrence does lie at the root of the story: only, it is an imaginary, not a historical occurrence.

18. Primitive ether-myth.

The Deluge-myth in Babylonia and elsewhere seems to have grown out of an archaic ether-myth, akin to that prevalent in Egypt. Originally the sun was imagined as a man voyaging on a boat in the heavenly ocean. When this story had been told and retold a long time, rationalism suggested that the sea was not in heaven but on earth, and observation of the damage wrought in winter by incessant rains and the inundations of great rivers suggested the introduction of corresponding details into the new earthly Deluge-myth. This theory is supported by the Polynesian Deluge-myths collected by Gerland,[3] the origin of which is still plainly visible. In these, the sun and the moon were imagined sometimes as peaks emerging out of a flood, sometimes

[1] Throughout the epic-story the sacrificial interest is prominent. Bērōssus, too, relates that a voice from heaven bade the friends whom Xisuthrus left behind be reverent towards the gods (θεοσεβεῖς)—*i.e.*, punctual in sacrifices.

[2] Probably an island in the Persian Gulf is meant (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 213).

[3] Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 6 296-373. See also Schurren, *Wanderungen der Neuseeländer* (56), p. 193.

as canoes, sometimes as a man and his wife; sometimes as ships, sometimes as human beings, children of the sun and moon; the clouds described as ships—the 'ships of Tangaloa' (the heaven- and air-god). The flood itself was sometimes 'flood of the moon' (so at Hawaii), sometimes 'flood of day's eye,'—*i.e.*, the sun (so at Tahiti). This accounts for the strongly mythological character of Pār-napiśti in Babylonia and of Maui in New Zealand, who are, in fact, solar personages. Enoch too is classed in this category; his perfect righteousness, superhuman wisdom[1] now first become intelligible, moreover, we now comprehend how the goddess Sabitu, guardian of the entrance to the sea) can say to Gilgamesh (himself a solar personage) 'Śamaś the mighty, the sun-god, crossed the sea; besides (?) Śamaś can cross it?'[2] For, though the 'sea' in the epic is no doubt the earth-circling ocean, it was hardly so in the myth from which the words were taken.

The transference of the Deluge from heaven to earth had two effects. First, it produced a virtual duplicate of the Creation-myth.[3] This paved the way to a probable explanation of the appearance of the raven, swallow, and the dove in the Babylonian account, of the dove and the raven in the Hebrew account. An authentic and striking Polynesian parallel to the description in Gen. 1 2 ('. . . brooding over the face of the waters') has been given already (see CREATION). N. American tribes, too, frequently connect the emergence of the earth from the primordial ocean with the flight of a raven, and their flood-myths, according to Brinton, connect the rebuilding of the earth with the agency of birds.[4] In the Algonkin account, however, the muskrat succeeds, when the raven fails, in finding a piece of the submerged earth.[5] In the primitive Babylonian myths of Creation and Deluge a bird (whether raven or dove), or birds, probably had a share in the processes of creation and re-creation.

19. Its transformation.

The second effect of the transference spoken of was a new speculative theory. It occurred to the early thinkers that the idea of a second construction of the world lightened the problem of the origin of things. The primeval world arose might be difficult to explain satisfactorily: various mythic stories were current; it was not so hard to conceive of a world once destroyed being reconstructed. Thus, in course of time systematisers devised schemes bearing some resemblance to the cycles of the Stoics. It seemed to them as if the Creator were constantly being baffled in his experiments by physical or moral perversity in the materials. Thus the priests of the Aztecs spoke of four antecedent worlds separated by universal cataclysms, the present being the fifth and last,[6] and a similar belief, in rudimentary form,

[1] Enoch, like Pār-napiśti, might be called *Atra-hasis*, 'the wise.' Omniscience is an attribute of the sun-god. The title appears to be given to the young eagle in the myth of Etana (see ETANA)—a supernatural bird (*Beitr. zur. Ass.* Notice, 1 [illegible]), that the old eagle in the Etana-myth and Pār-napiśti are both mentioned in connection with magical flight. The legendary el-Hidr of the Moslems, whom Guyard and Lenormant (*Les origines*, 2 [illegible] *f.*) identify with Hasis-adra, is also the wisest of beings. Cp above, § 15. On this interesting parallel, cp Lidzbarski, *ZA* 7 104 *ff.*, 8 263 *ff.*, and [illegible] *Z.A* 7 310 *ff.*; also Clermont Ganneau, *Rev. Archéol.* 32 [illegible]. See also ELIJAH, § 5.

[2] See Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 584; Jeremias, *L.d.-A.* [illegible] 31. Sabitu, it has been remarked, has some slight affinity with Circe.

[3] Was the Akitu-festival at Babylon a commemoration of the Deluge? It is referred to in the epic narrative, *l.* 7[illegible]. In an inscription of Nebuchadrezzar we learn that it was called 'Zakmuk' (Jensen, *Kosmol.* [illegible]). Now Zakmuk, the New Year festival, commemorated Creation. See col. 941, n. 1.

[4] Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 204; cp Mac[illegible] *JRAI* 9, 1908, p. 189.

[5] Brinton (*op. cit.* 209 *ff.*) gives the 'authentic form' on the authority of Father Le Jeune (1634). It appears that the Algonkins supposed all mankind to have perished in the Deluge. This is against deriving this Deluge-myth from a previous creation myth. The Algonkin view, however, is not largely represented.

[6] Réville, *Religions of Mexico and Peru*, 114.

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is still prevalent throughout the American-Indian tribes. The Zoroastrians believed in six ages of the world, with a final catastrophe issuing in a renovation. The six ages are of late origin (see CREATION, § 9); but the renovation, as Darmesteter admits, goes back to the Achæmenian period. Not without stimulus from Zoroastrianism, the Jews in later times advanced to the same belief.[1] They were assured that the present world would be destroyed and that a new heaven and earth would take its place (Is. 24^{18-20}, 51^{6}[2] 65^{17} 66^{22} Mt. 19^{28} 2 Pet. 3^{12} *f.* Enoch 45^{4} *f.* Apoc. Bar. 32^{6}); in harmony with Gen. 9^{15} fire was to be the destroying agency (2 Pet. *l.c.*). These beliefs were naturally fostered by the moral idealism of the best men, as we see, not only from the biblical writings (*e.g.*, Gen. 6^{11} 2 Pet. 2^{5} κόσμος ἀσεβῶν, 3^{7}), and from the Babylonian story, but also from an American (Quiché) story, which says 'They did not think or speak of the Creator who had created them, and who had caused their birth.'[3] The intense moral fervour of the ancient Zoroastrian hope of world-renovation is well known (see PERSIA).

If it were possible to believe in a primitive tradition respecting early human history, and to accept all mythic narratives as independent traditions, we should have a weary waste of Deluge-stories still to plod through. There are, however, only three more such accounts which have any special interest from our present point of view.

20. Other Deluge-myths.

(*a*) The Indian Deluge-story is the first.[4] This can hardly be a genuine Aryan myth, for there is no clear reference to it in the Rig Veda.

The *Satapatha Brahmana*, where it first occurs, was written (Weber) not long before the Christian era. Another version, in which the lacunæ of the earlier one are filled up, is given in the *Mahâbhârata*; but this poem, though it existed in part before the Christian era, did not assume its present form till long afterwards. A third version, still more decidedly Indian in character, but with some suspicious resemblances to the Semitic accounts, is given in the *Bhagavata Purâna*; but the earliest possible date of this work is the twelfth century A.D., which deprives its account of the deluge of all claim to originality.

The principal characteristic of the older Flood-story is the part assigned to the fish which warns Manu of the Deluge, and ultimately saves him by drawing his ship to a northern mountain. This is surely out of character with Aryan mythology. The horned fish, in which Brahma appears, reminds us strongly of the Babylonian fish-god Ea. It was Ea who gave notice of the coming Deluge to Pâr-napîšti. Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, 101), Jensen, (*Kosmol.* 497) and Oldenberg (*Rel. des Veda*, 276) consider the Babylonian origin of the Indian Flood-story to be certain; but on the other hand cp Usener, *Untersuch.* 3 240-244.

(*b*) The second account is a Zoroastrian myth in the Avesta (*Vendidad*, 2 46 *ff.*). In its present form (even after the prosaic additions have been removed; see Geldner, in Usener, 3 209 *ff.*) it seems to have been influenced by the Hebrew Deluge-story.

The Var, a square enclosure constructed by Yima (= Yama, the Vedic god of the dead), had a door and perhaps a window,[5] like Noah's Ark, and it was designed to preserve men, women, and animals. Apart from this, it reminds us of the biblical Eden, and the calamity which was to be averted was, not a flood, but a terrible winter's frost, connected, however, with the end of the world.[6] The myth seems to be a recast of elements from more than one source.

(*c*) The third is a Phrygian myth. Possibly there was a primitive native Deluge-story; but, if so, it was vitalised from a Jewish source, some time during the third or the second century, B.C., when (as Ramsay has

[1] Che. *OPs.* 404 *ff.*

[2] Is. 51^{16} is a late mosaic of phrases, and irrelevant (see Du. *a l.loc.*).

[3] Brinton, *op. cit.* 207 *f.* This is of course a later addition, as it is one of the forms of the Tahitian myth (Waitz-Gerland, 6 271).

[4] See Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, 1 196-201; Burnouf, *Bhagâvata Purâna*, 2 191; Weber, *Indische Studien*, 1 161-232.

[5] The Zend word rendered 'window,' however, is said to be as obscure as the Hebrew (צֹהַר, Gen. 6^{16}; see LATTICE).

[6] Cp. Kohut, *JQR*, 1890, pp. 225-227.

pointed out) many thousands of Jews from Babylonia were settled as colonists in the cities which the Seleucid kings had built. This was the period of the intermingling of religions, when Judaism took made conquests, especially in Asia Minor. Even those who were not otherwise Judaized were influenced by Jewish legends (cp SODOM AND GOMORRAH). Important cities exhibited on their coins biblical symbols, and harmonised their old traditions with biblical narratives.[1]

Thus Apamea (formerly Kelainai) adopted the Noah-legend; Iconium, that of Enoch, whose name was connected with the Phrygian name of Ναννακος or Αννακος. This king (for such tradition made him) was said to have lived more than 300 years, to have announced the coming Deluge, and to have prayed for his people. The mountain land by Apamea was said to be that on which Noah's ark grounded; the city therefore assumed the title κιβωτος (Ark).

The [illegible] already given are almost sufficient (they may be supplemented from Dillmann's *Gen.* [illegible]; but at least a brief notice is due to Lenormant's study in *Les origines de l'histoire*, 1 [illegible] *ff.* The conclusion arrived at is that of Franz Delitzsch and Dillmann, that the Deluge is no 'myth,' but a historical fact. Lenormant, at any rate, holds that the three great civilised races of the [illegible] preserved a dim recollection of it. This [illegible] power in tradition, which the [illegible] popular traditions do not justify. [illegible] a martyr of patriotism, in [illegible] Would [illegible] his mind hold he lived? [illegible] respected the honesty of those who [illegible] the Deluge-story as a precious record of the [illegible] tion which has been made subservient to a high moral idealism. See ADAM AND EVE.

21. Appendix on Lenormant.

Lastly, the writer would call attention to Jastrow's two articles on Scheil's Deluge-story, § [illegible] in the *Amer. Journ. Philol.* [illegible], 16th and 17th Feb. 1898 (cp his *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 502 506). It is here maintained that a local tradition of a rain-storm which submerged a single city has been combined in the Gilgameš-epic with a myth of the destruction of mankind based upon the annual phenomenon of the overflow of the Euphrates. Pir-napîšti or Pâr-napîšti (as Haupt in *KAT*[3] and Jastrow prefer to read the name) is the hero of the local tradition, while Hasis-adra (= חֲסִיס אַדְרָה, Gen. 6 9, according to Jastrow) is the hero of the larger nature-myth. The present writer admits that the version in the epic is of composite origin, and that the names Pir-napîšti and Hasis-adra may perhaps come from different sources; but he holds that all the Babylonian deluge-stories, whether simple or composite, have a mythic basis. Moreover, he does not recognise that the simplicity of the oldest Hebrew version of the Deluge-story heightens the probability that the Hebrews carried that story with them when they left their Euphratean settlements. The account given above of the origin and development of the Hebrew story has surely not lost any of its probability in consequence of Scheil's discovery.

22. And on Jastrow's theory.

[See, in addition to works already cited, Noldeke, 'Der Mythus von der Sündfluth,' *Im neuen Reich* ['72], pp. 247-259; R. Andree, *Die Flutsagen; ethnographisch betrachtet* ('91); H. Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Untersuchungen*, pt. 3 ('99), especially § 7, 'Ergebnisse'; M. Jastrow, 'Adrahasis and Parnapištum,' *ZA* 1899, pp. 288-301. On the chief questions arising out of the Babylonian Deluge-story, cp Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* ('98), pp. 493-508, which, as also Usener's work, appeared after this article had been written.]

H. Z. §§ 1-5, 7-9; T. K. C. §§ 6, 10-22.

DELUS, RV DELOS (ΔΗΛΟϹ [ANV], *Delus*), the

[1] See Babelon, 'La Trad. phryg. du Déluge,' *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* ('91), pp. 174 *ff.*; Usener, *op. cit.*, 48-50; and, on Apamea-Kelainai, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, chaps. 11, 12.

smallest of the Cyclades, regarded by the ancients as the centre of the group—a confusion of the geographical and religious points of view (cp Str. 405). Delos was both a shrine and a commercial centre, and 'her whole destiny is explained by her religious traditions and her geographical situation.' Though nominally free, the island was really subject to the dominant power for the time being in the Aegean. It was a free port as early as 168 B.C., and attracted a great part of the Rhodian trade (Polyb. 317). After 146 B.C. it entered upon the heritage of Corinth (Str. 486). The acquisition of the province of Asia by the Romans in 133 B.C. added greatly to the wealth and importance of Delos. Now began the most brilliant epoch of its history: the inscriptions show that its commercial relations were with the Levant, chiefly Syria and Egypt. So Pausanias calls the island τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόριον (viii. 332). For long it was the chief emporium of merchandise from the E. to the W., so that the fine bronze or copper wares of Greece were called indifferently Corinthian, or Delian, from the place of export (Pl. *HN* xxxiv. 29; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 231). The island became especially a great slave mart, where the Asiatic slave dealers disposed of their human cargoes to Italian speculators; as many as ten thousand were landed and sold in a day (Str. 668). Naturally such a spot attracted large numbers of Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 108; Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 36; cp 1 Macc. 1523). According to a Greek inscription, a company of Tyrian merchants was settled there as early as the second century B.C. (*CIG* 2271). At the altar of Delos Antiochus Epiphanes set up statues (Polyb. 261), and an inscription to Herod Antipas has been discovered in the island (cp Schür. *GJV* I. ii.). In 88 B.C. 20,000 men, mostly Italians, were massacred in the island by Archelaus, admiral of the Pontic fleet of Mithridates, a blow from which it partially recovered, only to be finally ruined about twenty years later by the systematic and wholesale destruction wrought by the pirate Athenodorus. The resurrection of the island was rendered impossible by the rapid growth of Puteoli and the revival of Corinth (for its decay, cp Paus. viii. 332 ix. 346).

See the articles by M. Homolle in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, especially *Les Romains à Délos, op. cit.* 875 *f.* A good account in Diehl's *Excursions in Greece*, ET, 128 *f.* W. J. W.

DEMAS (ΔΗΜΑϹ [Ti. WH]) is enumerated by the apostle Paul as among his 'fellow-workers' at the time of his (first) Roman captivity (Philem. 24; see also Col. 414). In 2 Tim. 410 he is thus alluded to: 'Demas forsook me, having loved this present world, and went to Thessalonica.' Nothing is known of him beyond what may be inferred or conjectured from these allusions.

He is enumerated in the 'list of the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre (*Chr. Pasch.*, Bonn ed., 2121) and is stated to have become a priest of idols in Thessalonica. Along with Hermogenes, he figures prominently in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* as a hypocritical companion of the former, and to Hermogenes and Demas is assigned the particular heresy about the resurrection which in 2 Tim. 217 is attributed to Hymenæus and Philetus.

DEMETRIUS (ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟϹ [ⲚV]—*i.e.*, of, or belonging to, Demeter, a proper name of very common occurrence among the Greeks).

1. Demetrius I., surnamed Soter,[1] king of Syria, son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, was sent in his early youth to Rome as a hostage, the throne meanwhile being occupied by his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes (see ANTIOCHUS, 2). After some time he effected his escape to Tripolis (chiefly through the aid of the historian Polybius), and thence proceeded to Antioch where he proclaimed himself king, securing his position by putting to death his cousin Antiochus Eupator (ANTIOCHUS, 3), and LYSIAS (1 Macc. 7; 162 B.C.). He lost no time in pleasing the Hellenizing party by sending Bacchides to instal Alcimus as high-

[1] He received this honorary designation on account of his delivering the Babylonians from the satrap Heraclides.

priest (see BACCHIDES, ALCIMUS). The dis
caused by the latter need not here be descr
Syrian general NICANOR [*q.v.*] was de
Capharsalama (7 26 *ff.*), and at Adasa (7 a
warning was sent from Rome to Demetri
interfere with the Jews; but it was too lat
than two months after the fall of Nicanor
invasion under Bacchides took place; the
power was seriously crippled (chap. 9, 160
further BACCHIDES). Seven years later D
disputing the sovereignty with Alexande
endeavoured, though in vain, to secure the s
the Maccabean party (chap. 10), and aft
hostilities died fighting his rival[1] (*vv.* 49 *f.*; 1
See MACCABEES, § 5.

2. Demetrius II., Nicātor, son of the ab
had been living in exile in Crete, came
Cilicia to avenge his father's ill success in
and secured a powerful follower in the
APOLLONIUS (*q.v.*, 2). An engagement took
Ashdod, and Apollonius was decisively beaten
1067 *f.*). Shortly afterwards, however, his ha
unexpectedly strengthened by the secession of
VI. Philomētor (see PTOLEMY, 1), who trans
him his daughter Cleopatra, the wife of A
Balas (see ALEXANDER, 2). Alexander wa
flight and Demetrius became king in 145 B.C
A treaty by which Jonathan obtained fa
concessions was concluded (MACCABEES, §
Demetrius, believing his position secure, took
wise step of discharging his regular troops,
once went over to Tryphon, the guardian of th
son of Alexander Balas (11 38 *ff.*; see TR
Profiting by the approach of a disturbance,
obtained fresh concessions from Demetrius
understanding that Tryphon's rebellion in
should be put down. This was successfully
plished; but when Jonathan saw that Demetrius
no signs of carrying out his promises he w
persuaded to transfer his allegiance to T
Demetrius' princes entered Judæa and after a te
success were routed in the neighbourhood of
(1163 *ff.*). Another invasion was meditated
144, but was successfully warded off by Jo
skilful generalship (1224 *ff.*). The scene s
changed when Tryphon usurped the throne o
and endeavoured, with some success, to reduce
Jonathan was dead and Simon busied hin
strengthening the defences. An embassy was
Demetrius II., who, to obtain Simon's support,
granted all the Jewish demands including
complete immunity from taxation[2] (1331 *ff.*). T
Simon to continue the struggle against T
Demetrius marched to Persia, partly for co
partly to acquire auxiliaries; but he was c
by Mithridates I. (see PERSIA) and imprison
place in Syria being taken by his younger
Antiochus Sidētes (1 Macc. 141 *ff.*; see ANTIOCH
From non-biblical sources we know that, at the
tion of ten years, he resumed the throne (128
quarrelled with Ptolemy Physkon and his
Alexander Zabinas, and was finally conque
Damascus, after fleeing from which place
murdered at Tyre in 125 B.C. (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii.

3. A silversmith of Ephesus, who was the chief insti
the tumult in the interests of his craft which brough
mission in that city to a close (Acts 1924 *ff.*). See DIA
EPHESUS. The conjecture that he figures again in
as a convert to Christianity, precarious at best,
singularly so when the commonness of the name is cons

4. A Christian mentioned with commendation in 3 Jn.
That he was the bearer of the epistle is sometimes inferr

[1] If we follow RV (after AⲚ, etc.) and read 'the
Alexander fled,' it would seem that *vv.* 49 and *v.* 50 must
to two different accounts. See more fully Jos. *Ant.* xiii.
cp *Cambr. Bible*, ad loc.

[2] This independence gained by the Jews was marked
introduction of a new era, cp Chron. [illegible], § 1.

the inference has no more stringency than [illegible] do.].

DEMONS. Demons are a survival from an earlier faith; continued belief in them is due to the conservative instincts of the ordinary religious mind, and is thus particularly characteristic of the popular religion. For this reason references to demons scarcely occur in the earlier OT literature, which is so largely prophetic. Such references increase in frequency, however, in the later Jewish writings, and are numerous in NT; this is due partly to the foreign influences (Babylonian, Persian, and Greek) under which the Jews came in exilic and post-exilic times, and partly to the fact that the earlier beliefs, after being transformed, lent themselves as explanations of some of the religious problems that were arising.

1. General survey.

For the Gk. (Hellenistic) term δαιμόνιον or δαίμων (see below, § 6), whence the English term 'demon' is derived, Hebrew possesses no clear equivalent. Δαιμόνιον occurs in the LXX only in Dt. 32 17 Ps. 90 6 95 5 106 37 Is. 13 21 34 14 65 11 [BA] and in Tobit; yet it represents no fewer than five Hebrew words, viz., *'ĕlîl*, *gad*, *śa'ir*, *ṣiyyî*, and *šēd* (Dt. 32 17 Ps. 106 37, cp 91 6, where ℭ reads שָׂר for שׁדי). Of these the first is a general term for false gods; details as to the second and the third will be found in the articles FORTUNE and SATYR, and as to the fourth in WILD BEASTS; only the last is translated 'demon' in RV.

2. Terms in OT.

Similar objects of popular superstition are LILITH, AZAZEL, ASMODEUS (in Tobit), and probably the 'horse-leech' of Prov. 30 15 (see HORSE-LEECH). For details of these also reference must be made to the separate articles. Closely connected with the present subject is the practice of consulting the dead,[1] to which we have reference in the earliest narrative literature (1 S. 28). See DIVINATION, § 4.

Jewish demonology, then, is the result of the survival of primitive Hebrew (Semitic) beliefs, which, having been neither suppressed by, nor wholly assimilated to, the prophetic religion, were quickened by contact with Babylonia, Persia, and Greece (cp ℭ's use of δαιμόνιον, as above, § 2). The chief primitive survivals in the Jewish belief are the quasi-divine character of these beings as shown by the sacrifices offered to them (Dt. 32 17, cp Bar. 4 7 1 Cor. 10 20 Ps. 106 37 Lev. 17 7; cp further, in ℭ, Is. 65 3 11, and the sacrifice to AZAZEL [*q.v.*] described in Lev. 16), their undefined yet local character shown by their association with waste places (Is. 13 21 34 14, cp Rev. 18 2 Bar. 4 35, and [Vg.] Tob. 8 3), and their connection with animals, indicated by their sharing the waste places with wild beasts (foregoing references, and Mk. 1 13), and the meaning of such a term as *śe'irim* (hairy ones, goats); on the similar character of the Arabian *jinn*, see Robertson Smith's *Rel. Sem.*(2) 120 *ff.*

3. Primitive survivals.

The term that is most generic in character is certainly *šēdîm*. Unfortunately the etymology of the word is doubtful, for the view that it signifies 'lord' (Mühlau and Volck's *Gesenius*) cannot be said to be well supported. The cognate word in Assyrian (*šêdu*) denotes the gods or genii who, in the form of huge winged bulls, guard the entrances of the temples (*COT* 1 40). In both passages (exilic or post-exilic) where *šēdîm* occurs in OT it is used quite generally of illegitimate objects of worship (Dt. 32 17 Ps. 106 37), and in the Pesh. *šēdā* is the equivalent of δαιμόνιον. In the later Jewish writings the *šēdîm* are frequently referred to as noxious spirits (see Buxtorf, *Lex.*, *s.v.*); this they have not definitely become in the

4. Šēdîm.

[1] [In the age of the Gospels and of Josephus the spirits of the (wicked) dead were certainly described as δαίμονες or δαιμόνια = *šēdîm*. While the worship of dead ancestors was at its height, however, the wicked dead were disregarded, and the spirits of the good were honoured as *ĕlōhîm* (1 S. 28 13; cp. Is. 19 3 ℭ). It is best therefore to treat necromancy separately; see DIVINATION, § 4.]

OT (on the *šēdîm* see further Dr. and Di. on Dt. 32 17; Hi., Now. on Hos. 12 12 (read שעירים for שורים); Che. *Critica*, 258; *OPs.* 344; G. Hoffmann, *Über einige phönikische Inschriften*, 55, n. 1). See SHADDAI, § 2, and cp SIDDIM, VALE OF.

When angels came to be differentiated as helpful and harmful, and, later, as good and bad (see ANGELS, § 5), the harmful or bad angels closely resembled demons; the difference between the two became, in consequence, less and less. Speculations on the difference may be found in Enoch; the same uncertainty prevails in Mohammedan theology, where, *e.g.*, it is disputed whether Iblis was an angel or a demon.

5. Demons and angels.

G. B. G.

The classical inferiority of δαίμων (and δαιμόνιον) to θεός finds its lowest depth in the Old and the New Testaments, most plainly so in the New.

Even as early as Homer the general equivalence of the two words (*Od.* 21 135 201) was varied by the frequent distinction between θεός as the *free, mighty (Gens)*, and δαίμων as the more abstract, less namable *incidence (Nomen)*, and by the sense of *wickedness* in the adjective δαιμονίος (*Od.* 18 428), as well as by such epithets for δαίμων as κακός and στυγερός. In post-Homeric Greek the inferiority grew in distinctness and degree, and gathered round its [illegible] of evil, and, while δαίμων (*demon*) never altogether ceased in profane Greek to be a *vox media*, the tendency yet to degradation overwhelmingly prevailed. Thus the word that stood to Hesiod (*CAA.* 120) for the benignant souls of heroes of the golden age, served Plato (*Leg.* 717 *a*) for an evil apparition, and the tragedians (Lesch. *Ag.* 1 [illegible]; Soph. *OT* 11 [illegible]) and the Aeneadists (*Ag.* 27 [illegible]) for a gloomy genius of misfortune, often attached to families or to individuals; and finally Plutarch (probably under the influence of Eastern and Alexandrian dualism) included in its category the δαίμονες φαῦλοι, to whom he attributes all that was barbarous and cruel (*De defectu orac.* 14).

6. NT usage.

The sense of *evil spirit* for δαιμόνιον is in the NT quite unmistakable.

Δαίμων does not occur in the LXX, except once in [illegible], and according to the best authorities, appears but twice in the NT, viz. in Mt. and Mk.'s accounts of the Gerasene demon [illegible] (Mt. 8 31; Mk. 5 12; not in Tr. WH in the second passage). Perhaps [illegible] δαίμων as representing even more fully the abstract conception [illegible] (cp τὸ θεῖον) [illegible] δαιμόνιον (cp τὸ θεῖον) [illegible] [illegible] Cp δαιμόνια καινά, Plat. *Apol.* 26 *b* and ξένα δαιμόνια, Acts 17 18.

The word δαιμόνιον (used in the NT about sixty times), best reproduced as 'daemon,' is almost entirely confined to genii in the worst form, evil spirits possessing human beings, though it is used occasionally of evil spirits in general (Ja. 2 19), and once (as above, Acts 17 18) of heathen gods of an inferior order, as well as three times in one passage (1 Cor. 10 20 *f.*) of evil spirits working in the background of idolatry. (See *The Thinker*, May 1895.[1])

The identity of *daemon* and *evil spirit* is obvious from such passages as Lk. 8 2 and 1 Tim. 4 1, and from the comparison of such passages as Mk. 1 26 and Lk. 4 35, Mk. 3 30 and Jn. 10 20, Rev. 16 13 and 14.

The accounts of evil spirits as *possessing* are confined to the Synoptists and Acts, though the idea crops up also in Jn., only however in 7 20 8 48 *f.*, and 10 20 *f.* (δαιμονιῶμαι and ἔχειν δαιμόνιον, said of Jesus himself), and never as actually posited by the writer.

The period immediately embracing the Christian era saw a vast development of the idea of demons or genii, which may be traced to the survival of early animistic conceptions in a higher stage of culture (see Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, chap. 14 *f.*). For our present purpose it is most important to refer to the Persian, the Hellenistic-Jewish, and the Talmudic beliefs. We shall, however, have limit ourselves to the second of these classes of evidence, which appeals most to ordinary educated readers (see also below, § 11, and cp PERSIA).

7. Contemporary belief.

On the philosophic basis of the Platonic *Ideai* or *Forms*, and the Stoic *Logoi* or *Reasons*, combined with the Hebrew conception of angels, Philo had bridged over the dualistic gulf between God and the world with intermediate beings, some of which he calls 'profane'; the [illegible] being pure

[1] An article by the present writer on 'St. Paul's view of the Greek Gods.'

and hovering in the air, which was full of them, some of them, however, [illegible] The [illegible] souls are [illegible] the [illegible] and the 'demons' [illegible] *de gigant.* 2 4); [illegible] *vetus* (divine [illegible] the [illegible] of the Patriarchs and Noah [illegible] the first century A.D. (Hag. [illegible] *Test. Reuben* 6, 1 [illegible] about the same date, hold that 'all the [illegible] are [illegible] demons' (Gen. [illegible] in 1 Jn. 4 3) [illegible] Jewish and Hellenistic [illegible] to [illegible] belief among [illegible] prevalence of a similar demonology [illegible] *Ant.* viii. 2 5 [illegible] *BJ* vii. 6 3). On the [illegible] Jewish [illegible] of a [illegible] of spirits [illegible] demons by [illegible] Ap. viii., and cp Wendt, *Lehrgeb.* [illegible] 24 f.).

The number, prominence, and activity, therefore, of evil spirits in the NT is in general harmony with the views of the time.

Germinal ideas of possession are to be found even in Homer (*Od.* 5 396, where a **δαιμων στυγερός** causes a wasting sickness). The verb **δαιμονᾶν** represents insanity in Æschylus (*Choeph.* 566), Euripides (*Phœn.* 888), Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1054) and Plutarch (*Vit. Mar. cl.* 20); whilst Herodotus (4 79), Euripides (*Bacch.* 298 *ff.*), and other writers attribute to divine possession the frenzy of the Bacchantes and Corybantes. To a sense of the same mysterious power may be traced Herodotus's name **ἱερὴ νοῦσος** for epilepsy (Hippocrates, 400 B.C., attributed the disease to natural causes), and the phrase of the Greek physician Aretæus (1st century, A.D.), **δαίμονος εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἴσοδος.** That the nations with whom the Jews in later times were brought into contact held similar views in systematic doctrinal forms has often been shown (see below, § 11), and we cannot doubt that, though not originating in any one of these forms, the popular belief of the Jews was largely influenced by the beliefs of their neighbours. That belief, as reflected in the NT, regards the dæmons (which are spirits entirely evil) as a definite class of beings, injuriously affecting, mostly internally and by possession, the human, and (in the case of the Gerasene swine) the animal personality, the subjects being usually described as **δαιμονιζόμενοι,** 'dæmonised' (all the Gospels, though only once each in Lk. and Jn.)—the less classical form of **δαιμονώμενοι,** and the equivalent of Josephus's **οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανόμενοι,** by which phrase is justified the rendering 'possessed.' The *moral* connexion of dæmons in the NT is subordinate. Without doubt they are regarded as diametrically (though by no means with dualistic equality) opposed to the work of Christ, and their subjugation is looked upon (especially by Lk.) as his primary healing function and as the sign above all others that the kingdom of God had come (Lk. 13 32 11 20). Their moral and spiritual influence is recognised in Jesus' parable of the unclean spirit (Mt. 12 43 Lk. 11 24); in what Paul says of the 'table of dæmons' (1 Cor. 10 20 *f.*); in the 'doctrines of dæmons' of 1 Tim. 4 1, and in Rev. 9 20, where the worshipping of dæmons (cp Dt. 32 17 ⓐ) is another expression for idolatry. This moral and spiritual evil in the dæmonic world is also certainly kept in view whenever the NT writers speak of the opposition of God and the devil (Ja. 4 7); of the subjugation thenceforth by Christ of the kingdom of evil (Lk. 10 18 *f.* 1 Jn. 3 8 Rom. 16 20); and of the final destruction (Mk. 1 24 Mt. 8 29) of the devil and his angels in the lake of fire (Rev. 20 10), after a period of relative independence which finds its counterpart in the moral and spiritual freedom of man.

8. Possession.

The effects of dæmonic possession which are constantly

[1] [On this second theory relative to the demons, viz., that they are the spirits of the (wicked) dead, see Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode,* 191 *f.*, where, on the ground of their residence in the tombs and of the passage from Josephus referred to above, it is maintained that the two demoniacs in Mt. 8 28 were (thought themselves) possessed by spirits of the dead.]

prominent in the Synoptists, however, appearing [illegible] any in Jn. and in Acts (8 7 16 [illegible] are physical and psychical, and [illegible] distinguished from Satanic influe[illegible] as that upon Diasol in 1 Ch. 21 1, or upon Judas [illegible] It is not [illegible] influence: it is a bestiali[illegible] malady. [illegible] form of possession [illegible] which pres[illegible] a large development of the belief in dæmons, [illegible] tinctive of late Jewish times, as we see not only f[illegible] Gospels, but also from the references of Josephus [illegible] ally (*Ant.* viii. 2 5), and from the quasi-professional [illegible] of Jewish[1] (as previously of Egyptian and [illegible] exorcists (Acts 19 13 **περιερχομένων**, Mk. 9 38 M[illegible] Justin, *Apol.* 26 *Tryph.* 311; Pliny, *HN* 30 2), [illegible] as from the many methods of expulsion recorde[illegible] Talmudic writings (Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, [illegible] cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2 5 *BJ* vii. 6 3; Solomon's ring [illegible] root [illegible])[2]

One point to be carefully noted is that, whilst [illegible] disease is attributed to dæmons, possession is [illegible] comprehensive word for disease in general. The p[illegible] of the Synoptists in this respect is not quite unfo[illegible]

They all, in their *summary* records of healings, a[illegible] distinguishing the dæmonised from the sick (Mt. 10 8 [illegible] Lk. 6 17 *f.*), while Mt. (4 24) expressly distinguishes [illegible] also from the lunatic (**σεληνιαζόμενοι**). They all likewise [illegible] mention of *individual* cases, agree in speaking of m[illegible] without making any reference to possession (Mt. 9 27-[illegible] 17 14-19 Mk. 7 25-37). Out of twelve individual cases [illegible] Mk. records, eight are so presented; and, in the six o[illegible] recorded by Mt. and Lk., as well as in cases peculiar t[illegible] reference to possession is also absent. Mk., in the four r[illegible] ing cases, confines possession to psychical maladies, s[illegible] insanity and epilepsy; Mt. and Lk. add cases in which [illegible] sion takes the form of purely *bodily* disease—dumbne[illegible] 11 14 Mt. 9 32 *f.*; dumbness and blindness, Mt. 12 22; cur[illegible] of the spine, Lk. 13 10-17. The comparison of these agree[illegible] and differences suggests that the tendency to account for [illegible] bodily disease by possession was a tendency, not of Mt. a[illegible] themselves, but of a source or sources used by them but unk[illegible] to Mk. (see Schür. *JPT*, vol. xviii., 1892).

The drift of the evidence seems to carry us t[illegible] conclusion that the idea of possession was associate[illegible] the main, with psychical disease (cp also Mk. 5 1[illegible] 7 33 Jn. 7 20), and this is confirmed by the hints th[illegible] out here and there that this affliction was of all afflic[illegible] the direst and most impracticable. The peculiar [illegible] phasis laid by Jesus upon the power given to [illegible] missionary disciples to expel demons (Mt. 10 1 [illegible] parallels); the special exultation of the Seventy [illegible] their return, 'Even the dæmons are subject unto [illegible] (Lk. 10 17); the intense amazement at the ease [illegible] which Jesus cast out the spirits (*e.g.*, Lk. 4 36), disp[illegible] ing with the more elaborate incantations and manip[illegible] tions of the professional exorcist;[3] the helplessnes[illegible] will in the possessed; their identification of themse[illegible] with the dæmon, their aversion to deliverance (Lk. 9 [illegible] and the wrench with which the deliverance was so[illegible] times effected (Mk. 1 24); the fact that Jesus never [illegible] these cases called for faith, but seems to have felt t[illegible] only some external force, acting in spite of the subj[illegible] of the disease, could free them from it; all these c[illegible] siderations point to psychical, nervous disorder, wh[illegible] could, of course, manifest itself in various forms.

9. Common effects.

There is no sign on the part of Jesus any more th[illegible] on the part of the evangelists, of mere accommodat[illegible] to the current belief. It is true t[illegible] 'Satan' is used metaphorically in t[illegible] rebuke of Peter (Mt. 16 23) and t[illegible] 'unclean spirit' (**πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον**) is figurative [illegible] Mt. 12 43. Accommodation is just admissible in t[illegible]

10. Attitude of Jesus.

[1] Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte*, viii., last part, 107.

[2] The plant which gave rise to the fable of Baaras was pr[illegible] ably a strange-looking crucifer described by Tristram, *Land* [illegible] *Moab*, who found it near Callirrhoe.

[3] In one instance, that of the Gerasene demoniac, Je[illegible] appears to have found it advisable to follow the precedent [illegible] Jewish exorcists (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2 5) and give the demoniac [illegible] visible proof of his deliverance, though in a way not suggest[illegible] by them. It may be observed, in passing, that the word *exo*[illegible] *cism* is never applied to Jesus' method of expulsion, though t[illegible] Jews in Acts 19 13 are called *exorcists*.

commission to the disciples (Mt. 10 [illegible] Lk. [illegible] tion at their success (Lk. 10 17 [illegible] their failure (Mt 17 [illegible]); or the phra[illegible] ably have been coloured by the belief [illegible] also in Mk 1 [illegible], where the kin[illegible] described as superhuman). [illegible] belief is clearly at the basis of Jesus' ar[illegible] Pharisees in Lk 11 19 *f.*, however, and th[illegible] K[illegible] as irrefragable evidence. On t[illegible] indefinite multiplication of spirits, [illegible] functions ascribed to them in connec[illegible] Jewish literature, and the wi[illegible] in the second century A.D., and no fa[illegible] his biographers or in NT literature [illegible] W[illegible] the existence of Satan's ministers is [illegible] tendency is rather to concentrate the [illegible] in Satan himself. Finally, that [illegible] power of others besides himself and [illegible] expel demons in some sense, at any r[illegible] in the presence of such passages as Mt 12 [illegible] Lk 1[illegible] where he attributes the power to the [illegible] Pharisees; he recognises also the fact that [illegible] cess was attained by some who used his [illegible] actually following him (Mk. 9 38), or with at least [illegible] than professed d[illegible] (Mt 7 [illegible]). [illegible]

The chief foreign influence on Jewish demonology was no doubt Babylonian. It was part [illegible] indirect. For though Iranian [illegible] had an internal principle of d[illegible] it was early fertilised from Babylo[illegible]

11. Other nations.

[illegible] instance, the seven devas or arch-demons of Zo[illegible] ism are a reflection of the seven evil or d[illegible] spirits who play such a part in Babylonian mythol[illegible] (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 634, 770), and who in [illegible] famous incantation are called 'the Seven' (see Zimmern's translation of the text, *Vater, Sohn u. Heilgeist*, 7 *f.* [06]), and the supposed capacity of the formula of the Ahuna-vairya to drive away the devas is but a sublimated form of the Babylonian belief in the recitation of the hymns to the gods. Hence, even when a Jewish belief, such as the grouping of seven demons, characteristic of Jewish popular superstition (Mt. 12 45 Lk. 11 26 Mk. 16 9 Lk. 8 2), appears to be shaped by Persian influences (for names of demons of Persian origin besides ASMODEUS [*q.v.*] see Hamburger, *RE* ii. 1 281), it is very possible that Babylonia gave the first impulse to Persia. The doctrine of 'disease-possession' among the Jews may very well have been taught in pre-exilic times;[1] but it is probable that it was when the Jews were conscious of the displeasure of their God, and when they became more and more exposed to foreign influences, that this doctrine attained its full dimensions, as we see it in the NT. It is not so much from Persia as from Egypt and Babylon that the stimulus for its development was derived. The Egyptian view described in Orig. *c. Cels.* 8 58 (Schürer), that the human body was divided into thirty-six members, and that with each of these was connected a separate demon, by rebuking whom a member could be cured of disease, is but a more specialised form of the doctrine of the *Book of the Dead*.[2] The doctrine of disease among the ancient Babylonians was that the swarming demons could enter a man's body and cause sickness. On a fragment of a tablet Budge has found six evil spirits mentioned by name. The first attacked the head; the second, the lips; the third, the forehead; the fourth, the breast; the fifth, the viscera; the sixth, the hand.[3] It was the duty of the exorcist to expel these demons by incantations, and the Zoroastrians believed that Zarathustra,

[1] [The sacrifices to the *se'irim* [2 K. 23 8, as emended by G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 2 175 (82); Lev. 17 7] may have been in part designed to avert diseases (cp the Arabian belief in *jinn* described by We, *Ar. Heid.* 138, 2nd ed. 154; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 120). Cp also the rite of AZAZEL.]

[2] For the ancient Egyptian belief, cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 214.

[3] *TSBA* [illegible] 422 [72]; cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* [illegible] 773).

by restoring the formula called the Ahu[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that was [illegible] the [illegible] with which [illegible] incantations (Lk [illegible] Zoroastrians. [illegible] those described in [illegible] met with, not only in savage districts [illegible] civilisation such as [illegible]

On this subject see J. L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and* [illegible] (Chicago, New York, and [illegible]). Of Babylonian [illegible] Among the older books [illegible] (1874) bears most directly on the subject. [illegible] of the Magic continued [illegible] Babylonia [illegible] Study, *Introduction to Zoroastrianism* [illegible] Of Zoroastrian beliefs, see the translation of the *Zend-Avesta* [illegible] The reduction of the hostile gods to mere *daimonia* [illegible] its parallel in the conversion of the bright demons of the Aryan mythology into the evil demons of the Persian [illegible] Pari-DAI); see further the articles 'Demon,' 'Ahriman,' 'Zoroaster,' 'Mithra,' 'Mazdaism' in Hamburger's *RE*; also F. C. Conybeare, 'Demonology and Possession and Ahriman,' *Monist* [illegible] Sept. 1[illegible] [illegible]

G. B. G. §§ 1-5; J. M. §§ 6-10; T. K. C. § 11.

DEMOPHON (Δημοφῶν [AV]), one of the commandants (στρατηγοί) of a district in Palestine in the time of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 12 [illegible]).

DEPOSIT. The OT law of deposit is laid down in E (Ex. 22 7-13 [9-12]; cp the paraphrase in Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 [illegible]).

With the exception of *v.* 9 [8] the law is clear. Two kinds of deposit are specified: (*a*) money (כֶּסֶף [illegible]) or goods (בְּלִי [illegible]), (*b*) ass, ox, sheep, or any beast. (*b*) Take the second group of cases first: if the deposit be stolen the depositary must make restitution (12 [11]). Should it be torn by wild beasts the production of a piece is sufficient witness, and a man cannot be called upon to make good that which was torn (13 [12], cp CATTLE, § 9). Where culpability cannot be made out the depositary swears that he is innocent and the depositor is bound to accept his word (10 *f.* [7 *f.*]). (*a*) In cases of the first description, should the deposit be stolen, the thief, if found, must restore twofold (7 [6], cp 22 4 [3]); if the culprit be not found the depositary must come before the judges and swear that he has not put his hand to his neighbour's property (8 [7]). The result must have been [illegible] in *v.* 11, that the depositor was bound to accept his word. Verse 9 [8] alone remains and is not easily reconciled with the foregoing; it may be a later law added to cover general cases of death (*a* and *b*) involving alleged gross carelessness, false accusations, and the like.[2]

The later law of Lev. 6 2-7 [5 21-26] applies the law of the 'guilt offering' to sin and trespass in 'a matter of deposit' (so RV; פִּקָּדוֹן; παραθήκη, *depositum*). The only case here contemplated, however, is that in which voluntary confession is made; the penitent depositary is to make restitution in full and the fifth part more thereto, and offer a ram to Yahwè. Cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 17.

The use of the words παραθήκη, παρατίθεναι, παρακαταθήκη, and παρακατατίθεσθαι in G (Lev. 6 2 4 Ex. [illegible]) shows that many days it was the usual term for 'to deposit and trust.' 2 Mac. [illegible] 37 41 [illegible] 31 (RV [illegible]). At Jerusalem (as at K[illegible] Olympia, Delphi, and elsewhere) a large amount of

[1] Ya-ma 9 15, in Mills' [illegible] (*n. nat.* [illegible]).

[2] הָאֱלֹהִים in 7[illegible] [illegible] Ex. [illegible] S. 2 5, means the divinity as represented by the priestly expounders of the law at the sanctuary.

[illegible] for the sacrifices,' [illegible] Heb. [illegible] in Mic. 3, [illegible] Eusebius, Praep. Ev. [illegible] § [illegible]

DEPUTY. 1. פֶּחָה, *pĕḥāh*, Ass. *pāḫatu*, lit. 'one appointed,' 'set over' (Gr. [illegible] ἡγεμών [illegible] the [illegible] AV [illegible]

[illegible] 'governor,' RV or RVmg 'deputy'; [illegible] frequently mentioned in connection with [illegible] in relation to administrative [illegible] in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezr. 5 3 6 6 7 21 Neh. 2 7 9 14 [illegible]); hence [illegible] sometimes in conjunction with 'princes' (Ezr. [illegible]). See GOVERNMENT, § [illegible]

[illegible], *ʾăṣṭĕwā* (Ezr. 8 36 AV). See GOVERNOR, 1.

[illegible], *nĕṣîb*, 1 K. 22 47 [46] (Heb. [illegible]) [illegible] (ἐστηλωμένος [A] [illegible]) [illegible] § 7.

[illegible], Acts 13 7 etc. RV PROCONSUL [q.v.]. Cp CYRENIUS, § [illegible]

DERBE (Δέρβη [Tr. WH]; Str. [illegible]; Δέρβαι [Hier. [illegible]]). [illegible] Paul's visit to it [illegible] 14 20 16 1), and probably once again, in his third journey (Acts 18 23 'went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order'). From the fact that the name does not occur in the list of places in which he had suffered persecution (2 Tim. 3 11), it may perhaps be inferred that the work of evangelization encountered no obstacle there. That success attended the apostles in Derbe we learn from Acts 14 21. Gaius, one of Paul's companions from Corinth to Asia, was a native of the town (Acts 20 4).

From Steph. Byz. we learn that the town was called Δόλιχα, 'which in the Lycaonian tongue signifies a juniper-bush.'

1. Site. The site was approximately discovered by Sterrett, who put it between Bossala and Zosta (or Loesta), villages two miles apart (*Wolfe Exped.* 235). Ramsay, however, says that the ruins at Bossala are merely those of a Seluk khan, while those at Zosta have all been transported thither from some other site. The great site of the district is the mound of Gudelissin in the plain about 3 m. NW. of Zosta, and 45 m. S. of Konia, Iconium at the foot of the Misalldah Dagh. The mound is of the class called by Strabo (537) 'mounds of Semiramis,' which are largely artificial, and of Oriental origin. It contains numerous traces of Roman occupation. The earliest city of Derbe must be sought in the mountains to the south.

This situation agrees with the notices in Strabo. After describing the ten Strategiai of Cappadocia, he adds that in the first century B.C. there was an eleventh Strategia, consisting of part of Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia (538, ἡ περὶ Δέρβης). He refers to the same district (537) as the additional (ἐπίκτητος) strategia. Derbe is further described as lying on the frontier of Isauria (Str. 569, τῆς δ' Ἰσαυρικῆς ἐστιν ἡ πλευρὰς ἡ Δέρβη); the words which immediately follow (μάλιστα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐπιπεδικὸς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ νεωτέρου) refer to the fact that it was also on the frontier of the eleventh Strategia, an external addition to Cappadocia as above described. It is clear that Strabo's eleventh Strategia is identical with Ptolemy's 'Strategia Antiochiane,' in which he enumerates Derbe (Ptol. 5 6).

Derbe was the stronghold of the brigand chief Antipater (Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* 13 73; Str. 535, 569, ὁ Δερβίτης). Within, however, K. Amyntas slew Antipater, he added the town to his own Lycaonian and Galatian dominions (29-27 B.C.).

2. History. On the death of Amyntas himself in 25 B.C. the larger part of his kingdom was made by the Romans into the province Galatia; but apparently Derbe, along with Cilicia Trachea (*i.e.*, the eleventh Strategia), was given to Archelaos, king of Cappadocia (*circa* 20 B.C.). When Archelaos died in 17 A.D. the Cappadocian part of his kingdom was taken over by the Romans; but the Lycaonian part was left to his son Archelaos II., who was still reigning in 36 A.D. (cp Tac. *Ann.* 2 42 [illegible]). Later [illegible] and [illegible] Caligula to Antiochus IV. [illegible] Philippopolis after which Antiochus lost favour, and was deprived of Lycaonia. In 41 A.D. Claudius restored the [illegible] Antiochus and Philippopolis, who ruled until 52 A.D. [illegible] however, [illegible] Polemo [illegible] Lycaonia [illegible] Derbe became part of that [illegible] transition was due to the importance of it [illegible] of the Roman province [illegible] Lycaonia (see Rams. [illegible] *in K. [illegible] Emp.* 54).

Thus we can understand how at the first visit (49 or 48 A.D.) Derbe could be [illegible] as a city of Lycaonia (Acts 14 [illegible]). Derbe belonged to the province of [illegible] and it is argued by Ramsay that in the [illegible] epistle the address its inhabitants [illegible] Γαλάται (Gal. 3 1), not Ἀναδόται, [illegible] signified the population of the [illegible] Lycaonia (see, however, GALATIA).

DESERT. The English word 'desert' [illegible] a sandy plain [illegible] 'set of states, such as the Sahara. This is not [illegible] the Hebrew words. [illegible] kind was known to Israel [illegible] cupation of Canaan. The districts [illegible] 'desert' is applied in EV are [illegible] frequently [illegible] even more [illegible] articles on the place-names [illegible] 'Wilderness,' by which the Hebrew [illegible] times translated, is assumed [illegible] it is not always adequate. It will [illegible] to record the Hebrew words, and [illegible] of their various meaning.

1. General meaning.

2. Hebrew terms.

(1) חָרְבָּה, *ḥorbāh* (from חרב 'to lay waste,' ἔρημος; also [illegible] Ezek. 35 7 ἐρήμωσις, Jer. 7 34 [BAQ, 22 8; πίστευσον Ps. [illegible] 'desert,' RV 'waste places'; so EV [illegible] Lev. 26 31 Is. 61 4; or 'desolation,' Jer. [illegible] Ezek. 38 12 AV only), usually [illegible] formerly inhabited but now [illegible] ruins from war or neglect; cp Jer. 44 2, 'Ye [illegible] and no man dwelleth therein'; hence in [illegible] Zech.), or in promises (with גָּדֵר, גָּדֵרוֹת)—once with [illegible] the wilderness of wanderings (Is. 48 21).

(2) יְשִׁימוֹן, *yĕšîmôn* (√ישם, 'be desolate'; for cognate [illegible] below, 7), [γῆ] ἄνυδρος, used of a district riverless [illegible] inhabited (Is. 43 19, EV 'desert,' מִדְבָּר), of the wilder[illegible] wanderings (Dt. 32 10, EV 'wilderness'; Ps. 78 40, EV '[illegible]' מִדְבָּר); otherwise, a geographical designation; cp § 3, 2, [illegible] see BETH JESHIMOTH, JESHIMON.

(3) מִדְבָּר, *midbār* (ἔρημος, etc.; once [Is. 41 18] ἄνυδρος), AV 'desert,' RV 'wilderness'; but in Gen. 14 6, etc., EV 'wilderness'; once, Ps. 75 6 [7], EV 'south' [RVmg 'wilderness' [illegible] the mountains'[1]). The idea of 'desert' is totally foreign to this word (on its derivation see CALENDAR, § 5). *Midbar* [illegible] district possessing pastures (Joel 2 22, Ps. 65 12 [13]) and [illegible] (Is. 42 11), but occupied by nomads, not by settled tillers of the soil (cp esp. Nu. 14 33). It is commonly employed to denote the wilderness of wanderings, which itself is a mountainous region, not without pasture grounds, and so devoid of [illegible] that the one tract which forms an exception has the characteristic name *Debĕt er-Ramleh*, 'plain of sand'; see below, § [illegible]

(4) עֲרָבָה, *ʿărābāh* (ἄραβα [ἡ πρὸς δυσμαῖς, Josh. 11 16, etc.]), in poetical literature often occurs in parallelism with מדבר (Is. 35 1 [ἔρημος] 40 3 41 19, EV 'desert'). In Jer. [illegible] applied more closely to the modern idea of 'desert' (Is. 51 3, Jer. 17 6; עֲרָבָה): but in historical writings (early [illegible]) it is a geographical term (see § 3, [illegible] below).

(5) צִיָּה, *ṣiyyāh*, 'dry land' (so Ps. 63 1 (2), EV); Job [illegible] AV RVmg 'wilderness,' RV 'dry ground'; cp צִיִּים, 'dry places' (Is. 27 10 32 2), and of the wilderness of wanderings, Ps. [illegible] (AV 'wilderness,' RV 'desert,' RVmg 'dry land'). Ps. [illegible] dwellers of the 'desert' (Is. 13 21 34 14, EV; also 23 13, [illegible] referring to wild beasts) or 'wilderness' (Ps. 72 9 74 14, [illegible] referring to human beings), see CAT, WILD BEASTS.

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1 Whence Gr. ζωγάνης (Ges. *Lex.*(13)). On its relation to מִדְבָּר see TREASURER, 2.

1 The passage is obscure (see Ba., Del.), and, according to Ch[illegible] deeply corrupt.

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[illegible]

3. Geographical applications. [illegible]

[illegible]

1 On Am. 6 14 see ARABAH, BROOK OF.

[illegible]

DESTINY (מני) [illegible]

DESTROYER, THE (המשחית) Ex. 12 [illegible]

[illegible]

It is quite in accordance with [illegible] of the Pentateuch [illegible] § [illegible] of the term 'destroyer' by Ex. 12 [illegible] is used [illegible] by P (12 13) [RV^mg: a destroyer]; [illegible] 5 16, 21 6 [illegible] 25 [illegible] who accomplish the death of men is referred to in Job 33 22 by the term מְמִתִים ('slayers') [illegible] is rendered in RV 'destroyers.' According to some [illegible] of the plural verb in Ex. 12 [illegible]

G. L. G.

DESTRUCTION (ΑΒΔΑΔΩΝ), Rev. 9 11; RV ABADDON [illegible]

DESTRUCTION, CITY OF (עִיר הַהֶרֶס), Is. 19 18, see HERES, CITY OF.

DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF (הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית; ΤΟΥ ΟΡΟΥϹ ΤΟΥ ΜΟϹΟΑΘ [P] [illegible], Ο. Τ. ΜΟϹΟΘ [Av^id.], Τ. Ο ΑΜΟϹΟΘ [L], 2 K. 23 13, RV^mg.), a name so read by the [illegible] the idolatrous [illegible] Tradition identified the mountain with the Mount of Olives [illegible] Tg., followed by AV^mg.), and the [illegible] (cp Aram. מִשְׁחָא) and 'mount of destruction' (so [illegible] Buxtorf). A much better explanation [illegible] (2 13[illegible]) and [illegible] מַשְׁחִית wild [illegible] alteration of the text. [illegible] for a Hif'il word מַשְׁחִית 'ill,' it is [illegible] to Hab. 3 5, [illegible] מִמְּצָא מַשְׁחִית [illegible] to מִמְּצָא רַע (i.e., מִמְּצָא רַע) the distinction is not so manifest

better to suppose that the 'mount which is on the east of Jerusalem' (1 K. 11 7) was anciently called, not only 'the ascent of the olives' (2 S. 15 30), and in a late prophecy 'the mount of olives' (Zech. 14 4), but הר המשחתים ('mount of those who worship'), of which הר הרצשחית would be a purely accidental corruption. Cp 2 S. 15 32, 'And when David had come to the summit, where men are wont to worship the deity' (אשר ישתחוה שם לאלהים) which comes near proving that this view is correct. Observe, too, that the Mt. of Olives appears to be once referred to as the 'hill of God' (Is. 40 32 emended text). See Nob.

Brocardus (1283 A.D.) gives the name *Mons Offensionis* (cp Vg.) to the most southern summit of the Mt. of Olives, because Solomon set up there the image of Moloch; on the northern summit, afterwards called *Mons Scandali*, he placed the idol of Chemosh. Quaresmius, however (*circa* 1630 A.D.), calls the southern ridge *Mons Offensionis et Scandali*. Gratz, after a full discussion, pronounces in favour of the northern summit, *i.e.*, the 'Viri Galilæi' (*MGWJ*, '73, p. 97 *ff.*); so also Stanley (*SP* 188, n. 2). No doubt this view is correct; Solomon would certainly prefer an eminence already consecrated by tradition.

The phrase 'mount of destruction' is found also in Jer. 51 25 as a symbolic term for Babylon (EV 'destroying mountain').

T. K. C.

DEUEL דְּעוּאֵל Nu 1 14, see REUEL (1).

DEUTERONOMY. The name comes ultimately from the Greek translation of Dt. 17 18, in which the words מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת, 'the duplicate (*i.e.*, a copy) of this law,' are rendered *τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο*.[1] As a title of the book, *Δευτερονόμιον* (without the article) occurs first in Philo.[2] Philo takes the word to mean 'second or supplementary legislation,' and more than once cites the book as *Ἐπινομίς*.[3] Others, with Theodoret, explain the name, 'repetition, recapitulation of the law.' Criticism has shown that Deuteronomy is neither a supplement to the legislation in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, nor a *resumé* of it; but to modern critics also it is the Second Legislation, an expansion and revision of older collections of laws such as are preserved in Ex. 21 23 34.

1. Name and contents.

Deuteronomy contains the last injunctions and admonitions of Moses, delivered to Israel in the land of Moab, as they were about to cross the Jordan to the conquest of Canaan; and, with the exception of chaps. 27 31 34, and a few verses elsewhere, is all in the form of address. It is not, however, one continuous discourse, but consists of at least three distinct speeches (1-4 40, 5-26, 28, 29 *f.*), together with two poems recited by Moses in the hearing of the people (32 *f.*). The narrative chapters record doings and sayings of Moses in the last days of his life, and are more or less closely connected with the speeches. Besides this unity of situation and subject there is a certain unity of texture; the sources from which the other books of the Hexateuch are chiefly compiled (JE, P) are in Deuteronomy recognisable only in the narrative chapters, and in a few scattered fragments in the speeches; a strong and distinctive individuality of thought, diction, and style pervades the entire book.

It was observed by more than one of the fathers that Deuteronomy is the book the finding of which in the temple gave the impulse to the reforms of the eighteenth year of Josiah (622-621 B.C.).[5] In conformity with the prescriptions of the newly discovered book, the king not only extirpated the various foreign religions which had been introduced in ancient or recent times, together with the rites and symbols of a heathenish worship of

2. Book found in Temple.[4]

1 Cp also Josh. 8 32.

2 *Leg. Allegr.* 3, § 61; *Quod Deus immut.* § 10. See Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, xxiii *f.* The corresponding Hebrew title, ספר משנה תורה, is found occasionally in the Talmud and Midrash as well as in the Massora.

3 *Quis rerum div. heres*, § 33. See Ryle, as above.

4 Cp HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE, ISRAEL, § 37 *f.*

5 Athanas. Chrysost., Jerome.

Yahwé, but also destroyed the high places of Ya desecrating every altar in the land except that in temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 22 *f.*). In Deuteronomy, there alone, all the laws thus enforced are found; inference is inevitable that Deuteronomy furnished reformers with their new model. This is confirme the references to the book found in the temple as law-book' (2 K. 22 8 11; cp 23 24 *f.*) and 'the cove book' (23 2 *f.* 21).

The former of these names is found in the Pentateuch o the secondary parts of Dt. (28 61 29 20 30 10 31 24 26), and the phrase 'this law' (1 5 27 3 8 29 29), signifies Dt. or deuteronomic legislation exclusively; 'covenant book' i appropriate designation for a book in which the covena Yahwé with Israel (see COVENANT, § 6) is an often recu theme (5 2 *f.* 17 2 29 1 4 13 23 29 9 12 14 21 25, etc.).[1]

That the book read by Shaphan before Josiah Deuteronomy has been inferred also from the king's c sternation (2 K. 22 11 *ff.*), which seems to show that law was accompanied by such denunciations of the c sequences of disobedience as are found especially in Dt

The opinion, once very generally entertained, that book found by Hilkiah was the whole Pentateuch, is longer tenable. In addition to arguments of more or weight drawn from the narrative in Kings, — that whole Pentateuch would hardly be described as a l book; that a book as long as the Pentateuch could be read through twice in a single day (2 K. 22 that, with the entire legislation before him, the k would not have based his reforms on deuteronomic laws exclusively, — recent investigation has proved t the priestly legislation in the Pentateuch was not uni with Deuteronomy till long after the time of Josia Modern critics are, therefore, almost unanimous in opinion that the law-book, the discovery and the int duction of which are related in 2 K. 22 *f.* (see next is to be sought in Deuteronomy; and they are very gen ally agreed, further, that the book was written either the earlier years of Josiah, or at least under one of next predecessors, Manasseh or Hezekiah (see § 10).

The soundness of these conclusions has recently bee pugned by several French and German scholars (Semecke, H d'Eichthal, Veraes, Horst),[2] on the grou partly of sweeping doubts concerning trustworthiness of 2 K. 22 *f.*, partly of peci theories of the composition of Dt. Th theories cannot be discussed here; but the great importa of 2 K. 22 *f.*, in the modern construction of the history Hebrew literature and religion, makes it necessary to exam briefly the historical character of those chapters. It is gener agreed that the account of Josiah's reforms, as it lies before is the work of an author of the deuteronomic school, who wr after the destruction of Jerusalem. If this author had dra solely upon oral tradition, he might well have derived his inform tion from eye-witnesses of the events of 621; but it seems to demonstrable that in 22 3-23 24 he made use of an older writt source, a contemporary account of Josiah's reign, which w probably included in the pre-exilic history of the kings. T narrative was wrought over and enlarged by the exilic writer; parti ular, the original response of Huldah, which was not c firmed by the event, was superseded, after the destructi of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., by a wholly different one, in whi the judgment is represented as inevitable (22 15-20; cp 23 26 *f.* 23 15-20), also, is generally recognised as a legendary additio but, notwithstanding these changes, the outlines of the origi account can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence, and appears to be in all respects deserving of credence.[4] See KING

3. Account in 2 K. 22 *f.*

The historical evidence proves only that the law-boo which was put into force by Josiah contained certa deuteronomic laws concerning religio not that it comprised the whole of th present Book of Deuteronomy. A supe ficial examination of the book shows that the latter ca not have been the case.

4. Josiah's Dt. = chaps. 5-26 28

Chaps. 31-34 are composite. Besides the two poems, 32 1- and 33, they contain the links which connect not only D

1 Ex. 21-23, often called by modern scholars 'The Covena Book' (see 24 7), cannot be meant; for, so far from putting t high places under the ban, these laws assume the existence an legitimacy of many local sanctuaries (see 21 6 23 14 *ff.*; c 20 24).

2 See CANON, § 23 *f.*, and the articles on the several books the Pentateuch; also HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE.

3 For the titles, see below, § 33 (c).

4 See St. *GVI* 1 649 *ff.*; Kue. *Ond.*(2) 1 417 *f.*, cp 407.

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but also the narratives of JE and P in Nu. with Josh. Chap. 27, also in narrative form, may, both on external and on internal grounds, with equal confidence be set aside.[1] What remains (1-26 28-30) is all in the form of address; but even this is not a unit, as is shown by the fresh superscriptions in 5 1 12 1 29 2, and the formal closes in 26 16-19 and 29 1 [28 69]; in particular, 1 1-4 and 4 44-49 are completely parallel introductions, which strictly exclude each other. Chaps. 5-26 contain no allusion to a former discourse such as 1-4 40; yet do the latter chapters form a natural introduction to 5 26 or 12 26. Chaps. 1-4 are distinguished also by slight, but not insignificant, peculiarities of style, and more decisive differences of historical representation. The short prophetic discourse, 29 2-8, bears all the marks of a later addition to the book; 29 1 [28 69] is a formal superscription; the following chapters have their own brief superscription; the tone of 29 9 is noticeably different from that of the exhortations and warnings in the body of the book.

Most recent critics conclude that the original Deuteronomy contained only the one long speech of Moses, 5-26 28, to which 4 45-49 is the introduction and 29 1 [28 69] the conclusion.

Others, urging that the book put into the hands of Josiah is uniformly described as a law book, infer that it is to be sought in Dt. 12-26 alone. 5 11, as well as 1-4, is an introduction subsequently prefixed to the original Deuteronomy by another hand. This conclusion is confirmed by the way in which the author of 5 11 dilates on the motives for keeping the laws, as though the laws themselves were already known to his readers.[2]

5. Not simply chaps. 12-26.

Against this view, which would limit the primitive Dt. to 12-26, it is argued that the law book itself presupposes some such introduction as is found in 5 11.

[illegible] 26 there is nothing to show when [illegible] the law was [illegible] 12 [illegible] the [illegible] H[illegible], with the [illegible] law; [illegible] the laws now [illegible] to be [illegible] to that [illegible] law [illegible] covenant. For these reasons 29 1 [28 69], which has the [illegible] 1-4 to 28 [illegible], but to the whole law in 5-26: 29 1 are the words of the covenant which Yahwe commanded Moses to make with the Israelites in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them at Horeb.'

The situation supposed in 12 26 is throughout the same as that described in 5-11. The language and style of the two portions present just that degree of resemblance and of difference which, remembering the difference of subject matter, we should expect to find in the writing of one author; nothing indicates diversity of origin.[3]

In regard to chap. 28 also, critics are divided. Wellhausen finds in 28 58 61 [illegible] where, as in 30 1 [illegible], the law is already a *book*: evidence that 28, as well as 29 2-8, is secondary; these three chapters formed the conclusion of an enlarged edition of the law book, to which 5 11 was the introduction.[4] On independent grounds, however, 28 47 68 is to be recognised as a later addition to the chapter, and with these verses the only reason for connecting 28 with the two following chapters disappears. Not only are they separated by 29 1 *ff.* [28 69 and 29 1] but also the whole attitude and outlook of 29 1 *ff.* are different from those of 28 1-46. On the other hand, it would be natural for the author of 12-26 to conclude his book by urging as strongly as he could the motives to obedience and solemnly warning his readers of the consequences of disobedience. Similar exhortations and warnings are found at the end of the so-called Covenant Book (Ex. 23 20 *ff.*), and at the end of the Law of Holiness (Lev. 26), the latter passage being strikingly parallel to Dt. 28, and such a peroration was the more appropriate in Dt. because its laws are all in the form of address. The profound impression made upon the king by the reading of the book is most naturally explained if it expressly and emphatically denounced the wrath of God against the nation which had so long ignored his law.

The Deuteronomy of 621 B.C. has not come into our

[1] See below, § [illegible].

[2] See Wellh. *Ill.* [illegible]; Valeton, *Stud.* 6 [illegible] *ff.*; St. *GVI* [illegible].

[3] See Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 5-11; Di. *Comm.* [illegible] *f.*; Di. *Ex.* [illegible] *n.*

[4] *Ill.* [illegible]. Chaps. 1-4 and 27 were the introduction and conclusion, respectively, of another edition.

[illegible] Not only have the exhortations and

6. Later pieces in chaps. 12-26.

[illegible] unpolished and heightened, [illegible] probability, many additions have been made to the laws. [illegible] the case in 12, and in con[illegible] the Deuteronomic [illegible] relative to Jerusalem [illegible] other objects; cp 12 [illegible] *ff.*, [illegible] In the following [illegible] laws are suspected, [illegible] their [illegible] in which they stand [illegible] 14 is a rare form, [illegible] the [illegible] appear to be [illegible] 14 [illegible] is in conflict with the legislation [illegible] is clearly dependent on [illegible] war in 20 are not [illegible] national defence, and can [illegible] the 'exile.' Others, however, [illegible] as not a sufficient [illegible] the primitive Deuteronomy.[1]

[illegible] by critics are in [illegible] explanation, there [illegible] that the Deuteronomic [illegible] before the book reached its [illegible] tary provisions may [illegible] the law was subjected [illegible] in the Exile; while still [illegible] in the period of the restoration; cp [illegible] § [illegible]

In 5 11 [illegible] that the original contents

7. In 5 11-28.

[illegible] of the chapters have been [illegible] and 5 11 28. [illegible] and come to us disturbed by [illegible]

[illegible] 11, which [illegible] the following chapters.[2] Nor [illegible] Verses 45 *ff.* plainly mark [illegible] the end of the chapter of [illegible] which follow, 47-57 and 58-62, [illegible] additions, presupposing the [illegible] the dispersion of the miserable [illegible] consequence of neglecting the words [illegible] this book' [illegible] Jeremiah (with [illegible] which repeats [illegible]).

In the Hebrew legislation three strata are to be recognised: the collections of laws incorporated in H[illegible] 1-23, often called the Book of the Covenant, Ex. 34; the Law of Holiness, contained in a priestly recension in Lev. 17-26 and cognate passages (H[illegible]); and the rest of the laws in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, [illegible] ceremonial, and sacerdotal, which, though not all of the same age or origin, may [illegible] be treated as forming a single body of priestly [illegible] The result of modern criticism has been to [illegible] more and more conclusively that P, as a whole, is later than Deuteronomy.[4] On the other hand, it is

8. D's laws: relation to P and JE.

[1] For a list of passages in 12-26 which have been challenged [illegible] *ff.*; cp also Horst, *Rev. de* [illegible] Analyses of the legislation have [illegible] by Steuk, *Pro Pent.* [illegible] and [illegible] *ff.* For a sketch [illegible] *ments of the Pentateuch*, 2 [illegible] 19 [illegible] The [illegible] of the laws is maintained by Kue. *Hex.* § [illegible] Against Horst, see especially Piepenbring, [illegible] *ff.* [illegible]

[2] Valeton (*Stud.* [illegible] 1-4) and Horst (*Rev. de l'Hist.* [illegible] *Ex.* [illegible] 18[illegible], cp 27 1-4) have gone farthest in the attempt to [illegible] the secondary elements in 5-11. See Kue. *Hex.* § [illegible]; Paper [illegible] *ff.* A [illegible] has recently been attempted by St[illegible] (see the last [illegible]), and Steuernagel, *Der Deuteronomist* [illegible]

[illegible] attempts to restore the primitive Dt. form [illegible] see Valeton, [illegible] 7 41 *ff.* (cp Kue. [illegible] § 7, [illegible]); Horst, *Rev. de l'Hist.* [illegible] 18[illegible] *ff.*, cp [illegible]; Steuk, [illegible]; Steuernagel, *Kain* [illegible] Stud. [illegible] 11 14 *ff.* The substantial unity of the chapter is maintained by Kue. [illegible]

[4] See Hex. [illegible]. It is not hereby denied that many of the institutions and customs embodied in P are of great

agreed by all that the little collections of laws in JE are older than Deuteronomy. The most convincing proof of this is given, of course, by the Deuteronomic Laws restricting the worship of Yahwè to the one temple at Jerusalem. It may confidently be inferred also from the prominence given throughout Deuteronomy to motives of humanity, and the way in which old religious customs, like the triennial tithe, are transformed into sacred charities, as well as from the constant appeal to the memory of God's goodness as a motive for goodness to fellow-men. Where the provisions of Deuteronomy differ from those of the Book of the Covenant, they sometimes appear to be adapted to a more advanced stage of society; as when the old agricultural fallow-year is replaced by an experiment in the septennial remission of debts. The many laws dealing with contracts of one kind or another also are to be noted.

9. To Ex. 21-23.

Most recent critics are of the opinion, further, that the author of the Deuteronomic law-book was not only acquainted with Ex. 21-23, but also made this code the basis of his own work; Deuteronomy, it is said, is a revised and enlarged Covenant Book, adapted to some extent to new conditions, but with only one change of far-reaching effect, the centralisation of worship in Jerusalem. It may be questioned, however, whether the evidence will sustain so strong a statement of the dependence of Deuteronomy on the Book of the Covenant.

Verbally identical clauses are very few, and in some instances, at least, have probably arisen from subsequent conformation. There is no trace of the influence of the Covenant Book either in the general arrangement of Dt. 12-26 or in the sequence of particular laws. Of fifty one half of the Covenant Laws (after the subtraction of the religious precepts), viz., the title Assaults and Injuries, Ex. 21 1-22 17, there is no parallel in Dt.; while the subject of Authorities in Dt. 16 18-18 has no counterpart in Ex. 21-23; of thirty-five laws in Dt. 21 1-22 19 only seven have parallels in the older code. Finally, in the corresponding laws[1] the coincidences are hardly more frequent or more nearly exact than we should expect in two collections originating at no great distance in place or time, and based upon the same religious customs and conventionary law; the evidence of literary dependence is much less about last and convincing than it must be if Dt. were merely a revised and enlarged Book of the Covenant.[2]

10. To H.

Certain Laws in Deuteronomy have parallels also in H; but, whilst the provisions of these laws are often closely similar, the formulation and phraseology are throughout entirely different.[3] In some points H seems to be a stage beyond Dt.; but the differences are not of a kind to imply a considerable interval of time so much as a diversity of dominant interest, such as distinguishes Ezekiel from Jeremiah.

Dt. 14 3-21, compared with Lev. 11, has been thought to prove that Dt. is dependent upon H; but the truth seems rather to be that both are based on a common original, a piece of priestly Torah, which each reproduces and modifies in its own way.[4]

11. D's history and JE's.

References to the history of Israel are much fewer in Dt. 12-26 than in 1-3 4; they are of a more incidental and allusive character, and the author exercises some freedom in the use of his material; but, as far as they can be certainly traced, they appear to be all derived from JE, or from the cycle of tradition represented by that work. That the author did not have before him JE united with P is proved by his reference to the fate of Dathan and Abiram (11 6); if he had read Nu. 16 in its present form, in which the story of Dathan and Abiram (JE) is almost inextricably entangled with that of Korah (P), he could hardly have failed to name the latter, who is the central figure of the composite narrative (cp Nu. 26 9 *f.* 27 3 Jude 11, and see KORAH and DATHAN AND

antiquity; nor that in particular instances they may be more primitive than the corresponding tithe of Dt.; nor that some of them may have attained a comparatively fixed form, oral or written, before the 'code.'

[1] They may be conveniently compared in the synoptical table in Dr. *Deut.* p. iv *ff.*, or in Staerk, *Deut.* 48 *ff.*, where they are printed side by side.

[2] See also Steuernagel, *Entstehung*, 87 *ff.*

[3] Dr. *Deut.* p. iv *ff.*; Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz*, 76 *ff.* 103. See also LEVITICUS.

[4] Kue. *Hex.* § 14, n. 5; Paton, *JBL* 14 48 *ff.* ['95].

ABIRAM). But even if he had possessed P separat it would be almost inexplicable that he so unifor follows the representation of JE where it differs fr P or conflicts with it. The instances which have b adduced to prove that he was acquainted with P are few and uncertain to sustain the conclusion; moreov they are all found in the long digression, 9 9-10 11, wh probably was no part of the primitive Deuteronomy

12. Date: not pre-monarchic.

The traditional opinion among Jews and Christia that Deuteronomy was written by Moses shortly bef his death, though resting on the te mony of the book itself (31 9 *ff.* 24 is contradicted by both the internal a the external evidence; the contents of the book and entire religious history of Israel prove that Deuterono is the product of a much later time. The legislatio JE (in the main, doubtless, merely the booking of ancient consuetudinary law) is without exception law of a settled people, engaged in husbandry. Deut onomy reflects a still more advanced stage of cultu and must be ascribed to a time when Israel had lo been established in Palestine. The fundamental l for the Hebrew monarchy, Dt. 17 14-20, presumes only the existence of the kingdom, but also considera experience of its evils. Solomon appears to have for the portrait of the king as he ought not to be.[2] the prohibition of the multiplication of horses a treasure we may recognise the influence of the prophe to whom the political and military ambition of the ki seemed apostasy (see, *e.g.*, Is. 27). The constitution the high court in Jerusalem (Dt. 17 8-13, cp 19 17) is thou to be modelled after the tribunal which Jehoshap (middle of 9th century B.C.) established (2 Ch. 19 8-1

13. Idea of one sanctuary.

More convincing than the arguments derived fr these special laws are the ruling ideas and motives the whole book. The thing upon wh Deuteronomy insists with urgent a unwearied iteration is that Yahwè sh be worshipped only at one place, which he himself v choose, where alone sacrifices may be offered and t annual festivals celebrated. Although no place is name there can be no doubt, as there was none in the min of Josiah and his counsellors, that Jerusalem is meant

Jerusalem was not one of the ancient holy places of Israel. owed its religious importance to the fact that in it was the ro temple of the Judæan kings; but this was far from putting upon an equality with the venerable sanctuaries of Bethel a Shechem, Gilgal and Beersheba. The actual pre-eminence Jerusalem, without which the attempt to assert for it an e clusive sanctity is inconceivable, was the result of the histori events of the eighth century.

The fall of the kingdom of Israel (721 B.C.) left Jud the only 'people of Yahwè.' The holy places of Isr were profaned by the conquerors—proof that Yahw repudiated the worship offered to him there, as t prophets had declared. A quarter of a century lat Sennacherib invaded Judah, ravaged the land, destroy its cities, and carried off their inhabitants; the capit itself was at the last extremity (see HEZEKIAH, ISRAEL, § 33 *f.*). The deliverance of the city from th peril seemed to be a direct interposition of Yahwè, a Jerusalem and its temple must have gained greatly prestige through this token of God's signal favour.

This of itself, however, would not give rise to the id that Yahwè was to be worshipped in Jerusalem alon The genesis of this idea must be sought in the mon theism of the prophets. At a time when monotheism ha not yet become conscious of its own universalism, m could hardly fail to reason that if there was but one tr God, he was to be worshipped in but one place. A that place, in the light of history and prophecy, could on be Jerusalem. The way in which Dt. attempts to car

[1] See Dr. 16 3 6 2; and, on these passages, Kue. *Th.* 9 513 *f.* [75]; Dr. *Deut.* p. xvi. On 9 9-10 11 cp also belo § 18 (small type).

[2] Cp Dt. 17 16 *f.* with 1 K. 4 26 10 26 28 *f.* 11 1-8 9 28 10 14 *ff.*

[3] A critical examination of the history of the reign of Jehosh phat in 2 Ch. 17 *ff.* does not, however, inspire us with muc confidence in the account of his judicial reforms.

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out this principle, by simply transferring to Jerusalem the cultus of the local sanctuaries with their priesthoods, was only practicable within narrow territorial limits, such as those of the kingdom of Judah in the seventh century.

We have the explicit testimony of the Books of Kings that there was no attempt to suppress the old local sanctuaries in Judah until the reign of Hezekiah; the most godly kings left the high places unmolested (1 K. 15 14 22 43 2 K. 12 4 14 3 15 4 35). The deuteronomist, author of Kings, to whom the temple in Jerusalem was, from the moment when Yahwe took up his abode in it (1 K. 8 10 *f.*), the only legitimate place of sacrifice, condemns this remissness as a great sin; but there is no evidence that the religious leaders of Israel down to the end of the eighth century so regarded it. Elijah is in despair over the sacrilege which threw down the altars of Yahwe; when he goes to meet God face to face, it is not to Jerusalem, but to Horeb, the old holy mountain in the distant S., that he turns his steps. Amos and Hosea inveigh against the worship at the holy places of the Northern Kingdom because it is morally corrupt and religiously false, not because its seats are illegitimate; nor is their repudiation of the worship on the high-places more unqualified than Isaiah's rejection of the cultus in Jerusalem (Is. 1 15 *ff.*). The older law-books, far from forbidding sacrifice at altars other than that in Jerusalem, formally sanction the erection of such altars, and promise that at every recognised place of worship Yahwè will visit his worshippers and bless them (Ex. 20 24).

According to 2 K. 18 4 22 21, Hezekiah removed the high-places, demolished the steles, hewed down the sacred posts.[1] The false texts prove, however, that 18 4 has been interpolated by a very late hand; the original text said only that Hezekiah removed the brazen serpent which was worshipped in the temple (see NEHUSHTAN). Little much greater reliance be put upon the reference to the spoiling of the Rab-shakeh (18 22). It may well be that Hezekiah, after the retreat of Sennacherib, took vigorous measures to suppress the idolatry against which Isaiah thunders in both his earlier and his later prophecies (2 8 10 30 22 31 7), perhaps including the sacred trees and other survivals of primitive religious rites (Is. 1 29).[2] But even so, the reaction of the Deuteronomic reform swept away all traces of his work. Cp HEZEKIAH, 1 (ii), § 15.

Another very distinct indication of the age in which Dt. was written is found in the foreign religions which it combats.

14. Foreign cults, etc.

The worship of 'the whole host of heaven' (Dt 17 3; cp 4 19), an Assyrian cult frequently condemned by the prophets of the seventh century (Jer. 8 2 19 13; 32 29, Zeph. 1 5),[3] but not mentioned by any earlier writer, was probably introduced by Manasseh, during whose reign Assyrian influence was at its height in Judah. The sacrifice of children, 'sending them through the fire' to the King-God (Dt. 18 10 12 31), also belongs to the seventh century (see MOLECH); neither Isaiah nor any of the other prophets of the eighth century alludes to these rites.

A relatively late date has been inferred also from the laws against the erection of steles and sacred poles (*maṣṣēbōth* and *ʾ ăshērīm*) by the altars of Yahwè (Dt. 16 21 *f.*).

The older laws only enjoin the destruction of the Canaanite holy-places with all their appurtenances (Ex. 34 13 23 24; cp Dt. 12 3). The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea and Isaiah, assail the idols of Yahwè, but not the more primitive standing stones and posts; the polemic against the latter begins with Jeremiah.

The age of Dt. may be determined also by its relation to other works of known date. From the time of

15. D and other writers.

Jeremiah, the influence of Dt. is unmistakably to be recognised in the whole prophetic and historical literature, whilst we look in vain for any trace of this influence in the prophets of the eighth century; neither the impressive ideas nor the haunting phrases of Dt. have left their mark there.[1] The inference that Dt. was unknown to the religious leaders of Israel before the seventh century is [illegible]

On the other hand, in all its ruling ideas, Dt. is dependent upon the prophecy of the eighth century. We have already seen that the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib prepared the way for the belief that the temple on Mt. Zion was the only sanctuary at which Yahwe should be worshipped, and that the monotheism of the prophets was the theological basis of the same belief. The [illegible] of Dt., which exalts Yahwè, not only in power, and majesty, but also in righteousness, goodness, and love, the moral transformation of the old conception of 'holiness' (see CULTUS, § 11), is of the same organic [illegible] the central idea of the book, that the essence and end of true religion is the mutual love of God and his people, is derived from Hosea. In general, the theology of Dt. is an advance upon that of the prophets of the eighth century, whose teaching it systematizes and assimilates, and approximates to that of Jeremiah [illegible] to 55.

To the same result we are led by the literary character of Dt. Its style is more copious and flowing than that of earlier writers; but it lacks their terse vigour, and is not free from the faults of looseness, prolixity, and repetition, into which a facile pen so easily glides. In these respects it exhibits the tendencies which mark the literature of the seventh century and the Exile. The diction, also, is distinctly that of the same period, closely resembling that of Jeremiah.[2]

Evidence of every kind thus concurs to prove that the primitive Dt. was a product of the seventh century.

16. Result as to date of D.

The fact that it combats [illegible] cults which were introduced by Manasseh [illegible] the opinion entertained by some scholars, that it had its origin in the last years of Hezekiah, perhaps in connection with the reforms of that [illegible] A hypothesis which commends itself to many critics is that Dt. was composed in the reign of Manasseh as a protest against the evils of the time and as a programme of reform. Its authors died without being able to accomplish their object, and the book was lost until many years after, it was accidentally discovered in the temple by Hilkiah. Therefore it seems more probable that Dt. was written under Josiah, shortly before it was brought to light, by men who thought the time ripe for an attempt to introduce the reforms law which, they believed, Judah could be saved, and who had [illegible] gently planned the way in which this should be effected.[3]

Everything points to Jerusalem as the place where Dt. was written; its work whose aim was to exalt the temple to the position of the sole sanctuary

17. Place.

of Yahwè can hardly have originated anywhere else. The tone of the priests is throughout so intimately united with the references to changes of the priests that we are constrained to believe that both priests and prophets were associated in its production, or at least that its priestly authors were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the prophets. Who these authors were cannot be more definitely determined.[4]

That the authors of the primitive Dt. freely used older collections of laws, is now generally recognised. Beside Ex 21 22 (on which see above, § 6), remains of another collection are found in Dt 22 25. Stuerk and Steuernagel have recently sought to show by minute

17a. Sources of D.

[1] This is especially true of the Holy Law (Lev. 17–26), but their works have been preserved by a later hand in [illegible]

[2] On the relation of Dt. to the other parts of Kn. and Dr.: Klostermann, *Pentateuch*, 214 *ff.*; Kue., *Einl.* § 7, n. 4; Holz. *Einl.* 2 [illegible] *ff.*; Dr. *Dt.* p. lxxxiii *ff.* On the style, Dr. 611; Holz. 205 *ff.*; Dr. p. lxxxvi *ff.*

[3] So De Wette, Reuss, Graf, Kue., Wi., St., Che., and others.

[4] The suggestion that Jeremiah was the author of Dt. (von Bohlen, Colenso) is for various reasons unlikely.

[1] Cp the much more extended account of these reforms in 2 Ch. 29 31.

[2] If it were established that Hezekiah put down the high-places, it would not follow that Dt. is older than Hezekiah: the more probable hypothesis, in view of all the testimony of the prophets and the historical books, would be that the Deuteronomic law was in the line of the measures adopted by the king.

[3] Cp also the worship of the Queen of Heaven, Jer. 7 18 44 17. See QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

analysis that both the hortatory and the legislative parts of Dt. are in a stricter sense composite.

According to Steuernagel, the book discovered in the temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah (Dt. 5 26 28) was the work of a redactor, who combined with considerable skill—but mechanically, and without substantial additions—two older works of like character, each consisting of a hortatory introduction and a body of laws. One of them (Sg.) is marked by the direct address to Israel in the second person singular; the other (Pl.) uses the plural. The older of these works (Sg.) is assigned to the early years of Manasseh's reign (shortly after 700 B.C.), the other (Pl.) was composed about 670. The union of the two by the redactor (Dr) falls in the middle of the century, twenty-five years or more before the discovery of the book in the temple. Dr, Sg. and Pl. made use of older collections of laws, and these sources can still in part be recognised. One of the chief sources of Sg. (the 'Grundsammlung') was put out in support of Hezekiah's reforms, probably not long after 722 B.C.

18. Additions: chps. 1-3 related to E.

Chaps. 1-3, in the form of an address of Moses to Israel, contain a review of the principal events of the migration, from the departure of the Israelites from Horeb to the moment at which he is speaking to them.[1] This retrospect throughout follows the history of JE, from which its material is drawn and many phrases and whole clauses are borrowed.[2] Upon closer examination it appears that the chief source of the chapters is E, which the author had before him separately; whether he made use of J is doubtful; of dependence on P there is no trace.

The retrospect begins abruptly with the command to remove [illegible] (1 6-8), and it has been conjectured that 9 9-10 11 (or 9 9-10 11), which recites the transgression at Horeb, [illegible] the narrative to the precise point where it is taken up in 1, once stood before 1 7. More probably, however, 9 9-10 11 is not a misplaced fragment of the retrospect, but the product of successive editorial amplifications.[3] The review ends as abruptly as it begins; the words, 'And we abode in the valley in front of Beth-peor' (3 29), must originally have been followed by an account of the sin at Baal-peor (Nu. 25 1-5; cp Dt. 4 3 f.).

The chapters (1-3) are not by the author of 5-26. The resemblance in language and style is unquestionably very close, though there are some noticeable differences; but the diversity of historical representation is decisive; cp 2 29 with 23 3-6 7 f., 1 35 ff. 2 14-16 with 11 2 ff. 5 2 f. The opinion of some critics, that 1-4 was prefixed to the primitive Dt. to connect it with the history in Ex. and Nu., is improbable; for such a purpose a recapitulation of the history was more than superfluous. Others, with better reason, suppose that the historical *résumé* was intended as the introduction to a separate edition of Dt. The way in which it begins and ends (see above, small type) suggests that it was not composed for the purpose, but was extracted and adapted by the editor from some older source. Conclusive marks of the age of the chapters, further than their dependence upon E and the general affinity to the deuteronomistic school, are hardly to be discovered.

19. Chap. 4 1-40 exilic.

Chap. 4 1-40 has generally been taken with 1-3, as a hortatory close to the historical introduction. There is, however, neither a formal nor a material connection between them.

The historical allusions in the exhortation are to events related, not in 1-3, but in 5 ff.; 4 10 f. 32-35 differ from the retrospect (1 39 f. etc.) and agree with 5 2 f. 11 2 ff. 29 2 ff., in making the speaker's audience witnesses of the scenes at Horeb; the greater part of 4 is only a homiletical enlargement on 5 5 ff.

In other points 4 goes beyond 5-11; its monotheism takes a loftier tone, like that of Is. 40-55 (see 4 35 39 15-19). In 4 25-31 deportation and dispersion are inevitable; the prediction that in the far country Israel will return to Yahwè and find forgiveness takes the central place which it has in the exilic prophets.

The language resembles 5-11 more closely than 1-3, but has peculiarities of its own: 4 17 f. are full of words and phrases which remind us of Ezekiel, H, and P (cp

[1] Chap. 1 1-5, which now forms the introduction to the speech, is not homogeneous, and glosses have been pointed out in the discourse itself.

[2] See particularly Dr. *Dt.* on these chapters, where the relation is well exhibited.

[3] Cp above, § 11.

also 32); 28 seems to be directly depe[illegible] Jeremiah (16 13; cp G). Chap. 4 thus app[illegible] secondary addition to Dt., composed in th[illegible] closely akin to 29, if not by the same hand.

20. Chap. 4 41-43; 41-49.

Chap. 4 41-43, the designation by Mos[illegible] asylum cities east of the Jordan, has no[illegible] either with what precedes o[illegible] follows. In phraseology the[illegible] closely with Dt. 19 1 ff., afte[illegible] are probably modelled. They may ori[illegible] stood after 3 17 or 20, or perhaps after 29.

Chap. 4 44-49, the title and superscription [illegible] the corresponding superscription 1 1-5, a[illegible] the product of successive additions and r[illegible] scribes or editors; the oldest form of the ti[illegible] been simply, 'This is the law which Mose[illegible] the Israelites on the other side of Jordan, [illegible] of Moab' (cp 1 5).

21. Chap. 27 four pieces.

Chap. 27, in narrative form, stands [illegible] connected in the midst of the speeches [illegible] separating 28 from 26. Graf, [illegible] regarded it as an interpolatio[illegible] when Dt. was united wit[illegible] historical book (JE), whilst Wellhausen s[illegible] conclusion of a separate edition of the [illegible] law-book (1-4 40 12-26 27). The [illegible] consists of four distinct parts: viz., 1-8 9 [illegible] Vv. 9 f. may, as many critics think, ha[illegible] connected 26 with 28. In 1-8, where th[illegible] repetition, 5-7 1 has long been recognised a[illegible] of the ancient source to which Ex. 20 [illegible] belongs. Vv. 1 f. seem to be the seque[illegible] the whole being a liturgical embodiment [illegible] and plainly secondary. Vv. 14-26 canno[illegible] author of 11-13: the things on which [illegible] greatest stress are lacking in this decalogu[illegible] cento gathered from all strata of the legislati[illegible] from Lev. 18-20.

22. Chap. 29 f.

Chap. 29 f. contain a new address of ex[illegible] warning, introduced, like 5 ff., by the [illegible] Moses convoked all Israel.' [illegible] point of the writer is sim[illegible] 4 1-40, and differs in the same way from th[illegible] 1-46; cp in particular 30 1-10 with 4 25-31. [illegible] had before him the deuteronomic law, wit[illegible] and curses, in a book (29 20 f. 27 30 10, [illegible] 28 58 61). The diction differs considerably [illegible] 5-26, and approximates more closely to tha[illegible] upon whom the author is evidently depend[illegible] 29 f. are, therefore, like 4, an exilic addition [illegible] movement of thought in these chapters is f[illegible] orderly or coherent: 29 16-28 [15-27] does [illegible] follow 10-15 [9-14], and the latter verses ha[illegible] connection with 2-9 [1-8]; 30 1-10 cannot o[illegible] stood between 29 and 30 11-20. T[illegible] these chapters is difficult to explain. [illegible] is the proper conclusion of the long spe[illegible] 5-26; 29 1 [28 69] is a formal subscription [illegible] end of the book. The only natural pl[illegible] admonitions to observe the law would be [illegible] had been committed to writing (31 9-13; cp [illegible] has been conjectured, not without probab[illegible] was the original position of the parting ch[illegible]

23. Chap. 31.

Chap. 31, which takes up the narra[illegible] composite, and presents to criticism [illegible] problems.

Verses 1-3 are not the sequel of 29 f. or of 2[illegible] the story at the point which the historical intro[illegible] in 3 23 ff.; they are deuteronom[illegible] and Dillmann surmises that on[illegible] 3 23 immediately. A parallel t[illegible] 14 f. 23, in which Yahwè himself gives the charge [illegible] sacred tent; these verses are probably derive[illegible] intervening verses, 16-22, are an introduction [illegible] Moses,' 32 1-43, to which 32 44 is the corresponding [illegible]

[1] On this point see further below, [illegible]

[2] See next section (23), on 31 24-2[illegible]

rectly dependent upon
). 4 thus appears to be a
posed in the Exile, and
same hand.[1]
n by Moses of three
an, has no connection
precedes or with what
scology the verses agree
19 1 ff., after which they
y may originally have
s after 20.
perscription to 5 ff., like
on 1 1-5, appears to be
tions and redactions by
rm of the title may have
which Moses laid before
of Jordan, in the land

n, stands entirely dis-
ne speeches of Moses,
n 26. Graf, accordingly,
interpolation, introduced
united with the older
Vellhausen sees in it the
on of the Deuteronomic
The chapter (27)
viz., 1-8 9 f. 11-13 14-26.
think, have originally
where there is much
ecognised as a fragment
ch Ex. 20 24-26 [21-23]
e the sequel of 11 29 f.,
embodiment of 11 26-28,
14-26 cannot be by the
on which Dt. lays the
is decalogue, which is a
the legislation, especially

ddress of exhortation and
f., by the words, 'And
l all Israel.' The stand-
iter is similar to that of
way from that of 5-26 28
with 4 25-31. The author
nic law, with its blessings
f. 27 30 10, cp also 29 9
considerably from that of
losely to that of Jeremiah,
ntly dependent. Chaps.
xilic addition to Dt. The
hapters is far from being
15-27] does not naturally
er verses have no obvious
-10 cannot originally have
The position of
explain. Chap. 28 1-46
e long speech of Moses,
subscription, marking the
natural place for fresh
would be after the law
(31 9-13; cp 24-27); and it
hout probability, that this
e parting charge.[2]
the narrative again, is
criticism most difficult

f 29 f. or of 28; they take up
istorical introduction reaches
re deuteronomistic in colour,
mises that once they follow
A parallel to 1-8 is found in
es the charge to Joshua at the
bably derived from E. The
introduction to the 'Song of
e corresponding close. Th

ther below, § 23.
31, on 31 24-29.

introduction is not deuteronomic, as the language proves; it is equally clear that it is not by the author of 14 f. 21. The question of the source of the verses will recur in connection with the age of the poem itself (next §, second par.). 17. 9-13, relating how the law was committed to writing and preserved, form an appropriate conclusion to the account of the giving of the law, and are by many critics connected with 5-26 28. The preservation of the law is the subject of 24-27, which the repetition and the different motive prove to be by another hand; 25 f. seems to be a preparation for the recitation of the 'Song' (30), and is as much out of place after 19-22 as 24-27 after 6-13; the whole passage, 24-29 (30), is, therefore, ascribed to a redactor. Dillmann conjectures that 28 f. (in substance) originally constituted the introduction, not to the Song of Moses, but to a speech the close of which is to be found in 32 45-47. This speech, containing the last exhortations and admonitions of Moses, was removed from its place after 31 9-13 to make room for the Song, and is preserved, though worked over and extensively interpolated, in 4 29 f. For reasons which have already been indicated, we should not, however, with Dillmann, attribute this speech to the author of 5-26 28, but to a later deuteronomistic writer.

24. Song of Moses. Chap. 32 1-43; *The Song of Moses.*[1]—The theme of the Ode is the goodness of Yahwe, the sin of Israel in rejecting him, and the ruin which this apostasy entails. The poem contains no definite allusions to historical events by which its age may be exactly determined. The conquest of Canaan evidently lies for the writer in a remote past (7 ff.); and he has had ample experience of the propensity of Israel to adopt foreign religions, and of the national calamities in which the prophets saw the judgments of Yahwè upon this defection. The language has been thought to indicate that the author was a native of the North; and many scholars believe that the situation reflected in the poem is that of the kingdom of Israel in the reign of Jehoash (797-783 B.C.) or the early years of Jeroboam II. (782-743), when, after the long and disastrous Syrian wars, Israel was beginning to recover its former power and prosperity.[2] Others, understanding by the 'no people' (32 28), the 'foolish nation' (32 21 בגוי נבל), the Assyrians, to whom such terms would be applied more naturally than they could be to the Syrians (cp Is. 33 19,[3] 5 26 f.), ascribe the poem to the latter half of the eighth century. The words may, however, with even greater probability, be interpreted of the Babylonians (cp Jer. 5 15 ff. 6 22 f., especially Hab. 1 6 ff., Dt. 28 49 ff.). In the vocabulary of the Song there are several words which are not found in writers of the eighth century, but are common in the literature of the seventh and sixth; the Aramaisms in word and form which have been looked upon as evidence of Ephraimite origin may equally well be marks of a later age. The poem contains many reminiscences of the older prophets, especially of Hosea and Isaiah; but in its whole spirit and tone, as well as in particular expressions, it is much more closely akin to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Is. 40-55. It has a strong resemblance, also, to the exilic additions to Dt. (4 29 f.); its theology is that of these chapters and of Is. 40 ff. Its affinities to the Psalms and the products of Jewish Wisdom are to be noted.[4] It is, in fact, a didactic poem, embodying in lofty verse the prophetic interpretation of Israel's history from beginning to end. Kuenen and others ascribe the Song to the end of the seventh century (say 630-600 B.C.); but the considerations last adduced, and others which might be mentioned, point rather to an exilic or post-exilic date.

It has commonly been assumed that the introduction to the Song (31 16-22) is pre-deuteronomic (J or E);[5] not so much, however, upon internal evidence as in consequence of general theories about the age of the poem and the composition of the last chapters of Dt. It is intrinsically at least equally probable that the

[1] On the Song of Moses see Ew. *JBW* 8 41-65 ['57]; Kamph. *Das Lied Moses*, 1862; Kle. 'Das Lied Moses u. Cap. Deut.' *St. Kr.* 44 249 ff. ['71], 45 230 ff. 459 ff. [72]; reprinted in *Der Pent.* 223-307 [Leip.]; St. *ZATW* 5 297-300 [85]. For the older literature see Di. *Comm.* 355; Reuss, *G.H.* § 226.

[2] See 2 K. 13 23-25 14 25-27.

[3] This verse is, however, probably not from the Assyrian period.

[4] See 1 f. 3 f. 6 28 f., etc.

[5] Kue. attributes it to R^Je.

introduction is post-deuteronomic; and this hypothesis is strongly commended by the fact that the Song itself has apparently been put in the place of the last discourse of Moses (29 f.), which is itself a product of the 'exile.'

Chap. 32 44 is the closing note to the poem, corresponding to 31 [illegible] Verses 45-47 are the close of the [illegible] to 31 28 f.,[1] that [illegible] to the [illegible]; their literary [illegible] to 31 [illegible] to 31 [illegible] 32 44 belongs to the [illegible] stratum; the same [illegible] is given somewhat more briefly in Nu. 27 12-14 P).

Chap. 33: 'The Blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the [illegible] before his death.'[2] Beyond this superscription, no attempt is made to connect the poem with the history of Moses' last days; from which it may be inferred that it was not introduced by a deuteronomistic editor. The opening verses (1-5), which are very obscure, in part through corruption of the text, describe the coming of Yahwe from Sinai, the giving of the Law, the acquisition of the territory of Judah, and the rise of the kingdom in Israel.[3] The tribes come, without any transition, to be blessed, on Gad's tribes, following a geographical order from south to north, and differing greatly in length and in character.

25. Blessing. The Blessing of Moses is a composition of the same kind as the so-called Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49 1-27), though not a mere imitation of it. The historical situation reflected in the Blessings of the several tribes in Dt. is that of a time considerably later than that in Gen.; cp particularly Levi (Gen. 49 5-7 Dt. 33 8-11) and Judah (Gen. 49 8-12 Dt. 33 7). On the other hand, the situation is entirely different from that represented in the Song of Moses, Dt. 32. While in the latter, apostasy has drawn upon Israel the consuming anger of Yahwe, and the very existence of the people is threatened, the Blessing breathes from end to end a national spirit exalted by power and prosperity and unbroken by disaster. The author was a member of one of the northern tribes, or a Levite at one of the northern sanctuaries. The blessing of Joseph (13-17) was written at a time when the kingdom of Israel, in the pride of its power, and perhaps flushed with victory, was thinking of foreign conquests (17). Recent critics have generally followed Graf in ascribing the poem to the time of Jeroboam II. (782-743 B.C.), when for a brief space Israel seemed to have regained all its ancient power and glory; so is then referred to the recovery of the territories of which Gad had been stripped by the Syrians of Damascus in the disastrous period which preceded.

26. Its date.

The prayer in 7, 'Hear, O Yahwè, the voice of Judah, and bring him to his people,' has been understood as the wish of the Ephraimite poet that Judah might be reunited to Israel, and is thought by many to point to a time soon after the division of the kingdom, when the desire for the restoration of the national unity was still strong. This obscure verse, however, cannot be allowed to outweigh the clearer testimony of other parts of the chapter. The Blessing of Levi (8-11) describes the privileges and offices of the priesthood, and the fidelity of Levi to its sacred trust. There is nothing to indicate that the author was a priest of the temple in Jerusalem[3] the priests of other temples also were Levites, nor any cogent reason for thinking that 9 11 are Jewish interpolations. Verse 11, however, is hardly a blessing for the priesthood, and would unquestionably be more appropriate to one of the other tribes; but that it was the original sequel of 7b, as has been conjectured, is not evident.

On the whole, the age of Jeroboam II. seems best to satisfy the implications of the Blessings. Verses 26-29,

[1] See above, § 23.

[2] On the Blessing see Hoffm. in Keil and Tzschirner's *Amalekiten* 11 229, iv. 2 1-22 [1831]; for a series of Jona Prophecies, 1 [illegible] 4; Graf, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 1857; Vatke, *Die Religion des A. Bundes*, 1835; A. Ewald, *Die Dichter des A. Bundes*, 3d, 1868; Ball, 'The Exodus of Moses,' *PSBA* 8 118-137 ['66]. See also St. *GVI* 1 [illegible] ff. The older literature in Di. *Comm.* 416, Reuss, *G.H.* § 226.

[3] The meaning of these verses is much disputed.

[4] In 12 it is not certain that Jerusalem is meant (cp Benjamin, § 2).

26-29, have no connection with the Blessings, and it is not improbable that they are fragments of another poem. Whether the Blessing of Moses was contained in J or E is a question which we have no means of answering: neither the short introduction, nor the titles of the several Blessings (which alone can be attributed to an editorial hand), offer anything distinctive; nor do the reminiscences of the earlier history.

Chap. 34. The story of the death of Moses is highly composite, elements from JE and P, as well as the hand of more than one editor, being recognisable in it.

27. Religious character of Dt.

Deuteronomy is the prophetic law-book, an attempt to embody the ideal of the prophets in institutions and laws by which the whole religious, social, and civil life of the people should be governed. We recognise this aim in the treatment of the older right and custom of Israel, and more clearly in those provisions which are peculiar to Deuteronomy, above all in the fundamental law, chap. 5 *ff.* It seeks, not to regulate conduct by outward rule, but to form morality from within by the power of a supreme principle.

28. Monotheism.

The dominant idea of Deuteronomy is monotheism. The first sentence of the older Decalogue,[1] repeated in 5 6 *f.*, expresses, indeed, only a relative monotheism; but the fundamental deuteronomic law, 'Yahwè our God is one Yahwè' (6 4 *f.*), declares, not only that there are not many Yahwès, as there are many Baals, but also that there is no other who shares with him the attributes of supreme godhead which are connoted by his name. He is 'the God of gods and the Lord of lords, the great, mighty, and awful God' (10 17), to whom belong 'the heavens and the heavens of heavens, the earth and all that therein is' (10 14), 'the [only] God in the heavens above or in the earth beneath; there is no other' (4 39, cp 15).[2] The unapproachable majesty of Yahwè (5 1 *ff.* 22 *ff.* 19 *ff.*), his constancy to his purpose, and his faithfulness to his word are often recurring themes (7 8-10 12 *ff.* 9 5, etc.). He is a God who requites his enemies to the full (7 10); yet a compassionate and forgiving God to those [illegible] under his judgments turn to him again (4 29-31, [illegible] *ff.*).

Idolatry is strictly fo[illegible]n. The images and emblems of the Canaanite gods are to be totally destroyed (12 2 *f.* 7 5 25). The Decalogue prohibits the making of images of Yahwè in the likeness of any object in heaven, or on the earth, or in the sea; and in 4 15 *ff.*, where this prohibition is emphatically repeated, Israel is reminded that at Horeb, when Yahwè s[illegible]ke to them out of the midst of the fire, they saw no form—[illegible]esson to them not to image him in any form. The more primitive standing stones and sacred poles are included in the prohibition (16 21 *f.* 12 3 *f.*). All kinds of divination, sorcery, and necromancy are condemned as heathenish (18 9-14); Yahwè's will and purpose are made known, not by such signs as are interpreted by the mantic art, but by the mouth of his prophet (18 15 *ff.*).

29. Objects of worship.

Yahwè is to be worshipped, not at many sanctuaries, but at one only, in the place which he chooses to fix his name there (12 *pass.*, 14 23 15 20 16 *pass.*, etc.). The unity of the sanctuary is a consequence of the unity of God. The suppression of the high-places, which is so strenuously insisted on in Dt., was primarily dictated, not by practical considerations, but by the instinctive feeling that their existence was incompatible with monotheism: as long as there were many altars there were as many local Yahwès. It is doubtless true that, for the religious consciousness of the great mass of worshippers, the Yahwè of Dan was no[illegible] just the same as the Yahwè

30. Exclusiveness.

[1] On the various forms of this code see DECALOGUE.

[2] See also 3 24 4 7 *f.* 32 *ff.* It has been observed above that the theology of 40-40 approximates more nearly to that of Is. 40 *ff.*

of Bethel or of Beersheba. But the great do[illegible] Dt is, 'Yahwè thy God is *one* Yahwè.' The [illegible] principle, 'Thou shalt have no other gods bes[illegible] is strongly reaffirmed (6 12-15 10 20-22 11 16 *f.* [illegible] the worship of other gods is punished by death [illegible] see also 13), the apostasy of the nation by natio[illegible] (6 14 *f.* 7 4 8 19 *f.* 4 23-28 30 17 *f.*, etc.); for Yah[illegible] jealous God (6 15 4 24). Not only in Israel, [illegible] Yahwè's people, but also in Canaan, which is h[illegible] there shall be no other god or cult. Every trace of [illegible] religions of Palestine is to be obliterated. The [illegible]ites themselves must be exterminated, lest, in inte[illegible] with them, Israel be infected with their religion [illegible] 16 9 3, cp 12 29 *f.* 20 16 *ff.*).[1] Alliance and interm[illegible] with the heathen are stringently prohibited (7 1 *f.* [illegible] and many special laws are directed against h[illegible] customs and rites; see, *e.g.*, 22 5 23 17 *f.* No less [illegible] warnings are given against the religions of r[illegible] peoples (13 6 *f.*).

31. Principle of love.

The essence of the religious relation b[illegible] Yahwè and his people is love. He has loved [illegible] from the beginning (10 15 7 7 *f.*) and if they keep his command[illegible] he will love and bless them in [illegible] future (7 13, cp 4 37 *f.*). They are the children of Y[illegible] their God (14 1); his discipline and his care are pa[illegible] (8 5 1 31). All good things are from him; bu[illegible] signal proofs of his love to Israel are the delive[illegible] from Egypt (*passim*, *e.g.*, 8 14 *ff.*), and the law wh[illegible] has given them (4 5-8 32 *ff.*). The love of Yahwè [illegible] people demands, as it should inspire, their love: [illegible] shalt love Yahwè thy God with all thine heart, an[illegible] all thy soul, and with all thy might' (6 5) is th[illegible] commandment of the law, the first principle of re[illegible] (10 12 *f.* 11 1 13 22 13 4 19 9 30 6 16 20). Love to Go[illegible] strains to do his will; to love God and to kee[illegible] commandments are inseparable. His command[illegible] are not remote or incomprehensible: they are in [illegible] hearts and on their lips (30 11-14, cp Jer. 31 31-34); [illegible] are they difficult and burdensome (10 12 *f.*, cp Mic. [illegible] to keep them is for man's own good (6 24 10 13). I[illegible] religion of the heart, not of outward observance [illegible] of formal legality. Observances are not rejecte[illegible] religion without worship and distinctive ceremoni[illegible] not contemplated; but festivals and sacrifices are [illegible] the expression of religious feeling—above all, of lo[illegible] and joyful gratitude for God's love and goodness.

32. Moral basis.

The relation of Yahwè to Israel is not a natural [illegible] indissoluble relation, such as subsists between a t[illegible] god and his people; it is a moral [illegible]tion, which has its origin in his choi[illegible] Israel to be his people. He chose it, [illegible] for any good in it (7 7 9 4 *ff.*), but because he love[illegible] forefathers (10 15); and love and faithfulness bind [illegible] to their descendants (7 8 9 5). The election by w[illegible] Israel alone of all the nations of the earth is made [illegible] people of Yahwè is Israel's glorious distinction; b[illegible] imposes the greatest obligation. Sin, in this light [illegible] more heinous, judgment more necessary and m[illegible] severe; but in God's constancy to his purpose and [illegible] promise faith finds the assurance that the seve[illegible] judgment will not be utter destruction.

The bond between Yahwè and Israel is the coven[illegible] which he made with them at Horeb (5 2 *ff.*) and renew[illegible] on the plains of Moab (29 1 [28 69]). The deuteronom[illegible] law sets forth the obligations imposed by Yahwè a[illegible] accepted by Israel (17 2); strict observance of the law [illegible] the condition of the fulfilment of the promises of Yahw[illegible] the obligations which he voluntarily took upon hims[illegible] in the pact (7 9-13 11 22 *ff.*, etc.).

Israel is to be a holy people (7 6 14 2 21 26 19)—that [illegible] one set apart to Yahwè in all its life. The stringen[illegible] of the laws which are to preserve the purity of t[illegible]

[1] At the time when Dt. was written this sanguinary proscr[illegible]tion of the native population can hardly have had much practi[illegible] significance.

people and the land from false religion and immorality is thus explained and justified: 'Thou shalt exterminate the evil from the community' (13 5 and *pass.*; see 22 13-30 21 18-21 19 16-21 etc.)

Notwithstanding the sanguinary thoroughness with which it demands the extirpation of heathenism, and the severity of many of the special laws, the distinctive note of the deuteronomic legislation is humanity, philanthropy, charity. Regard not only for the rights, but also for the needs of the widow, the orphan, the landless Levite, the foreign denizen, is urged at every turn.[1] The interests of debtors (23 20 24 10-13 15 1-11), slaves (5 14 15 12-18), and hired labourers (24 14 *f.*) are carefully guarded. Various provisions protect the rights of the wife or the female slave (24 1-4 22 13-19 21 [illegible] 17). Nor are the animals forgotten (25 4 22 6 *f.*). The spirit of the legislation is seen not least clearly in the laws which appear to us altogether utopian, such as 20 (cp 24 5 17 14-20 15 1-6).

In conformity with its prophetic character, Dt. presents itself not merely as a law-book, but also as a book of religious instruction. Its lessons are to be diligently remembered, and not forgotten in times of prosperity (6 6-12 8 11-18 etc.). Its fundamental precepts are to be repeated daily, to be worn as amulets, to be inscribed in public places (6 7-9 11 18-21). They are to be taught to children, that each succeeding generation may be brought up in the knowledge of Yahwè's will (6 7 20-25 11 19 49); and every seven years the whole law is to be publicly read in the hearing of the assembled people (31 9-11).

Taken all in all, Dt. will ever stand as one of the noblest monuments of the religion of Israel, and as one of the most noteworthy attempts in history to regulate the whole life of a people by its highest religious principles.

33. Literature.

1. *Commentaries.*—Of the older works, Drusius (1617), Gerhard (1657), and Clericus (1696) may often be consulted with profit. The principal modern commentaries are Vater, *Pent.* iii., 1805; M. Baumgarten, 1843, 1844; F. W. Schultz, 1859; Kn., [illegible]; Schroeder, 1866 (Lange's *Bibelwerk*), ET with additions by Gosman, 1879; Keil, 1862, 2nd ed. 1870, ET [illegible] (*Speaker's Comm.*); Di., 1886; Montet, *Le Deut.*, 1891; Ottia, 1893; Dr., 1895; Steuernagel in Nowack's *HK*, 18[illegible].

2. *Criticism.*—Vater, *Comment. über den Pent. mit Einl.* 3, 'Abhandlung uber Moses und die Verfasser des Pentateuchs,' 391 *ff.*; De Wette, *Dissert. crit.-exeget.* (1806); *Beitr. z. Einl. in d. AT* 1 (1805), 168 *ff.* 265 *ff.*, 2 (1807), 255 *ff.*; J. F. L. George, *Die ält. jüd. Feste* (35); W. Vatke, *Die Kr. d. AT* 504 *ff.* (35); *Einl.* 384 *ff.* ('86); E. Riehm, *Die Gesetzgeb. Mos.*, etc. ('54); *St. Kr.* 165-200 (73) (review of Kleinert); Colenso, *Pent. and Josh.*, Pt. 3 ('63), cp pt. 7 App. 85-110; Graf, *Die gesch. Buch. d. AT* ('66); Kosters, *De historiebeschouwing van den Deuteronomist* ('68); Klo., 'Das Lied Mose's u. d. Deut.' *St. Kr.* (71, '72); 'Beiträge zur Entstehungsgesch. des Pent.' *Neue kirchl. Zt.*, 1890-92, reprinted in *Der Pent.* ('93); Kleinert, *Das Deut. u. d. Deuteronomiker* ('72); Reinke, 'Ueber das unter dem Könige Josia aufgefundene Gesetzbuch,' *Beitr. zur Erkl. d. AT* 8 ('72), 131-180; Kayser, *Das vorexil. Buch der Urgesch. Isr. u. seine Erweiterungen* ('74); J. Hollenberg, 'Die deut. Bestandtheile d. Buches Josua,' *St. Kr.*, 1874, pp. 462-506; We. *CH*, *JDT*, 1870, 1877: reprinted separately, under the same title, 1885, and with Nachtrage, *Die Comp. des Hex. u. d. hist. Bücher des AT* ('81); *GI* ('78), and ed. called *Prol. z. GI* ('83), 4th ed. 1895, ET, *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Israel* ('83); S. J. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests* ('77); WRS, *Additional Answer to the Libel* ('78), *Answer to the Amended Libel* ('79); *OTJC* ('81; 2nd ed. '92); E. Reuss, *L'hist. sainte et la loi*, 1 154 *ff.* ('79); *Die heil. Gesch. u. d. Gesetz*, 106 *ff.* ('93), (*Das AT*, Bd. 3); Steinthal, 'Das fünfte Buch Mose,' *Zt. für Völkerpsych. u. Sprachwissens*, 1879, pp. 1-[illegible]; 'Die erzählenden Stücke im fünften Buche Mose,' *ib.* 1880, pp. 251-289, also separately (Berlin, '80); Valeton, *Theo. Stud.* 5 ('79), pp. 169-206, 201-313; 6 ('80), pp. 133-174, 303-320; 7 ('81), pp. 39-56, 205-228; F. Del. 'Pentateuch-kritische Studien,' *ZKW* 1 ('80), 445 *ff.* 503 *ff.* 550 *ff.*; Castelli, *La legge del popolo Ebreo nel suo svolgimento storico*, 207-320 ('84); Cheyne, *Jeremiah, his life and times* ('88), chaps. 5-7; Baudissin, *Gesch. des AT Priesterthums* ('89); A. Westphal, *Les sources du Pent.* 2 32 *ff.* ('92); Staerk, *Das Deut. sein Inhalt u. seine literarische Form* ('94); Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deut.* ('94); *Entstek. des deut. Gesetzes* ('96); Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, 3 32 *ff.* ('7[illegible]); [illegible] Lichtenstein, *Mél. de crit. bib.* ('[illegible]); [illegible] *Pent.* [illegible] *Josephus* [illegible] *Comparat. Pent. [illegible]* ('[illegible]), reprinted in *Z. [illegible]* ('[illegible]); [illegible] Hirst, 'Mél. de Deut.' [illegible] *Revue de l'hist. des rel.* [illegible] ('[illegible]), 27 [illegible]; [illegible] Kuenen, [illegible] ('[illegible]); [illegible] Hoffmann, [illegible] *ff.* ('[illegible]); C. [illegible] ('[illegible]), 'Le [illegible] *Pent.* [illegible] *ff.* ('[illegible]); Addis, *The [illegible] of the Pent.* [illegible] ('[illegible]).

[illegible] the OT: [illegible] ('[illegible]); De Wette ('[illegible]); [illegible] ('[illegible]); Bleek ('[illegible]); [illegible] ('[illegible]); Ewald ('[illegible]); Delitzsch ('[illegible]); Kurtz, *Hist. of the Covenant* ('[illegible]); Keil, *Hist. of the OC* ('[illegible]); Kleinert ('[illegible]); Kayser, *Das vorexil. Buch der Urgesch.* ('[illegible]); Reuss, *Gesch. des AT* ('[illegible]); Cornill ('[illegible]); Kittel ('[illegible]); Wildeboer, *Letterkundige geschiedenis des Ouden Verbond* ('[illegible]); H. Ewald, *Hist. of Israel* ('[illegible]).

On the relation of Dt. to Jeremiah, see Kueper, *Jeremias Gesetzeskunde und Gesetzesauslegung* ('[illegible]); Kittel, 'Das Deut. und die Prophet. Jer.' [illegible] 2 ('[illegible]); Zunz, *Z. Philo.* 2 ('[illegible]); Cornill, pt. 7, App. pp. 85-110, cp [illegible] *ff.*

For discussion of the Mosaic authorship: Hengstenberg, *Authenticity of the Pent.* 2 [illegible] ('[illegible]); [illegible] *Pentateuch* [illegible] 2 [illegible] ('[illegible]); Hengstenberg, *Pentateuch* ('[illegible]); Keil, *Introd. to the Pentateuch* [illegible] ('[illegible]); Keil, *Comm. on the OT*, 1 [illegible] ('[illegible]); Kleinert ('[illegible]); Dillmann, *Introd.*, etc. ('[illegible]); Fosdick, *The Pentateuch, its Origin and Structure* ('[illegible]); G. Vos, [illegible] *the Pentateuchal Criticism* ('[illegible]); Moll, *Dict. de la Bible*, [illegible] *de l'Ancien Test.* 1 [illegible] ('[illegible]); A. Zahn, *Die Bibel* ('[illegible]).

G. F. M.

DEVIL. For Dt. 32 17 etc. (שדים), Lk. 4 3 etc. (διάβολος), Mt. 8 31 etc. (δαίμων), see DEMONS, § 4, for Lev. 17 7 etc. (שעירים), see SATYR; and for Mt. 4 1 etc. (ὁ διάβολος), see SATAN, § 4.

DEVOTED. AV sometimes, RV usually, for חרם, *ḥêrem* (Lev. 27 21 AV, 1 K. 20 42 RV, etc.). See BAN, § 2.

DEW (טַל; δροσος). 'Dew' is a theme which kindles the enthusiasm of the OT writers; but what does 'dew' mean in the OT? and are the common explanations of the biblical references altogether correct?

1. Meaning of the term.

During the spring and autumn the phenomenon which we call dew is, at least in the intervals of fine weather, as familiar in Palestine as in western countries: the moisture held in suspension in the atmosphere during the day is deposited, in cloudless nights, owing to the cooling of the surface of the ground, in the form of 'dew.' It is not, however, simply this phenomenon of spring and autumn that excites the enthusiasm of the Hebrew writers; for it is not the dew but the former and the latter rains that come in these seasons of vital importance to the agriculturist (see RAIN). During the summer season, however, from the beginning of May to the latter part of October, there is an almost unbroken succession of cloudless days, when vegetation becomes parched, and would altogether perish but for another phenomenon which has a prior claim to the descriptive Hebrew name טל ('speckled moisture') uniformly represented in the LV by the word 'dew.' During the summer, but more especially (when the need is greatest) in the latter part of August and during September and October, westerly winds bring a large amount of moisture from the Mediterranean (see WINDS). This moisture becomes condensed by the cool night air on the land into something not unlike a Scotch mist, which, though specially thick on the mountains, is yet abundant enough everywhere to sustain with its moisture the summer crops, and to keep some life in the pastures of the wilderness.[1]

Coming only in the night, and being so much finer than ordinary rain, this benefit to vegetation of nature received a special name, *tal*, to which the Arabic *ṭaldun*, 'fine rain,' corresponds. The Greek poet alternates δροσος ποτία and θαλασσία, δροσεραὶ νεφέλαι, seem more adequate than the simple δροσος,

[1] See 10 18 *ff.* 16 18-20 17 8-13 24 17 *ff.* 27 19 12 12 18 *ff.* 14 27-29 16 11 14 24 19-22 26 11 *ff.*

[1] The true meaning of טל is most clearly set forth by Neil, *Palestine Explored* ('82), pp. 129-151, to whom this article owes its central idea.

and, but for the shock to our associations, 'night mist' I would be a preferable rendering to 'dew'.

This explanation clears up certain otherwise obscure passages. It also enables us to identify with considerable probability the season to which any important passage mentioning *tal* refers. The miracle of Gideon's fleece, *e.g.*, was presumably placed by the writer in the summer. At the same time, when perfectly general language is used respecting *tal* ('dew'), it may be open to us to suppose that a confusion exists in the writer's mind between the genuine 'dew' of winter (spring and autumn) and the 'night mist' of summer, which is not, in our sense of the word, dew at all, since the vapour becomes condensed in the air before it reaches the ground.

In illustration, see Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, s.v. *falla*. One example gives us, 'The sky rained small-rain (*fallat*) upon the earth. *Falla* is deemed as 'light or weak (*i.e.*, drizzling) rain, or the lightest and weakest of rain; or dew that descends from the sky in cloudless weather.' Cp also *Koran*, Sur. 2 267, 'And if no heavy shower (*wâbilun*) falls on it, the mist (*fallun*) does.'

(*a*) *Where the 'dew' comes from.*—Job 38 28 is, probably enough, a scribe's insertion (Bi., Duhm); but, if so, the scribe gives an invaluable early summary of what precedes. He states that what is said of the rain in vv. 25-27 refers not only to the winter rains or to the occasional thunderstorms but also to the 'night mist.'

2. Biblical and other references.

Has the rain a father?
Or who has begotten the streams[2] (or 'drops') of 'dew'?

To this question a wise man replies (Prov. 3 20),

By his (God's) knowledge the depths were opened (*i.e.*, at creation),
And the sky drops down 'dew.'

So Gen. 27 28 Dt. 33 28 Hag. 1 10 Zech. 8 12; cp also Judg. 5 4 (𝔊[b] and Theod.).[3] A more complete answer is given in Enoch, where the 'treasuries' of snow and hail (Job 38 22) and also of dew and rain are described. If Job did not 'come to those treasuries' Enoch did, according to the current legend. The statements are important: 'The spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer; and its clouds, and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one passes over into the other' (60 20, Charles).

In chap. 76 the twelve portals of the winds are described. From eight of them dew and rain are said to proceed; the winds are not, however, always beneficial. The author is by no means a good observer, and his statement is of value only as confirming the statement of 60 20 that 'dew' and 'rain' are connected.

(*b*) *Preciousness of 'dew.'*—The land of Israel is called 'a land of corn and wine; yea, his heavens drop down dew' (Dt. 33 28). The blessing of Jacob says: 'God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the land' (Gen. 27 28; contrast vv. 39, RV[mg.]). Yahwè himself resembles 'dew': 'I will be as the dew for Israel' (parched up, desolate Israel), Hos. 14 5 [6]. The preciousness of the 'dew' is shown by its effects, which are next described.

Perhaps, however, *tal* here includes rain. Dew is an emblem of rest (Is. 18 4): 'A dew of light is thy dew, and to lifeshad the earth bring the shades' (Is. 26 19, *Sibyl.*). From the world of perfect light where Yahwe dwells a supernatural 'dew' will descend on the dead Israelites. 'The dew of resurrection' (טל של תחיה) is a Talmudic phrase based on this prophecy. In the Koran, also (*e.g.*, Sur. 41 39), rain is referred to as a sign of the resurrection. Probably, too, Micah 5 7 [6] also should be mentioned here. The traditional text, as it stands, is uninteligible. The 'remnant of Jacob' among the nations cannot be at the same time 'showers of night mist on the earth and like a lion.' The upright line (Pasek) placed after 'And shall be' (יהיה) warns us (as so often) that there is something doubtful in the text. Possibly עַל, 'upon' has dropped out. The passage

[1] This is the first rendering of טַל in BDB. It had been adopted by Cheyne in his *Prophecies of Isaiah* and *Book of Psalms*, who followed Neil, *op. cit.*, 140.

[2] MT reads אגלי, generally rendered 'drops' (𝔊 βώλους). 'Reservoirs' would be more defensible; but this does not suit 'begotten.' The obvious emendation is טלי. Rain is called טל אלהים in Ps. 65 10. The scribe is thinking of the 'channel' (תעלה) in vv. 25.

[3] Heb. text has only 'dropped.'

then reads thus, 'And there shall be on the remnant . . . as it were "dew" from Yahwè . . . which tarries man,' etc.—*i.e.*, which is independent of human effort. It may be to deviate from an unquestioned tra becomes necessary to do so, when even the acute W admits that the point of the comparison in the presen unintelligible to him.

(*c*) *Other illustrative passages.*—The dew (nigh like the rain, comes by the word of a prophet (1 K It falls suddenly (2 S. 17 12), and gently, like per eloquence (Dt. 32 2); it lies all night (Job 29 early disappears like superficial goodness (Ho Such a night mist is to be expected in the early s in the settled hot weather of harvest (Is. 18 4; text, see VINE, § 1). It has a healing effect o tation (Ecclus. 18 16 43 22); but for a man to be e to it is a trying experience (Cant. 5 2). It is all-perv hence Gideon asks, as a sign of his divine missio that the fleece which he has put on the threshin may be wet with a night mist (*tal*) when the floo is dry, and next, that the fleece may be dry wh floor is wet. So abundant is the moisture of the mist that in the morning after the first exp Gideon is able to wring out of the fleece a whole of water (Judg. 6 36-40).

(*d*) *Two doubtful passages.*—In Ps. 110 3, if the scribe correctly transmitted the text, there is a condensed com of a king's youthful army to the countless drops of highly poetic figure, adopted by Milton in speaking of the hosts. The words, however, 'thou hast the dew of thy ('dew') is not attested by the LXX, though the other translations all have δροσος), are probably corrupt (se *Psalms* 2). The other passage (Ps. 133 3) appears that it is the dew of Hermon that comes down on the tains of Zion. Some (so Del.) have thought that a p dew in Jerusalem might be the result of the abund vapours on Hermon; others (so Baethg.), that 'dew of He is a proverbial expression for a plentiful dew. Robertson (*OT in J.*[2] 212) suggests that the expressions may be hyperb the gathering of pious pilgrims from all parts at the grea at Jerusalem was 'as if the fertilising dews of great H were all concentrated on the little hill of Zion'; but the p as it stands, is incapable of a natural interpretation. T came into the editor's hand in an imperfect condition. H and Zion can by no possibility be brought into connection here or in the equally corrupt passage, Ps. 42 6 [7]. T. K.

DIADEM. Strictly διάδημα (διαδέω, to bind r is no more than a rich fillet or head-band. I worn around the Persian royal hat (see MITRE and, as distinguished from στέφανος (see CROWN), badge of royalty; cp 1 Macc. 1 9 6 15 8 14 etc., 12 3 13 1 19 12 (RV, AV 'crown,' and so EV in 1 4 10). It is probable that fillets of a more or less character are referred to in the Heb. נזר, עֲטָרָה (see CROWN) and צָנִיף (see MITRE).

1. Διάδημα is used by 𝔊 to render נזר, *kether*, Esth and נזר, *nêzer*, 2 S. 1 10 [L, Sym. Theod.] (see CROWN, § 2), *takrîr*, Esth. 8 15 (see MANTLE), and צָנִיף, *ṣânîph*, Is. 62 Ecclus. 47 6); see 4 below.

Dia lem, in LV, represents the following words:

2. μιτρα, Bar. 5 2 (EV, in Judith 10 3 16 8, EV 'tire,' 'mitre').

3. מִצְנֶפֶת, *miṣnepheth*, Ezek. 21 26 [31] AV; see MITRE,

4. צָנִיף, *ṣanîph*, Is. 62; EV, Zech. 3 5 RVmg. (EV 'mi Job 29 14 EV (RVmg 'turban'); see TURBAN, 2.

5. צְפִירָה, *ṣ̂phîrîh* (properly 'a plait'; √to weave), Is

(עֲטֶרֶת, ὁ πλεκεὶς or πλακεὶς, etc. [BRAQ]), πλέγμα The [illegible] κίδαρις [Sym.]). In Ezek. 7 7 10 (RV 'doom'), acco to Co., *ṣ̂phîrîh* means 'crown' (cp RVmg. 'crowning tin text perhaps faulty, see Co., Bertholet.

DIAL and **SUN-DIAL** (מַעֲלוֹת, literally 'st ΑΝΑΒΑΘΜΟΙ; Tg. אבן שעיא, 'hour-stone'; Syn Is. 38 8 ωρολογιον; *horologium*). 2 K. 20 11 Is. The term occurs in the account of Hezekiah's illness

In point of fact, however, the narrator says nothing of a and of 'degrees' but only of 'steps'; where AV says, 'The returned ten degrees,' RV more correctly says, 'The sun ten steps,' though immediately afterwards it uses the inco term 'dial' (with a marginal note, 'Heb. steps'). Hence in AV and in RV the account is more obscure than it need been. It is true, the parallel accounts in 2 K. 20 and Is. 38 di which produces some difficulty.

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EV 'tire,' AVmg.
; see MITRE, 1.
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doom'), according
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DIAMOND

On the whole, Is. 38 7 *f.* is probably nearer to the original text than 2 K. 20 8-11. It is not, however, free from awkwardness. Explanatory words have evidently been introduced, after removing which we get something like this: 'Behold, I will cause the shadow to go back as many steps as the sun has gone down on the steps of Ahaz. So the sun went back as many degrees as it had gone down.'[1] The date of this part of the narrative is long after the age of Isaiah, who was ordinarily no worker of miracles (see ISAIAH, ii. § 15, and cp 1 Cor. 1 22); and, if Duhm is correct, the phrase 'on the steps of Ahaz' is the awkward insertion of an editor. The reference is, therefore, of very small archæological value. Still, we may fairly ask what the late writer meant, and the most usual answer is that the steps were those which led up to the base of an obelisk, the shadow of which fell on the upper steps at noon, and on the lower in the morning and the evening. We may suppose the monument to have been near enough to the palace for Hezekiah to see it from his chamber. This, however, is quite uncertain, and, nothing being said of such heathenish objects elsewhere,[2] it is scarcely probable. 𝔊 (see Is. 38 8, and cp Jos. *Ant.* x. 2 1) thinks that the steps were those of the palace. This has been too hastily rejected. It is perfectly possible that בֵּית, 'house (of),' fell out of the text before אָחָז, 'Ahaz.' We must at any rate abandon the view that a dial with concentric circles and a central gnomon is meant. Ahaz might no doubt have borrowed this invention from Assyria (cp Herod. 2 109). There is no evidence, however, that מַעֲלוֹת can mean 'degrees,' and it must be repeated that the narrative appears to be a glorification of Isaiah (cp Ecclus. 48 23), based on no ascertainable tradition of fact,[3] either as regards the wonder or the 'steps.' 'Steps' was the simplest word to use in such a context, in speaking of a comparatively remote age. T. K. C.

DIAMOND (יָהֲלֹם, שָׁמִיר; see below, § 2). The name diamond is merely a modification of *adamant*, though, unlike the latter word, it has a quite definite meaning, designating the well-known gem composed of crystallised carbon, with traces of silica and earths. It is usually colourless, but is often tinged white, gray, or brown; more rarely yellow, pink, etc.

1. Unknown to the Hebrews.

The diamond does not appear to have become known to the Greeks till the time of Alexander's successors, when the Greek kings had much intercourse with India, the only place in the ancient world where diamonds are known to have been obtained. Delitzsch has, indeed, ascribed to the Assyrians an acquaintance with the diamond (comparing *elmēšu* with Ar. *'almas*); but this is precarious. Nor is it any more likely that the diamond was known to the Egyptians; the cutting point used by them in working hard stones was more probably corundum (Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, 173). We need have little hesitation, therefore, in deciding that it was not one of the stones known to the Hebrews of the sixth century B.C. (Ezek. 28 13 EV). Much less could it have been an inscribed gem in the high-priestly 'breastplate' of P (Ex. 28 18 – 39 11 EV); for neither Greeks nor Romans could engrave the diamond.

It was not until the sixteenth century A.D. that the wonderful skill of the cinque-cento engravers succeeded in producing intagli upon the diamond. No doubt, even many of the works celebrated under this name may have been in reality cut in the white topaz or the colourless sapphire; but Clusius, a most competent judge, declares not only that Clement Birago had engraved on a diamond the portrait of Don Carlos as a betrothal present to Anna, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II., but also that he had himself seen it during his stay in Spain in 1564. Birago had engraved the arms of Spain as a seal. Paolo

[1] Cp Duhm, Cheyne.

[2] Obelisks were characteristic of Egyptian sun-worship (cp Jer. 43 13).

[3] Bissaniquet (*TSBA* 1 3 37) explained the alleged phenomenon as the disturbance of the shadow during the solar eclipse of 11th Jan. 689 B.C. It is needless to discuss this. Cp CHRONOLOGY § 12.

DIANA

Malcolm, too, says that Tezza discovered the method and engraved the arms of Charles V. on a diamond, whilst Jacobus Theodus is said to have engraved on a diamond the arms of England, for Queen Mary of England, Philip's consort.

Diamond occurs four times in EV—once (Jer. 17 1) to translate the Heb. שָׁמִיר (*šāmīr*), which was almost certainly corundum (see ADAMANT, § 3), the only substance used by the Greeks to engrave gems down to the end of the fourth century B.C., and thrice (Ex. 28 18 39 11 Ezek. 28 13) to translate the Heb. יָהֲלֹם (*yahălōm*). See PRECIOUS STONES.

2. The Hebrew terms.

W. R.

DIANA (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ [Tr. WH], Acts 19 24 *ff.*). The characteristic feature of the early religion of Asia Minor was the worship of a mother-goddess in whom was adored the mystery of Nature, perpetually dying and perpetually self-reproducing. She 'had her chosen home in the mountains, amid the undisturbed life of Nature, among the wild animals who continue free from the artificial and unnatural rules constructed by man' (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 1 1); the lakes with the hoary mist she was also wont to have for her abode; and, generally, in all the world of plants and animals her power was manifest. It was easy to identify such a goddess with the Greek Artemis, for the latter also was originally the queen of nature and the nurse of all life; but from first to last the Ephesian goddess was an oriental divinity.

1. The goddess and her worship.

Under different names, but with essential identity of character, the great goddess was worshipped throughout Asia Minor, and the various modifications of the fundamental conception often came into contact with, and influenced, one another, as though they were originally distinct. In southern and eastern Phrygia the great Nature-goddess was worshipped as Cybele. In Lydia Katakekaumenē she was invoked as Artemis, and also by the Persian name Anaitis, but she is perhaps by Ast[1] and others identified with the Hittite goddess Cybele. In Lydia she was worshipped by Cyrus (Rams. *H. G.* 1 1 [illegible]). She was known there also as Leto, which is her title at Hierapolis and Dionysopolis. As Leto she is traced in the [illegible] and western Pisidia to the Pamphylian Perge, where she is also called Artemis (Str. 667). The name Leto is the Semitic Allat (לאת, cp Ἀλιλάτ, Herod. 1 131), and points to Semitic influence, radiating perhaps from Cyprus (Ramsay, *Hist. Phryg.* 1 [illegible]).

The world-renowned seat of this worship was Ephesus (Acts 19 27 ἣν ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη σέβεται: the festival in her honour was called Οἰκουμενικά). The fame of the Ephesian shrine was primarily due to the fact that 'the Asian mead by the streams of the Cayster' (Hom. *Il.* 2 461) was the natural meeting point of the religious ideas brought westwards by the expansion of the pre-Aryan kingdom of Asia Minor (Sayce, *Anc. Emp.* 430), and of the foreign, Semitic, influences which penetrated the peninsula at various points on the coast where intercourse with the Phœnicians was active. Thus must we explain the peculiar composite features of the hierarchy which early grew up round the temple on the bank of the Cayster. It consisted of certain vestals (παρθένοι)[1] under the presidency of a eunuch-priest, bearing the titular name Megabyzos (Str. 641). Some have understood the passage in Strabo to assert the existence of a College of Megabyzoi; but probably merely a succession is meant (one only in Xen. *Anab.* 5 3, § 6 *f.* and App. *Br.* 5 9). Persia was probably the source of supply. There were three grades among the vestals, who seem to have had, besides, a female superintendent (Plut. *An sem.* 795 *a* Reiske). There is no evidence (Hicks, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 3 2, p. 85) that they were called μέλισσαι, though the statement is usually made (after Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, 108); certain priestesses of the Great Mother were so called, however, according to Lactantius (*Inst.* 1 22), and the bee was the regular type on the coins (Head, *Coins of Eph.*).

There was also a college of priests (Ἐσσῆνες). The popular derivation of the name was from ἐσμός =

[1] For the meaning of this word in connection with the Anatolian goddess, see Ramsay, *Hist. Phryg.* 1 [illegible].

'swarm' (so Curtius, *Ephesos*, 36); but it is perhaps wrong to follow Lightfoot (*Colos. Intro.* p. 94) in denying all connection with the name of the Jewish sect of the Essenes. These priests were the connecting link between the hierarchy and civic life—*e.g.*, they cast the lot which determined the Thousand and Tribe of a newly created citizen (Hicks, *l.c.*, no. 447, etc.). Neither their number nor the mode of their appointment is known, but they held office only for a year and superintended the feasts at the Artemisium following the sacrifices at the Artemisia, or annual Festival (Paus. viii. 13 1). For minor sacred officials see Hicks, *l.c.* 88 *f.*

Analogous establishments of the goddess Ma in the remote Pontic Asia Minor, at the two Komanas (Cappadocia, Str. 535; Pontus, *CIG* 1557), show us the system in a more thoroughgoing form. Strabo's words (νυνὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν φυλάττεται τῶν νομίμων τὰ δ' ἠρέμα) imply that the grosser features of the cult had fallen into disuse at Ephesus. In the eastern shrines we have a priesthood of princely rank in blood to the reigning family, and second only to him in honour, ruling the temple and the attendant ἱεροδούλοι (*CIG* 4400 in Mommsen), and enjoying the vast revenues of the sacred estates.

The cultus-statue was thoroughly oriental in form, being a cone surmounted by a bust covered with breasts (Jer. *Praef. Eph.*).

2. The image. Like the most ancient image of Athena at Athens (Paus. i. 26 6) and the statue of Artemis at Tauris (Eur. *Iph. T.* 977), and that of the allied Cybele of Pessinus, it 'fell down from Jupiter' (so AV and RV in Acts 19 35: τοῦ διοπετοῦς, 'that fell from heaven'). Such was her form wherever she was worshipped as Ephesian Artemis; but on the coins we find mostly the purely Hellenic type. The 'silver shrines' (Acts 19 24 ναοί) were offered by the rich in the temple: poorer worshippers would dedicate shrines of marble or terra-cotta.

Numerous examples in marble, and some in terra-cotta, are extant (*Athen. Mitth.* 249, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1880); the series shows a continuous development from the earliest known representation of the Mother-goddess (the so-called 'Niobe' at Magnesia near Mt. Sipylus) to such as that figured in Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Athens*, 48 (cp Rams. in *JHS*, 1882, p. 45). Such shrines were perhaps also kept in private houses (Paus. iv. 31 8 ἄνδρες ἰδίᾳ θεῶν μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ). Similar shrines were carried in the sacred processions which constituted an important part of ancient ritual (Ignat. *ad Eph.* 9 συνοδοι πάντες, θεοφοροι και ναοφοροι; Metaphr. *Vit. Timoth.* 17 9: εἰδωλα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες in the festival called Καταγώγιον; *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 3 no. 121, referring to the thirty gold and silver ἀπεικονισματα presented by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 A.D.).

In the manufacture of these shrines many hands and much capital were employed (Acts 19 24 παρειχετο τοῖς τεχνίταις οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐργασίαν).

The characteristic formula of invocation was μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις (whence we must accept the reading of D as against the μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις of the other MSS). The epithet is applied in inscriptions (*CIG* 2963 C, τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος; *ib.* 6797, Ἐφέσου Ἄνασσα). Its use in invocation has been detected at other centres of the allied cults.

This was the case, for example, at the shrine of Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos at Dionysopolis (Rams. *Hist. Phryg.* 151, n. 4), μεγας Ἀπόλλω Λερμηνος, see *J. Hell. Stud.*, 1887, p. 216 *f.*; cp *Hist. Phryg.* 15 n. 53, εὐχαριστῶ Μητρι Λητῷ οτι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ ποιεῖ). In an inscription from the Limnai (mod. *Tgirdir Geul* and *Hairan G.*), where Artemis of the Lakes was revered, we have the formula Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of A.M.* 410). The Artemis of Therma in Lycos is invoked by the phrase 'Great Artemis of Therma' which appears on a stone still standing by the road between Therma and Mitylene (*Bull de Corr. Hell.*, 1880, p. 430). The Artemis of Perga also affords a parallel (Rams. *Church in R. Emp.* 138; cp also id. *Hist. Geog. of A.M.* 292).

All these examples show that the *power* of the goddess was a prominent idea in the cult, and give point to the reiteration of the formula by the mob (Acts 19 34). Cp Xen. Eph. 1 11. ὀμνύω τέ σοι τὴν πάτριον ἡμῶν θεὸν, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφεσίων Ἄρτεμιν.

One of the secrets of the popularity of the temple was its right of asylum. Whatever the fate of the town, the

3. The temple. temple and all within the precinct were safe (Paus. vii. 28 τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκοῦσι δίκαια ἦν οὐδέν. Cp also Herod. 1 26; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1 3; Strabo, 641). The peribolos-area was several times enlarged—by Alexander the Great who extended it to a radius of a stade from the temple, and by Mithridates. Antony doubled it, taking in μέρος πόλεως—*i.e.*, part of the suburbs. This extension in favour of the criminal classes (Strabo, *l.c.*, 860), so that Augustus in 6 B.C. narrowed the area, and surrounded it with a wall (Hicks, 522 *f.*). There was a further revision by Tiberius in 22 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 3 61). Connected with the temple was the use of the place as a national and private bank of deposit (Dio Chrys. *Rhod. Or.* 595; see Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* 3 13 105; Strabo, 640). From the temple loans were issued to individuals or communities (Hicks, *Manual Gr. Hist. Inscr.* no. 205).

It is noteworthy that the opposition to Paul originate among the priests (see EPHESUS). The charges of the priests of the great shrines have been largely directed to the absorption of pagan elements in the new cults with which they came in contact, or at any rate to the harmonising of the two rival worships. In this they were assisted by the tendency of the Greeks to see in foreign deities figures of their own pantheon. That very definition were taken in Ephesus to avoid conflict with the cult of Apollo is proved by the localisation there of the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis (Str. 639, Tac. *Ann.* 3 61; cp Pauly's *Realenc.* 1373). The teaching of Paul seem but another importation from the E., to effect a revival redounding to the advantage of the temple. This blindness of the priesthood to the tendencies of the new teaching is well illustrated at Lystra, where the priest of Zeus Propoleos is foremost in doing honour to Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14 13). Not until a later period was this attitude exchanged for one of hostility; the earliest pagan opposition was on lower grounds than those of religion (Rams. *The Church in R. Emp.* 131, 200). [See especially Zimmermann, *Ephesos im ersten christl. Jahrhundert*, 1874.] W.

DIBLAH (דִּבְלָתָה; ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ]), Ezek. 6 14 AV, RV. See RIBLAH.

DIBLAIM (דִּבְלַיִם), Hos. 1 3; see GOMER (2).

DIBLATH (דִּבְלָתָה) in MT; the statement that the true Palestinian reading is רִבְלָה is weakly attested (ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ]). Ezek. 6 14 AV (RV DIBLAH) the 'toward' of EV demands an emended text. See RIBLAH.

DIBLATHAIM (דִּבְלָתַיְמָה), Nu. 33 46; see DIBLATHAIM.

DIBON (דִּיבוֹן; so thrice [Bä. *ad* Is. 15 2] where in OT and on Moabite stone דיבן), ΔΑΙΒΩΝ [BAFL]—whence the true pronunciation probably Daibon, Meyer, *ZAW* 1 128, n. 2—Josh. 13 17 ΔΑΙΒΩΡ [A], ΔΕΒΩΝ [L]).

1. A city of Moab (Is. 15 2, Δηβων [BN*], Δαιβηδων [N^a], Δεβ. [QT]. Jer. 48 18 22 δεβω[α]δαιων [Q]), the modern *Dhibân*, about 3 from Aroer and 4 from the Arnon. A fragment ancient song preserved by JE in Nu. 21 commemorates the conquests of the Amorite king Sihon over 'from Heshbon to Dibon' (v. 30). According to 32 34 [E] it was 'built' by the Gadites, and it is also to as **Dibon-Gad** in Nu. 33 45 *f.* [P]. Josh. 13 9 gives it to the Reubenites. In Is. 15 9 the name is written DIMON [*q.v.*]. It was at Dibân that the famous stone of King Mesha was discovered in 1868.

2. In list of Judahite villages (EZRA, ii. § 5 [A] [1] *a*), Neh. 11 25 (Διβων [N^corr.], om. BA), perhaps the DIMONAH [*q.v.*] of Josh. 15 22.

DIBRI (דִּבְרִי; ΔΑΒΡ[Ε][Ι] [BAF], ΖΑΜΒΡΙ [DARE]), father of SHELOMITH [*q.v.*, no. 1]: Lev. 24 11. P's story of the son of Shelomith who blasphemed the Name[1] bears a close family likeness to the incident

1. So MT. The original text no doubt had 'Yahwe.

Nu. 25 14 ff. There the marriage of Zimri (a [illegible] not unlike Dibri[1] with a Midianitess is the [illegible] and here the offender is the son of a mixed [illegible] Zimri is [illegible] to Gen. 46 [illegible] had Canaanite relations, and in the [illegible] of Dibri the tribe of Dan is [illegible] (see [illegible]). In both stories the prevailing principle is [illegible] of cutting off Israel from all strangers; cp Neh. 9 [illegible] and see Bertholet, *Stellung d. Israel.* 147.

DIDYMUS (Διδυμος [Tr. WH]). Jn. 11 16 [illegible], see THOMAS.

DIKLAH (דִּקְלָה; Δεκλα [ALL], in Ch. Δεκλαμ [A]; om. B; *dekla*), son of Joktan (Gen. 10 27 [illegible] 1 21). The name is obscure; it has been supposed by Bochart and others to designate 'a palm [illegible] district' (cp Ar. *dikla*[illegible], a seat of palm [illegible] BDB). Hommel connects it with the name of the Paradise river Hid-dekel (see PARADISE).

DILEAN, RV Dilan (דִּלְעָן; Δαλαλ [B]; -λαα [A], -λαλαν [L]). Ps. [illegible] (an [illegible] Shephelah of Judah (Jos. 15 [illegible]) Mizpeh (cf. B es-Safyeh) in a group apparently N. of the group comprising Lachish and [illegible].

DILL (ΤΟ ΑΝΗΘΟΝ). Mt. 23 23 RV[mg]; EV ANISE (*q. v.*).

DIMNAH (דִּמְנָה; Δαμνα [AL]; Ceλλα [B]), one of the cities of Zebulun theoretically assigned to the Levites (Josh. 21 35 P). It is mentioned together with NAHALAL (*q. v.*). The form, however, seems incorrect; we should rather read Rimmonah, with Di., Perth., Bennett. Cp Rimmono (1 Ch. 6 62 [77]), and see RIMMON, ii. 3.

T. K. C.

DIMON (דִּימוֹן; Δειμων [B twice]; ρεμμων [ℵ[c.a, c.b] twice, A[1] once, Q* once]; Δεμμων [once A[1] sup ras ℵ[c.a]; Δερμων ℵ* fort]; Διμων [once Q[mg]]; νεμμω [once ℵ*]), a town of Moab mentioned [illegible] in Is. 15 9 (twice). According to Cheyne [illegible] tion of נִמְרִים NIMRIM (*q. v.*); it is no objection to this view that Nimrim has already been mentioned in v. 6; MADMEN in Jer. 48 2 is still more plainly a [illegible] tion of Nimrim. Those who adhere to the traditional text suppose that Dimon = Dibon, the former with *m* being chosen on account of the assonance with *dam*, 'blood,' or else that some unknown place is referred to [illegible] ing to Duhm, on the border of Edom; cp 16 1 and see 2 K. 3 22). The former view is the more prevalent one. If Alma = Amana, may not Dimon be equivalent to Dibon? Jerome in his commentary says, 'Usque hodie indifferenter et Dimon et Dibon hoc oppidulum dicitur,' and in the OT itself we find DIMONAH [*q. v.*] and Dibon (2) used for the same place. If Dibon be meant in Is. 15, 'the waters of Dimon' may, according to Hitzig and Dillmann, be a reservoir such as many cities probably possessed (cp Cant. 7 4 [5] but see HESHBON). The Arnon flowed too far off from the town to be meant. Still the text may be admitted to be doubtful.

H. W. H.

DIMONAH (דִּימוֹנָה; ρεμμα [B], Διμωνα [AL]), a Judahite city on the border of Edom (Josh. 15 22). Perhaps the DIBON (2) of Neh. 11 25 (cp Dibon and Dimon in Moab). Knobel and others suggest the modern *Kh. edh-Dheib* or *et-Teiyibeh*, 2½ m. NE. of Tell 'Arad; but this is quite uncertain. Pesh. ܕܝܡܘܢ presupposes a form דִּימוֹנָה; cp the variation given under DANNAH.

DINAH (דִּינָה; Δ[ε]ινα [AL]), 'daughter' of Leah and 'sister' of Simeon and Levi.

Whilst Ben-oni left behind it some memorials (see BEN-ONI), the disappearance of Dinah, to judge from the absence of all later traces, seems to have been absolute. In J's story, however,

1. Gen. 34.

[1] Note L's reading above. Zimri in old Ar. (Sabæ) compounds is *dimri* (see ZIMRI, i., n.); and for interchange of *d* and *m* cp ZABDI, n.

event, when Simeon and Levi fell upon the people of Shechem as the Danites fell upon [illegible] to carry Dinah [illegible] [illegible] patriarch stories (see ZILPAH, BILHAH [illegible] LEVI). Have we here to do [illegible] Dinah sounds [illegible]

Unfortunately J's story is incomplete; we are [illegible] told what the dowry demanded [illegible] [illegible] only the [illegible] CIRCUMCISION, § 3), and thought that [illegible] never have consented to settle in Shechem unless the town adopted the circumcision rite. [illegible]

Unlike the raid on Laish, that on Shechem seems to [illegible]

2. Motive. 'be their anger,' says the 'Blessing of Jacob' 'for it was fierce, and their wrath' [illegible] to J the chief reason of [illegible] was that the [illegible] of Jacob [illegible] perished. The judgment that [illegible] of the raid is clearly indicated in the Blessing [illegible] divided and scattered [illegible] How does this 'judgment' stand related to the name *dinah?* Does one explain the [illegible] name?

The Dinah story may be regarded as an explanation of the 'judgment' either on Shechem or on Simeon [illegible] Levi. It is also, however, fitted [illegible] explanation of the name Jacob, which it assumes to the contingent people; Jacob was a wily people; and the point lies in an injury done him. Stories are [illegible] worked up so as to explain several distinct points.

It was a common belief in the days of the monarchy that the Leah tribes had been in the highlands of Ephraim before they settled in the south

3. Meaning. (see ISRAEL, § 7, LEVI, SIMEON, DAN, § 2). The point that concerns us here is where some of them settled in Shechem. Unfortunately the earliest traditions that have come down to us belong to an age when there was no distinct memory of the real course of events. Every one knew that there was a time when Israelites had planted themselves in the hill country but had not yet incorporated Shechem—the belief of a later age, that it was the resting-place of the remains of Joseph, 'had not arisen'—but as to how it became Israelite there were already various theories. One story told of deeds of sword and bow (Gen. 48 22, Judg. 9 45); another made more of a treaty or contract of some kind (connubium? circumcision? a sale of property? an alliance [בְּרִית]?; 33 19 n.). It might perhaps be suggested that the *gulika*-alliance with the Shechemites (Judg. 8 31) points to a third story, a story of an Abi-

[1] Prof. Cheyne thinks that the disappearance of the tribe is actually recorded in 35 5: that what E wrote was not 'and there died Deborah,' but 'and there died Dinah.' There are [illegible] the name (Gen. 46 24 [illegible] כוֹנְנָה: τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς: cp 31 18), the presence of the nurse in the train of Jacob; the wh[illegible] Jacob's an making a [illegible] over her; the [illegible] between Gen. 35 5 and Judg. 8 3. He therefore proposes to read דִּינָה בַּת יַעֲרַת הַכְּנוֹר and to read: 'And Dinah, Jacob's old-stalk daughter, died, and was buried at the foot of the hill of Bethel, and was buried beside Deborah; so its name is called Allon-bakuth' (see ALLON-BACUTH). The destruction of a tribe would certainly fully account for the [illegible] in J (Gen. [illegible]) and P (Gen. 46 7) represent Jacob as having more than one daughter.

[illegible] covenant in Shechem. The idea of the covenant [illegible] may be simply a popular attempt to explain [illegible] BAAL-BERITH (*q.v.*), like the story connected [illegible] the name Jerubbaal (see GIDEON). The warlike [illegible] though early, may have to be classed with others of the same type. The [illegible] settlement theory is historically the most probable; but it is hardly necessary to question the occurrence of a Danite raid, less successful than the Danite. See, further, LEVI, SIMEON, JUDAH.

H. W. H.

DINAITES (דִּינָיֵא), mentioned with the APHARSATHCHITES, TARPELITES (*q.v.*), and others, in the Aramaic letter from Rehum to Artaxerxes (Ezra 4 9). It is impossible that the word is an ethnic name (so [illegible] δικαῖοι, *dinaei* [Vg.]), and we should rather [illegible] דיניא judges (so [illegible] μαγιστριανοί). It is a Aramaic translation of the Persian title *dihkhar*. Cp Hoffmann, *Z.A.* 1887 p. 85; Schrader, *HWB*[illegible]; Andreas in Marti, *Beit. Aram. Gram.* 59*.

DINHABAH (דִּנְהָבָה; ΔΕΝΝΑΒΑ [ADEL]), the city of the Edomite king BELA (*q.v.*), Gen. 36 32. Almost beyond a doubt דנהבה is a corruption of רמיבה (cp v. 37). See BELA, and cp Che. *OLZ* May '99. It is a mere accident that several names can be quoted somewhat resembling Dinhabah. Thus in the Amarna tablets Tunip or Dunip is mentioned as in the land of Martu. Tunipa also occurs in the list of the N. Syrian places conquered by Thotmes III. (Tomkins, *RP*[illegible] 3 [illegible]). There was a Danaba in Palmyrene Syria (Pliny, v. 15 4; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* 3 2, p. 595 *f.* 606, quoted by Kn.), and a Danabe in Babylonia (Zosim. *Hist.* 3 [illegible]). There was also a Dannaba in N. Moab (*OS* 111 [illegible]). A Toneb (*PEF* map) or Themb (Tristram) is to be found NE. of Heshbon; the *PEF* map calls it Hodhat el Toneb, but the Beni Sakhr 'knew not Hodhat' (Gray Hill, *PEFQ* 1896 p. 46). With this place D[illegible] Riess, *Bibel-Atlas*, and Tomkins (*PEFQ* 1894, p. 322 *f*). T. K. C.

DINNER (ΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ [illegible] etc. See MEALS, § 2, n.

DIONYSIA (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ [VA]), 2 Macc. 6 7 RV[mg.]; EV BACCHUS.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ [ο] ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΗΣ [Ti. WH]), one of Paul's Athenian converts (A 18 17 34). See DAMARIS.

Eusebius (*HE* 3 4 22) tells us on the authority of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who flourished about 171 A.D., that Dionysius the Areopagite became first bishop of Athens. In ecclesiastical tradition he is sometimes confounded with St. Denis, the first apostle of France, a confusion which was greatly fostered by Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis (*c.* 84 A.D.) in his *Areopagitica*, which made large use of spurious documents. The impudent writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, first mentioned in the sixth century, do not fall within the scope of a Dictionary of the Bible.

DIONYSUS (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ [VA]), 2 Macc. 6 7 RV[mg.]; EV BACCHUS.

DIOSCORINTHIUS (ΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥ [VA], ܕܝܘܣܩܘܪܝܢܬܝܐ [Peshi.]), 2 Macc. 11 [illegible]; see MONTH, § 4.

DIOSCURI (ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ [Ti. WH]), Acts 28 11 RV[mg.]; AV CASTOR AND POLLUX.

DIOTREPHES (ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ [Ti. WH]) is the subject of unfavourable comment in 3 Jn. 9 *f.* Beyond what is there stated, nothing is known concerning him.

DIPHATH (דִּיפַת), 1 Ch. 1 6 † AV[mg.] and RV; AV and RV[mg.] RIPHATH.

DISCIPLE. One who learns (cp Gk. ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ, from ΜΑΝΘΑΝΩ), as opposed to one who teaches (ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ); see RABBI, TEACHER.

AV and RV both give 'disciples' in Is. 8 16 (*discipuli* [Vg.]), and RV[mg.] in 50 4 and 54 13 (παιδ[ε]ία, διδακτός [BNAQ]). In

1. OT usage, each case this represents לִמּוּדִים, 'those who are taught or trained.' A [illegible] word from the same root is תַּלְמִיד, common in late Jewish writings

(cp esp. [illegible] תַּלְמִידֵי חֲכָמִים, 'disciples of the [illegible] in 1 Ch. 25 8, where the contrast between [illegible] διδάσκαλος (for which cp also Mt. 10 24) [illegible] עַל־יַד [illegible] 'a well . . . the teacher [illegible] καὶ μαθητοῦ [BAL], [illegible] *parvus et indoctus* [VgB]). The apparent [illegible] and scholar' Mal. 2 12 AV (MT [illegible] *tum*) is a doubtful reading; the passage is rendered [illegible] ways, and is certainly corrupt). In the LXX [illegible] in A, for [illegible] 'friends' (as if from [illegible]) [illegible] Jer. 13 21, and in Jer. 30 14 40 9 where it (and in [illegible] Hoch Redpath, *Concordance*) correctly reads [illegible] [illegible] generally see [illegible].

In the NT μαθητής (fem. μαθήτρια [illegible]) though limited to the Gospels and Acts [illegible] [illegible] occurrences. [illegible] Plato) and designates merely the pupil, or [illegible] taught by another (Mt. 10 24 = Lk. 6 40). [illegible] applied to the followers of a particular teacher [illegible] as, for example, of Moses as opposed to [illegible] 9 28), of the Baptist (Mt. 9 14 Mk. 2 18), of the [illegible] (Mt. 22 16 Mk. 2 18); it is also used of [illegible] his teaching (Jn. 6 66 and often). As referring [illegible] followers of Jesus we find that μαθητής is applied widely, to all his adherents and followers (Mt. [illegible] and esp. in Acts 6 1 7 etc., only once followers [illegible] κυρίου, 9 10), including, even, those who [illegible] baptized only 'into John's baptism' (Acts 19 [illegible] 4), in a more restricted manner, to denote those [illegible] out of which the Twelve were chosen, who, [illegible] are also called μαθηταί in [illegible] addition to the more [illegible] name of ἀπόστολοι (Lk. 6 13 compared with [illegible] cp also Mk. 8 27 10 24 etc.); see APOSTLE 2.

Finally, in ecclesiastical language, the term [illegible] is applied (in the plur.) more particularly to those

3. Later Christian usage. who were sent out by Jesus to preach the Kingdom of Heaven (Lk. 10 1-17). The number varies between seventy (so Rec., [illegible]; NAC L 33 and seventy-two (Cur. B, D etc.), see more fully *Variorum Bibl.* Comm.). Lists of the names are extant in [illegible] forms and are ascribed to Dorotheus, Epiphanius, Hippolytus[1] and Sophronius. They compare names in the Acts and Pauline Epistles; but [illegible] are to be found in each list. See Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgesch. u. Apostellegend.* 1 [illegible].

DISCUS (ΔΙΣΚΟΣ [VA]), the Greek game played in the palæstra introduced by Jason among the Hellenizing Jews of Jerusalem (2 Macc. 4 14); see HELLENISM, also GAME. It is mentioned alone, either as the game [illegible] perhaps only as an example, of the games played [illegible]

On the discus (a circular plate of stone or metal [illegible] see *Class. Pal.* s.v. 'Discus,' 'Pentathlon'). The [illegible] which the writer displays towards this Hellenizing [illegible] is paralleled in later times by the abhorrence the Jews [illegible] the introduction of the Grecian game of 'discus' (קוביא), see *Shabb.* 23 2 and cp Schürer, *GJV*[illegible] 2 [illegible], n. 124.

DISEASES. OT terms for diseases are, as [illegible] be expected, vague (it is still a widespread practice [illegible] the East to refer euphemistically to any illness [illegible] severe nature rather than to give it a name), and [illegible] nosological explanations[4] which will presently be [illegible] are but plausible or probable conjectures. [illegible] spend time on general terms such as [illegible] (rendered 'sickness, disease'), or on terms [illegible] theological theory of disease, such as [illegible] (words which are often rendered 'plague,' but [illegible] mean 'stroke,' cp Is. 53 4), we pass to special terms [illegible] pestilence.

Such are (*a*) קֶצֶף, (*b*) דֶּבֶר, (*c*) קֶטֶב and קֹטֶב, (*d*) [illegible] קֶצֶף, *mazzeth* (cp Ass. *mutanu*), θάνατος (properly 'death'). [illegible]

1 Torrey [illegible] this is plausible [illegible] 'to bear sin' (cp 5 1, Hiph.).

2 For the same usage cp Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 4 [illegible].

3 Cp Ante-Nicene Library, ix. *Hippolytus* 2 1 *f.*

4 For these we have to acknowledge obligations to [illegible] Creighton.

[illegible] (and [illegible]), such as the plague in [illegible] (Ex [illegible]). Cp [illegible] (Ex [illegible]). [illegible] (see [illegible]) [illegible] the phrase [illegible], rendered 'an evil disease' (Ps [illegible]) should point [illegible] with Jag. Ch [illegible] (*b*) [illegible] cutting off (Dt. 32 24 Ps. 91 6 Hos. 13 14), and (*c*) [illegible] (properly 'flame,' cp Revelation; Dt. 32 24 Hab. [illegible]) [illegible] poetical words. See Pl[illegible]

The following terms, which are of a more specific character, occur chiefly in the threatenings of Lev. 22 26 Dt. 28

1. [illegible], *ḥarḥur* (ἐρεθισμός), Dt. 28 22. [illegible] RV 'fiery heat,' may refer to some special fe[illegible] or relapsing fever.

2. [illegible], *dalleketh* (ῥῖγος), Dt. 28 22; probably [illegible] eruptive disease, such as the *ḥarḥur* [illegible].

3. [illegible], *ṣarebeth* (καῦσις), Lev. 21 [illegible] RV 'scab(bed), is, according to Jewish tradition [illegible] the Egyptian herpes.

4. [illegible], *yaḥleṣeth* (μυρμηκιῶντα), 'one suffering from [illegible] (so Jew. trad.), Lev. 22 22; AV 'having a wen'; RV 'having sores (ulcers)'; from [illegible], 'to [illegible] purulation'; see translation of Lev. [illegible]

5. [illegible], *yaḥefaḥath* (πυρετός), Lev. 26 16 Dt. 28 22 (AV [illegible] 'burning ague').

Under the list of these (*ḥalḥeleth*) may be [illegible] malarial or intermittent fevers, which are met [illegible] the Jordan valley, but are not spe[illegible] Sea and Palestine, owing to the equable [illegible] the moderate variation of temperature. It was at Capernaum (a place liable probably to malaria) that Simon's wife's mother was 'taken with a great fever' (Lk. 4 38)—an expression which is thought to indicate medical knowledge.[1] Certainly Galen and Hippocrates use the phrase, as Wetstein has pointed out. There are parallel cases in Acts 12 23 28 8 (see [illegible]). According to Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*; cp *Expositor*, July 1899, pp. 20-23) the 'thorn (stake) in the flesh' spoken of in 2 Cor. 12 7 means the severe headache ('like a hot bar') which follows an attack of the intermittent fever of Asia Minor.

7. [illegible], *šaḥepheth*, Lev. 26 16 Dt. 28 22 [illegible] perhaps to be understood as the wasting of many [illegible] many other serious sicknesses. Pulmonary consumption is [illegible] frequent in Syria (Pruner, 28).

8. [illegible], *ḥarḥur*,[2] Lev. 21 20 22 22 Dt. 28 27, 'scurvy' (but AV [illegible] Dt. 'scab'). The reference seems to be to some chronic [illegible] disease such as eczema; a scrive in which 'scurvy' and 'botch' were once used.

9. δυσεντέριον (so the best MSS) Acts 28 8; RV 'dysentery'.

The last of these terms, 'dysentery,' occurs in Acts 28 8 where the combination of relapsing malarial fever (πυρετοῖς) with dysentery is carefully noted. According to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 1 1) the disease of the Philistines in 1 S. 5 was dysentery, a view which, if the traditional Hebrew readings of the text may be accepted has some plausibility. The more usual biblical expression for dysentery is the falling out of the bowels, implying either painful straining as if the bowels would fall out, or some shedding of the mucous membrane, or a degree of prolapse, such as occurs normally in the horse, mule, etc.

There is a singular combination of the idea of [illegible] asunder with that of falling out in Acts 1 13; but the [illegible] part of this passage will not bear the stress of critical treatment. It is a conventional fate of traitors imputed by greeks that is assigned to Judas. The statement must, if this view is correct, be classed with the less historical portions of Acts. Cp ACELDAMA.

10. σκωληκόβρωτος ('eaten of worms') gives us the only detail as to the disease by which Herod Agrippa I. was carried off (Acts 12 23). It reminds us, however, of the disease of which, acc. to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. [illegible]

[1] Wetstein (1752) remarks, 'Lucas medicus morbi ita accurates describit ut medici.' Cp Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke* (1882), p. [illegible]

[2] Cp Ar. *jarab*, a contagious eruption consisting of pustules.

[illegible] Hebrew [illegible] [illegible] Rom. [illegible] Leprosy, Leper, Plague, Pestilence, Boils [illegible] etc. cp Medicine.

DISH. See BOWL (*ʿaṣṣâ*), CHARGER [illegible] CRUSE (*ṣappaḥath*), and MEASURE, § [illegible]

DISHAN [illegible], ΔΙΣΩΝ [ADEL] [illegible] 1. A [illegible] ΔΙΣΑΝ [L] and 1 Ch 1 [illegible] Gen 36 [illegible] (MT [illegible], ΔΑΙΣΩΝ [FA]) Gen [illegible] The name is practically identical with DISHON [illegible] to [illegible] Gen 36 [illegible] RV [illegible] AV [illegible]

DISHON [illegible] [1 Ch 1 [illegible]]; [illegible] [1 Ch 1 [illegible]] [illegible] [Gen 36 [illegible]] [illegible] [Gen 36 [illegible]] [illegible] [illegible], § [illegible], ΔΙΣΩΝ [BADEL] [illegible] reckoned as the fifth son of Seir (Gen 36 [illegible] 1 Ch 1 [illegible]) but once (Gen 36 [illegible] [Δα[illegible]] [illegible] the son of Seir. His sons are enumerated in Gen 36 [illegible] (RV[mg] DISHAN, following present MT [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Δισων BAL) Cp DUKE [illegible]

In spite of [illegible] Dishon, like [illegible] and the other names belonging to the Horite clan. Its [illegible] seems to be some sort of [illegible] Psychrometer [illegible] WRS [illegible]

DISPL. [illegible] διασπορά, so rendered by RV of 2 Macc. 1 27 [illegible] 1 Pet. 1 1, is used partly to denote the process itself, the gradual distribution of Israelites among foreign lands, and partly [illegible] term for the persons so dispersed or for their surroundings. In the present article it is proposed to treat briefly of the origin of the Jewish Dispersion (§§ 1-14), its legal standing (§ 15), and its inner and outer life (§§ 16-22).

διασπορά occurs in 𝔊 of Dt. 28 25 Jer. 34 [41] 17 for H [illegible] 'tossing to and fro' (?). In Jer. 13 14 [illegible] [illegible] ruption for διασφθορά [so BA, etc.]. It renders [illegible] tive) in Dt. 30 4 and Neh. 1 9, and [illegible] in Ps. 147 2 ([illegible] 'dispersed ones'), and in Is. 49 6 διασπορὰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ [illegible] (Kt. [illegible]), 'the preserved of Israel.' It also occurs in Jer. 15 7 Dan. [illegible]

I. Permanent settlements of Israelites in regions outside Canaan had their origin in one or other of two causes—the exigencies of commerce and the chances of war. The regular commercial relations into which Solomon and his successors entered with Egypt, Phœnicia, and the countries of Middle and Northern Syria (1 K. 10 28 *f.*) must of necessity have led to the formation of small Israelite colonies outside of Palestine. These enjoyed the protection of the foreign prince under whom they lived, and had in the city of their choice a separate quarter of their own where they could follow their distinctive customs without disturbance or offence (cp 1 K. 20 34, and see DAMASCUS, § 7; ISRAEL, § 9 *ff.*). Prisoners of war on the other hand, either remained under the power of their captors or were sold as slaves all over the world (Am. 1 6). Obviously it was only in the first of these cases that the prisoners could by any possibility have formed the nucleus of a permanent Israelite community living abroad: but we know of no [illegible] this happened.

1. Origin.

The forced migrations arising out of the conquests of

the Assyrian and the Babylonian kings were of a quite different character. The first was brought about in 734 by Tiglath-pileser III. (2 K. 15 29); at a later date Sargon deported 27,280 inhabitants of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media (2 K. 17 6). These large colonies seem to have become completely absorbed; history furnishes no clear trace of their continued separate existence. Still, there is no improbability in the supposition that many of the banished Israelites subsequently became united with the later exiles from Judah. These later exiles were transported by Nebuchadrezzar II. to Babylon in 597, 586, and 582,—according to Jer. 52 28-30 to the number of 4600 souls. They did not readily accommodate themselves to the arrangements made by the king in their behalf, having been led by their prophets to expect a speedy return to Jerusalem (Jer. 29 Ezek. 13). This view, as we know, was not shared by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and hence it is that the first-named prophet has left us a clear utterance with regard to that (for Israel) perplexing event—the 'exile.' For him the Babylonian Exile is a prolonged punishment from God. It must be submitted to with resignation and patience, and relief will come only to those in whom the chastisement has fulfilled its purpose. Hence he admonishes the exiles to settle quietly down in Babylonia, to think of the welfare of their families, and to seek their own good in that of the foreigners among whom their lot is cast (Jer. 29 4-7). On the other hand, in his view the intention of those men of Judah who were proposing of their own proper motion to forsake the land of Yahwè and remove to Egypt was against the will of God: it was the road to ruin (Jer. 42 *f.*). This view of the prophet did not, however, turn them from their purpose (see JEREMIAH). Nor did the distinction made by the prophet between involuntary and voluntary exile, however obvious in itself, affect the theorists of a later age, whom we find expecting the return of the Israelites indiscriminately from all the lands of the dispersion (Is. 11 12 43 5 *f.*).

2. Tiglath-pileser and Nebuchadrezzar.

3. Feelings of Israelites.

Let us now seek to trace the subsequent history of the diaspora in the various lands of its abode. The Judahites deported to Babylonia constituted, alike in numbers and in worth, the very kernel of their people (2 K. 24 12-16 25 11 Jer. 52 15). They carried with them, accordingly, as we learn from the Book of Ezekiel, into their new home all the political and religious tendencies of the later period. In particular, there was in Babylonia no want of persons who cherished and developed the ideas of the prophets of the eighth and the seventh centuries. For proof we have only to look at the great zeal which was shown in preserving and adapting the older historical and legal literature, or to call to mind the many prophetical utterances belonging to this period. Those who cherished these ideals did not constitute any 'close' community; they mingled freely with those who were opposed to them, and the prophetic conception always had much to contend with. Still, there were certain centres for Israelitic piety at which fidelity to the Law and hope in the return of the exiles were sedulously and specially cherished. TEL-ABIB (Ezek. 3 15), the river CHEBAR (Ezek. 1 3), AHAVA (Ezra 8 15), and CASIPHIA (Ezra 8 17) are the only names of such places that have come down to us; but doubtless there were others. When we find Ezra fetching Levites from Casiphia we have evidence enough to mark the place as a centre of deuteronomistic legalism. The Babylonian Diaspora was by no means entirely deprived of these devoted religious workers in the sixth and fifth centuries. The return under Cyrus must not be construed exactly as we find it represented in Ezra 1-3 (see ISRAEL,

4. Diaspora in Babylonia.

5. Few returned to Judah.

§ 50 *ff.*; EZRA, ii.; CYRUS). The command rebuild the temple of Yahwè in Jerusalem mission of Sheshbazzar in 538 led to the ret few families to the ancestral home; the ti the restoration of the temple had been ac (519-515) led only to the sending of deput of gifts to Jerusalem (Zech. 6 9 *ff.*); it was than some 5000 or 6000 persons that Ezr to Judæa about 430 B.C. All this abundan that the inclination to return was not ver felt by the exiles.

For this there were various causes. Ma exiles were indifferent in religious matters; in the interval adapted themselves too clos new conditions in which they found themselv held the return to be premature, deeming times of fulfilment had not yet come. In a with prophecy, the last-mentioned were expec special divine interposition to put an end to t and to give the signal for the beginning of fication of Israel (Jer. 32 36 *ff.* Ezek. 34 11 *ff.* 9 *ff.* Mic. 5 2). Just as, in Jerusalem, men h to whether they should proceed with the b the temple and not rather wait for Yahwè's tion of himself in glory (Hag. 1 2 *ff.*), so in they hesitated as to whether they ought to ret with and not rather await some special div position. It is possible that a few additiona may have migrated to Jerusalem after the community there had been reconstituted under and Ezra (430 B.C.); but in any case it is ce a very considerable body of Jews who still a the law remained behind in Babylonia, and the same tendencies which had led to the grea in Jerusalem brought about through the hel Persian kings continued to be influential in also. The Babylonian Diaspora received an under the reign of Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358-3 he transported Jews to Hyrcania and Babyloni Syncell. ed. Dindorf, 1 486).

The Persian overlordship may be assumed helped to open the way for the Jews of towards the E. and the N. (Th Nehemiah [Neh. 1 *ff.*] is a clear of the kind of thing that must o happened; compare also Toh Wherever a Jew had established himself advantageous position there were never wantin to press forward and follow this up for the From Babylonia (and Hyrcania) the Jews adv Elam (Is. 11 11), Persia, Media, Armenia, Cap and the Black Sea. The relations which Herod had established with the princes of the Upper E were utilised, we may be sure, by the Jewish I Their centre of radiation for the whole of these countries, however, continued always to be in Ba where the Euphrates and the Tigris begin to Here was situated Nehardea (נהרדעא, Ναρδα the temple tax levied in these parts was collected (see below, § 10). In the same ne hood two Jews named Asinæus and Anilæus time of Caligula, founded a sort of robber stat held its own for sixteen years (Jos. *Ant.* x Another important focus of Judaism was the Nisibis (נציבין), in the upper basin of the Ti The Jewish community in Babylonia could boas conversion of King Izates of Adiabēnē (חדייב) upper Tigris, along with his mother and the res kindred, in the reign of Claudius (Jos. *Ant.* xx.

The development of the Diaspora in Egypt a quite different course from that which has ju sketched. Whilst the Judaism o lonia maintained its Oriental ch with considerable strictness, in Eg (to speak more precisely) in Alexandria, it enter that remarkable alliance with Hellenism whi

6. Babylonia a radiating centre.

7. Diaspora in Egypt.

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destined to have such important effects on the history of religion. Whether Psametik I. (663-609 B.C.) actually had Jewish mercenaries in his service (Letter of Aristeas) may be left an open question. We know, however, that in 609 Nechō II. condemned King Jehoahaz to exile in Egypt, and that in 586 a body of Jews, including Jeremiah the prophet, under the leadership of Johanan b. Kareah, migrated to TAHPANHES (*Tell Defenne;* cp Jer. 42 *f.*). According to Jer. 44 *1b* (an insertion dating from about the fifth century) Jews settled also in MIGDOL, NOPH (Memphis), and PATHROS (Upper Egypt). Their settlement in Alexandria is assigned by the Pseudo-Hecataeus, by Aristeas, and by Josephus to the period of Alexander the Great or Ptolemy I. It has been shown by H. Willrich,[1] however, that the statements of these writers must be taken with great caution. In his own view there was no considerable Jewish element in Alexandria until the second century B.C. Against this theory two objections can be urged. First, the statement of Apion that the Jews settled to the E. of the harbour of Alexandria (Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 4) can be understood only with reference to the time of the rise of the city. Secondly, the statement of Josephus (*ib.;* cp *BJ* ii. 18 7) that the Jews in Alexandria received the honorific name of Macedonian can hardly be doubted. Josephus indeed exaggerates; the Jews in Alexandria were in the first instance under the protection of the 'phyle' of the Macedonians, and the Jewish quarter formed a part of this 'phyle'; in the limited sense only came they to be called Macedonians. As the later Ptolemies, especially from the time of Ptolemy VI. Philometor onwards, favoured the Egyptian more than the Grecian element in Alexandria, it is not to be supposed that the Jews reached this privileged position so late as the second century.[2] This being so, they can have obtained it only under the first Ptolemies, and in that case it is very far indeed from improbable that Jews were included among the earliest inhabitants of Alexandria and thus acquired special privileges there. They had a separate quarter of their own, known as the Δ (Delta) quarter (Jos. *BJ* ii. 18 8). The repeated struggles between Ptolemies and Seleucids, and the preference of the Jews for the former dynasty, may be presumed to have led in succeeding generations to further Jewish migrations into Egypt, especially to Alexandria, partly even as prisoners of war (cp Jer. in Dan. 11 4).

We are told of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2 1) that, as a fitting prelude to the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, he redeemed some 120,000 Jewish prisoners of war. The story is doubtless a fiction; but it throws light on some of the circumstances which had to do with the increase of the Jewish population in Egypt. Ptolemy VI. Philometor (181-145) also is mentioned in history as a friend to the Jews; Ptolemy VII. (see EUERGETES), as a relentless enemy. For the former see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3 1 *f.*; for the latter Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 5. We may take it that Euergetes for some years regarded the Jews as his political opponents, siding as they did with his rival Ptolemy Philometor; but we have evidence of papyri and inscriptions that he also showed them various marks of favour (Willrich, *op. cit.* 142 *ff.*).

In Philo's time (40 A.D.) the Jews in Alexandria were so many as to occupy two entire quarters, besides furnishing a sprinkling over the rest of the city (*in Flaccum*, 8, ed. Mangey, 2 525).

8. Leontopolis.

An exceptional position was taken by the Onias colony in the nome of Heliopolis. The high priest ONIAS (*q.v.*), son of Simon the Just, had taken refuge from his adversaries, the children of Tobias, and from Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, in 173 or 170, by flight into Egypt. He was accompanied by a body of his adherents—among them DOSITHEUS (4), who is named in the subscription to the Greek version of the Book of Esther. From Ptolemy VI. Philometor he and his people received

[1] *Juden u. Griechen vor d. makkabäischen Erhebung*, 1-43, 126 *ff.* ['95].

[2] Cp Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani* ['95]; Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 359 *ff.* 383 *ff.* ['95].

permission to settle on the eastern border of the Nile delta in the nome of Heliopolis. Here Onias built a fortress, and within this a sanctuary (on the pattern of the temple of Jerusalem), in which he established a legal worship of Yahwè. Philometor endowed the temple with land (cp Jos. *BJ* i 1 1; vii. 10 2 *ff.*; *Ant.* xii. 5 1; 9 7; xiii. 3 1 *ff.*; also the recent discussions of the date of this exodus and the persons engaged in it in Willrich, *op. cit.* 64 *ff.* 126 *ff.*; Wellh. *GGA*, 1895, p. 947 *ff.*; also ISRAEL, § 7).

The temple of Onias, however, did not receive universal recognition even in Egypt (not to speak of Palestine). It had, indeed, the legitimate high priest, of the family of Aaron; but it did not occupy the legitimate site. Thus the Diaspora in Egypt was brought to a state of schism, which is alluded to in a veiled manner in *Ant.* xiii. 3 4 and elsewhere, as Willrich (*op. cit.* 120 *ff.*) has conjectured, no doubt correctly. At the same time, the antagonism between Leontopolis (as the city of the Onias-temple was called) and Jerusalem does not seem to have been very intense: otherwise the allusion to the temple of Onias in Is. 19 18 *f.* (but cp HERES, CITY OF) would hardly have been allowed to pass. Moreover, national feeling appears on repeated occasions to have overridden religious or ecclesiastical differences (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 13 2; xiv. 8 1; *BJ* i. 9 4). Peculiarly noteworthy is the readiness for war and the ability for self-defence to which Josephus frequently calls attention in the followers of Onias (*c. Ap.* 2 5; *Ant.* xiii. 10 4; 13 1 *f.*; *BJ* i. 9 4; *Ant.* xiv. 8 1). The temple at Leontopolis was destroyed in 73 A.D. by Lupus and Paulinus by order of Vespasian (Jos. *BJ* vii. 10 2 *ff.*).

9. Upper Egypt, etc.

Jews penetrated also into Upper Egypt and Cush (Is. 11 11), as we learn from lately published papyri. They were strongly represented in Cyrenaica also (*c. Ap.* 2 4; Jer. on Dan. 11 14). Strabo (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2), writing of 85 B.C., divides the inhabitants of the city of Cyrēnē into four classes—citizens, peasants, settlers (metœci), and Jews. In the city of Berenice the inscriptions show a special πολίτευμα of the Jews dating from 13 B.C. (cp *CIG* iii. no. 5361).

10. Attractions of civilisation.

The Diaspora in Egypt did not owe its origin entirely—as, in the first instance, did that of Babylonia—to external compulsion. It owed its growth and its reputable standing mainly to the great changes produced throughout the East generally by the conquests of Alexander. The greatly enlarged channels of commerce, especially by sea-routes, attracted many from the interior to the coasts. The newly-founded Grecian cities, rendered attractive by all the achievements of Greek art and civilisation, became favourite resorts. Henceforth trade relations, the desire to see the world, soon also political considerations and (we may well suppose) a certain conscious or unconscious craving for culture, became operative in promoting the dispersion of the Jews over the civilised world.

11. Diaspora in Syria.

Such things seem to have been specially influential in bringing about the settlement of Jews in Syria. It is quite possible, indeed, that the old Israelite colony in Damascus (see above, § 1) may have maintained an uninterrupted existence and gradually developed into the Jewish community to the largeness of which Josephus bears witness (*BJ* ii. 20 2; vii. 8 7). In some of the Phœnician cities also, as, for example, in Tyre (cp Ezek. 27) and Sidon, Israelites may have settled from a very early period; as at the main points on the great trade route between Jerusalem and Mesopotamia, such as Hamath (Is. 11 11). The Syria of the Seleucidæ, however, seems first to have become thoroughly accessible to Jews only after the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. It was his successors, for example, who first conceded to them the right of free settlement in Antioch (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 3 1). The later Seleucidæ had abundant occasion for showing

consideration to the resident Jews: in the frequent struggles for the crown, the support of the Maccabees became important (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 3). The opposite statement of Josephus that it was Seleucus I. (306-280 B.C.) who granted to the Jews the rights of citizenship in Antioch (*c. Ap.* 2 4), or even equal rights with Greeks in all the cities founded by him in Asia and Lower Syria (*Ant.* xii. 3 1), is probably to be understood only as meaning that the Jews ultimately received the rights of citizenship in all the places named. It is easy to understand how the astonishing increase in numbers, power, and influence, which the Jewish commonwealth gained under the rule of the Maccabees, should first have made itself felt in the neighbouring kingdom of the Seleucidæ. The Maccabees had subjugated and converted the Idumæans in the south as well as the Ituræans in the north; Galilee and Perræa also became Judaised during their supremacy. What was the little community founded by Ezra and Nehemiah, either in extent or in numbers, in comparison with this? Jerusalem had become so strong that—reversing the prophetical prediction—it could lend to the Dispersion from the abundance of its own forces. From this time forward it was, we may plausibly conjecture, that the Diaspora in Syria became so strong as to exhibit the largest admixture of the Jewish element known anywhere (Jos. *BJ* vii. 3 3). Precise details regarding the individual localities are, however, lacking.

12. In Asia Minor and the West. The immigration of Jews to Asia Minor and its islands was partly overland by way of Syria and Mesopotamia, and partly by sea from Egypt and Phœnicia, but for the most part not before the Grecian period. It is possible, however, that Jews may have been sold as slaves into these regions at an earlier date (cp Ezek. 27 13 Joel 3[4] 7). It is interesting that Clearchus of Soli (*circa* 320 B.C.) speaks of a meeting between his master Aristotle and an already Hellenised Jew (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22). In the passage in question the Jews are represented as descendants of the Indian philosophers; which shows that at that time and place the Jew was looked upon with wonder as a new phenomenon—the educated Jew, at least. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3 4) will have it that a colony of 2000 Jewish families was transported by Antiochus III. the Great (224-187) from Mesopotamia and Babylonia into Lydia and Phrygia. The form and the substance of the statement alike arouse suspicion (Willrich, 39 *ff.*). Here again we are in ignorance as to the details of the migration. In any case, it was to the advantage of the Jewish Diaspora when Greece and Asia Minor in 146 and 130 B.C. became Roman provinces and the kings of Eastern Asia Minor accepted the supremacy of Rome. From the days of Simon, the Maccabees had been in friendly alliance with Rome, and the Jews very soon began to realise that under the Roman rule they enjoyed greater freedom in the exercise of their religious customs than they had found in the Grecian kingdoms (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2 4, and below). Accordingly, as early as the first century B.C., we find them making use of their good relations with the Romans to secure any doubtful or disputed rights in the cities of Asia Minor and Syria by decisions of the supreme authority (cp decrees and the names therein mentioned as given in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, xiv. 12 3 *ff.*, xvi. 2 3 *ff.*, 6 2 *ff.*; for Cyprus, *Ant.* xiii. 10 4, Acts 13 4 *ff.*; for Crete, *BJ* ii. 7 1; also Acts 13-21 *passim*).

Jews arrived in Greece and Italy in the second century B.C. if not earlier. Between 170 and 156 we find an emancipated Jewish slave named in a Delphi inscription (Willrich, 123 *f.*), and Valerius Maximus (1 3 3) mentions that in 139 B.C. certain proselytising Jews were expelled from Rome. The fabulous assertion of kinship between the Jews and the Spartans (1 Macc. 12 21) presupposes for the time of its origin (see SPARTA) a mutual

13. In Greece and Italy.

acquaintance. Jewish inscriptions, moreover, Greece, and the apostle Paul found firmly communities there (Acts 17 *f.*). In 63 B.C captives were brought to Rome by Pompey an slaves. Soon emancipated, they acquired th citizenship and founded the Jewish colony right bank of the Tiber (Philo, ed. Mange Cæsar conferred upon the Jews many favours: the decree of the senate in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8 5 immediately preceding narrative. Herod th who always interested himself in the welfare of t Diaspora (*Ant.* xvi. 2 2-5, 6 1-8), cultivated with Rome assiduously, and greatly promoted t settlements there. Thus in the course of Christian century the Jews had already been establish themselves on the left bank of the Tib the Porta Capēna (Juv. *Sat.* 3 12-16), and at what later date on the Campus Martius and ev Subura. In connection with events in the ye Josephus (*BJ* ii. 6 1) speaks of a Jewish em Rome as having been supported by more th Jews there. Under the same year he inc mentions (*BJ* ii. 7 1) the existence of Jews in Di (Puteoli). The friendship of the two Agrippas imperial house, the relations of Josephus with th the love of Titus for Berenicē, all testify to the which Judaism had made in the highest Roman and no one will imagine the Jews of that day been so self-forgetful as not to utilise such fa circumstances, as far as they possibly could, t own advantage.

To complete the present survey, Arabia also be mentioned as one of the fields of the Jewish D From Acts 2 11 and Gal. 1 17 the inference that in century there were Jewish communities there is but as to their origin we are left entirely to conj

Philo (*in Flacc.* 6, ed. Mangey, 2 523) estima number of Jews living in Egypt alone in the Caligula at a million. If to th we add the total of the other mentioned above, we shall not wrong in putting the figure at three or four m The violent breaking-up of the Jewish popula Palestine in consequence of the war of 66-70 A Jos. *BJ* vi. 8 2, 9 3) raised this number still furthe thus the expression of Dio Cassius (69 3) in spea the Jewish insurrection under Hadrian—that all the so to say (ἡ οἰκουμένη), was stirred—is intelligible e

14. Approximate numbers.

II. The legal standing of the communities of t spora at first varied in the various lands. The c in the Assyrio-Babylonian empire crown possessions, under royal tion (Ezra 4 14). The lands they tille grants from the king, on which they were free to accordance with their own laws and customs (counterpart in Israel 2 K. 17 24 *ff.*). If the co flourished they gradually established their indepen if otherwise, they ultimately lapsed into a state o dom (cp Gen. 47 13 *ff.*). In this respect it is no supposed that any considerable change came under Persian or Greek supremacy as long as the continued to be members of the colony. In Egy same course was followed by the rulers or pharao Gen. 47 3 *ff.* shows: to shepherds a pastoral regio assigned, and the pharaoh was their master (*v.* 6 1 11). It must be borne in mind, however, that case Israelites came into Egypt not only as pris but also as refugees.

15. Legal standing.

Brighter prospects opened up before Israelit foreign parts as Alexander and his successors fo new cities in the east. In Alexandria they re important privileges; they came into a fellowsh protection with the Macedonians—the 'phyle' probably was considered the foremost of all and therefore named after Dionysus (see above, § 7). use the Jews made of this privilege is shown by Jose

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who asserts that they had equal rights (*ἰσοτιμία, ἰσονομία, ἰσοπολιτεία*) with the Macedonians and even the right to bear this honorific name (c. *Ap.* 2 4; *BJ* ii. 18 7). As Alexandria never attained the characteristic constitution of a Greek city with a *βουλή*, but continued to be governed directly by royal officials, it is probable that the special administration and special jurisdiction in civil matters which the Jews enjoyed within the bounds of their own quarter of the city were of ancient standing. At a later period, as the Ptolemies came to take more account of the Egyptian population, it is possible that many of the Jewish privileges may have been curtailed (cp Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 76, 359 *ff.*, 381 *ff.*; Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*, 1895, 140 *ff.*). In Strabo's time, however, they still had an administration of their own under the special jurisdiction of an ethnarch (Jos. *Ant.* xiv 7 2). In any case, they again received full rights of citizenship in Alexandria from Cæsar (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 1; c. *Ap.* 2 4). In Cyrenaica also they enjoyed special privileges (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2). The Onias colony doubtless enjoyed the special protection of the sovereign (see above, § 8).

In the Greek cities properly so called the Jews were not so favourably situated. In these a group of foreigners could keep up the observance of its ancestral customs, especially its religious customs, only as a private society or club (*θίασος, ἔρανος*; cp E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 1896). The Jews in this respect followed the lead of the Phœnicians in Athens and Delos. We do not possess definite evidence of the fact, though it is interesting to note that in the Roman decree preserved in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 8 the Jewish communities without prejudice to their privileges are placed upon a level with *θίασοι*. In particular cities, such as Ephesus and Sardis, they no doubt sooner or later acquired the rights of citizenship (Jos. c. *Ap.* 2 4; *Ant.* xiv. 10 24); but whether they already had it under the Seleucidæ, as Josephus asserts, or whether they first received it from the Romans, is not quite clear (see above, § 11). It frequently happened that their citizenship became in turn a source of embarrassment. In the Greek cities, by ancient custom, community of place was held to imply community of worship; in many places the fact of citizenship found its expression in some special cult, such as that of Dionysus. Hence a demand that the Jews should worship the local god—a demand which they were compelled by their creed to resist (Jos. c. *Ap.* 26). Even in Cæsarea Palæstina their *ἰσοπολιτεία* did not secure them full protection (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 7-9 *BJ* ii. 13 7 14 4-5 18 1).

It was not till the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus that the Jews of the Diaspora received a general recognition of their legal standing throughout the Roman Empire. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 8 5 10 12 3-6 xvi. 6 2-7) quotes a series of enactments from 47 B.C.-10 B.C. by which the Jews had secured to them the enjoyment of religious freedom, exemption from military service, special rights in the administration of property, and special jurisdiction (in civil matters). Nicolaus Damascenus, in his apology for the Jews before M. Vipsanius Agrippa in Lesbos, in 14 B.C., says: 'The happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means we estimate by this very thing, that on all hands we are allowed each one of us to live according to his conviction and to practise his religion' (Jos. *Ant.* xvi 2 4). In Roman law the Jewish communities came under the category of *collegia licita* (Tertullian, *religio licita*). After 70 A.D. this held only for the Jewish religion, not for the Jewish nation. From cases covered by these general regulations we must distinguish those in which individual Jews had obtained for themselves the Roman citizenship (Acts 22 25-29; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 16 17 *f.*). See GOVERNMENT, § 30 *f.*

III. The great difficulty of Jewish social life in the Diaspora lay in the fact that community of place and community of worship no longer coincided. The case

had been quite otherwise in Palestine, and the Jewish laws in their original framing had contemplated Palestine as a compact homogeneous community.

16. Inner and outer life. Communities of some sort, however, had to be formed if the Jew and Judaism was to maintain itself there at all. Thus the attempt to secure local separateness was abandoned. Attention was concentrated on the effort to maintain the bond of union by means of a separate, if restricted, jurisdiction, and administration of property; the sacrificial worship was given up, and the means for a new spiritual worship were sought in regularly recurring meetings for prayer, reading of the scriptures, and preaching (see SYNAGOGUE). For the central sacrificial worship there remained the high honour of being the expression of the connection still subsisting between Jerusalem and the outside communities; every Jew of twenty years old or more had yearly to pay a half-shekel or didrachma to the temple for the maintenance of the sacrificial system still carried on there. This tax was collected yearly in the various districts, and transmitted to Jerusalem by the hands of persons of repute (Philo, *de Mon.* 2 3) under carefully framed regulations (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9 1). Further, the pilgrimages to the three principal feasts, particularly that of Tabernacles, annually brought vast crowds of Jews of the Diaspora to the religious capital. Josephus (*BJ* vi. 9 3) gives the number of persons—natives and strangers together—present at the Passover, according to a census taken in the time of Cestius Gallus (63-66 A.D.), as having been 2,700,000. After the sacrificial system had been brought to an end in 70 A.D., it was by the forms of religious fellowship which had been developed in the Diaspora that the continued existence of Judaism was rendered possible.

17. Synagogues. The individual community was called כנסת (lit. 'congregation'; *συναγωγή*). In towns with a large Jewish population (Alexandria, Antioch, Rome) there were many synagogues. The heads of the communities are usually spoken of as *ἄρχοντες*. In Alexandria an *ἐθνάρχης* was at the head of the entire Jewish community (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2): it may be added that he had nothing to do with the office of the Alabarch or Arabarch (cp ALEXANDRIA, § 2). Under Augustus the direction of affairs was handed over to a *γερουσία* with *ἄρχοντες* at its head. In Rome each of the many synagogues had its own *γερουσία* with *ἄρχοντες* and a *γερουσιάρχης* over all. The building in which the meetings were held—on sabbaths and feast days especially—was called [בית] הכנסת, in Gr. *συναγωγή* or *προσευχή*, less frequently *συναγώγιον, προσευκτήριον, σαββατεῖον*. See, further, SYNAGOGUE.

18. Contact with Hellenic world. The contact brought about by the Diaspora communities between Judaism and the Græco-Roman culture was of great consequence to the history of civilisation. Here again it is the Western Diaspora that principally claims our attention; the Eastern, in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, had little share in this movement, and indeed hardly comes under observation at all. It was not until comparatively late in the day, it would seem, that the Greeks began to take any but the most superficial interest in Judaism and the Jews. Willrich (43-63) has collected all that Greek writers had to say about them down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and remarks (p 50): 'In the period before Antiochus Epiphanes the Greek regarded the Jew with feelings of mingled curiosity and wonder, astonishment and instinctive antipathy. In the second century B.C. it is not surprising that, of all to the class in question, the intellectual importance of the Diaspora was slight. Traders, freedmen, and prisoners of war constituted the majority of the Diaspora of these days; that such a people should excite the interest and attention of educated Greeks was not to be expected. An educated Jew

acquainted with Greek is spoken of as a rarity by Clearchus of Soli (*c. Ap.* 1 22).

The question of the rapidity or tardiness of the change in this respect that ultimately came depends on whether we date the production of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch from the reign of Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), or, as has recently been done by Willrich (*ut sup.* 154 *ff.*), from that of Philometor (181-145 B.C.). Whatever its date, this attempt to make the Law speak in Greek conclusively shows that when it was made the Jews of Alexandria had already assimilated so much of what was Greek that they could no longer get on with Hebrew alone, either in their synagogues or in their courts. Their sojourn abroad made it imperative on Jews everywhere to complete their *rapprochement* with Hellenism. In the process many may well have become lost to Judaism altogether. The Greek version of the Pentateuch, however, evinces the fixed determination of the majority not to allow themselves to be robbed of the old faith by the new culture. As the influence of the Jews, on trade and public life generally, advanced—in Egypt and Syria in the first instance—it became increasingly necessary for the Greeks to decide definitely what their own attitude towards them was to be. This led to struggle, but also to friendly dealings.

19. The Septuagint.

Antipathy to Judaism manifested itself both in coarse and in refined ways. The uneducated masses scoffed at the Jews for their outlandish customs, plundered them at all hands, and occasionally gave expression to their hatred in massacres. Civic authorities tried to infringe Jewish privileges or to hinder the transmission of the temple money to Jerusalem (see the decree in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10). Roman emperors even more than once sanctioned measures that pressed hardly on the Jews. Tiberius in 19 A.D. expelled them from Rome, and forced 4000 of them upon military service to Sardinia (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 5; similarly Tac. *Ann.* 2 85 Suet. *Tib.* 36). They seem soon afterwards to have been restored to the enjoyment of their rights. Caligula gave free course to a bloody persecution of the Jews in Alexandria in 38 A.D. Petitions and embassies (Philo, Apion) to the emperor proved of no avail. It was not until Claudius had come to the throne that the old privileges were again restored to the victims of persecution (Philo, *in Flacc.* and *Leg. ad Caium;* Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8 1 xix. 5 2). Later, Claudius intervened in Rome in a hostile sense (Acts 18 2 Suet. *Claud.* 25 Dio Cassius lx. 6). The Jews defended themselves as best they could, not so much by force as by money or writings, and by cultivating friendly relations with those in high places.

20. Foreign antipathy.

The controversy carried on with the pen is worthy of remark. Gentile writers made it a reproach that the Jews as a people had done nothing for civilisation and had produced no men of distinction (so Posidonius, Polybius, Strabo, Apion). These and similar charges the Jews answered in innumerable apologies—some of them (such as those of Nicolaus Damascenus and Philo) with a dignity and earnestness worthy of the cause, though others (such as that of Josephus in many cases) showed a disposition to confound the convenient with the true, and others did not hesitate to resort to misrepresentation and positive falsehood (Pseudo-Hecatæus, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristobulus, Aristeas, etc.). The most incredible fables were gravely set forth.

21. Literary controversy.

Abraham was the founder of astronomy; Joseph the founder of geometry and the inventor of agriculture; Moses the author of the division of Egypt into nomes, and even of the Egyptian animal worship. Jews and Spartans exchanged salutations as descendants of Abraham (1 Macc. 12 20 *f.*; cp *Ant.* xiv. 10 22).

Such things could be written only by Jews who had become familiar with the activities and intellectual life of Hellenistic circles, by men for whom the Graeco-Roman culture had become an indispensable element of

everyday life. They were only unconsciously the respect which they themselves cherished for culture when they tried to trace the origin of c their own forefathers. Such literary phenomen not be produced in Jerusalem, the home of J they prove that Judaism abroad, although still the garment of the Law, carried a very differen under that old-fashioned vestment. It had no a large range of activities which it shared w temporary humanity at large.

This struggle—itself an evidence of the p which the Judaism of the Diaspora had attaine not exhaust the history. Ther many points of friendly contact Judaism and the outer world. more educated circles of the Gentile world the J of the Diaspora had, in fact, a great attraction men felt themselves face to face with a power wh developed new forces—unflinching self-sacrificing in the maintenance of religious customs which to the outsider meaningless—sabbath observan circumcision, laws of purity. Through Judais became acquainted with a conception of God strange in its severity, enlightened by its sim and attracted religious natures by its purity sincerity. The popular polytheism of Greece an had been shattered by philosophy; in the religions, which at that time were advancing in t westward, the idea of a supreme God found supporters; Judaism in its monotheism present explicit conception for which so many were lo Inseparably connected with it was the though divine creation of the world, of the original one the world and the human race, as well as that providential ordering of the world—thoughts promised to provide fixed formulæ for the cosmo tendencies of the time, and were welcome o account. No one has set forth the contents of J from this point of view more nobly than Phil contemporary of Jesus in Alexandria. The cont with which he handles these conceptions mal probable not only that he had literary predecess this style but also that an appeal to practical expe gave a powerful support to his teaching (cp Strab Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2; also Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22 2 36 39 41 5 2 κοσμικὴ θρησκεία; also PROSELYTE, § 3). Diaspora of the Mediterranean, and especially in andria, thus not only led the way to the breaking narrow bonds of the Jewish Law, but also was th to make the heathen world acquainted with a sp conception of God and a spiritual worship presen a positive religion, and thus paved the way fo coming of Christianity.

22. Friendly contact.

Schürer, *GVI* 2 493-548; O. Holtzmann, *Ende de Staatswesens u. Entsteh. d. Christenthums* ('88) = B. Stad 2 270 *ff.*; O. Holtzmann, *Nfliche Zei* ('95); H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen v makkabäische Erhebung*, 1895 (see als in *GGA* 1895, p. 947 *ff.* and Schürer in *TLZ*, 1896, no. 2 Mommsen, *Röm Gesch.* 5 479 *ff.* ['85]; Th. Reinach, *d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme, traduits, et annotés*, 1895; Cless, *De Coloniis Judaeor Ex. deducis*, i. ('52); Schürer, 'Die Alabarchen in Ag in *ZWT*, 1875, p. 13 *ff.* (cp Marquardt, *Röm Staatsv tung*[2], 1 446 *f.*); Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Encycl. d. Alterthumswiss.* (s.v. 'Arabarch'); Lumbroso, *L'Egit Greci e dei Romani*[2], 1895, 'Ricerche Alessandrine' in *d. Accademia d. Scienza di Torino*, ser. ii. t. 27 ['73], se e filol. 237-245; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptol* 1895; *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, ed. by J. P. Maha and ii., 1891, 1893; Ulr. Wilcken, 'Alexandrinische Ge schaften vor Kaiser Claudius' in *Hermes*, 30 481 *ff.* [95] Reinach, 'L'Empereur Claude et les anti-semites Al xa d'après un nouveau Papyrus' in *REJ* 31 161 *ff.* [' Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and oth r papyri chiefly Ptolemaic*, 1896; *Revenue Laws of Pt Philadelphus*, ed [illegible], introd. J. P. Mahaffy, Schürer, *Die* [illegible] *Verfassung der Jud n in Röm* [illegible] *Kaiserzeit na* [illegible] *aschriften dargestellt*, 1879; A. Ber *Ges. d. der Ju* [illegible] *a Rom von der ältesten Zeit bis zur G wart* ('95); Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereins* ('96); Alf. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der J zu den Fremden*, 1896; E. Schürer, 'Die Juden im bos

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nischen Reich u. die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ebendaselbst' in *SBAW* 1897, p. 200 *ff.* H. G.

DISTAFF. See FLAX.

DISTRICT 1. (פֶּלֶךְ;[1] περιχωρος; *vicus* [once *pagus* 3 15]; Neh. 3 9 12 14-18† RV), the name given to certain administrative divisions of Judæa in Nehemiah's time, each of which was under a 'ruler or 'chief' (שַׂר). These 'districts' comprise Jerusalem and Keilah (each with two rulers), Beth-haccerem, Beth-zur, and Mizpah (BNA om. [L μέρος; for Vg. see above]). It is not impossible that the list was originally much fuller. From the character of the names of the 'rulers' Meyer (*Entst.* 166 *ff.*) has concluded that they were Calebites (see CALEB, § 4). The organisation of the Calebites in the genealogies 1 Ch. 2 4 suggests further that the *pelek* was a tribal subdivision,[2] the head of which would correspond to the ἐθνάρχης (in Gr. inscr. from the Ḥaurân) of the later Nabatæan kingdom (cp 2 Cor. 11 32, and see ETHNARCH).

2. 'District' in Acts 16 12 RV also translates μερίς, which here represents, apparently, the Latin *regio*. See MACEDONIA, PHILIPPI. S. A. C.

DITCHES (גֵּבִים), 2 K. 3 16, etc. See CONDUITS, § 1 (3, 5), and PIT.

DIVINATION. Men instinctively wish to know the future, and among all peoples there have been those who have, from certain omens, claimed to be able to predict it. Such knowledge could only come from supernatural beings. When beasts or birds, by their movements, or otherwise, gave men intelligible signs, it was because they were 'indwelt' by beings that were supernatural, or because they were supernatural themselves. 'Omens are not blind tokens; the animals know what they tell to men' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 443)

1. Divination.

Necromancy is a kind of divination, not a thing distinct in itself (see below, § 3). It is difficult, if not impossible, to indicate the boundary line between divination and *prophecy*. In both the same general principle obtains—intercourse of man with the spiritual world in order to obtain special knowledge. In divination, this knowledge is usually got by observing certain omens or signs; but this is by no means always the case, since sometimes the beings consulted possessed the soothsayer. Divination, as practised in this last method, does not differ from prophecy of the lowest kind—that of the ecstatic state—as distinguished from that higher species of prophecy which in Riehm's happy phrase is 'psychologically mediated.'[3] See PROPHECY.

The ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc., had modes of divining that apparently were unknown to the Hebrews of the OT—*e.g.*, by observation of the flights and cries of birds, inspection of the entrails of animals, etc. (see Freytag, *Einl.* 159 *ff.*); but there are mentioned in the OT many signs or omens that resemble or are identical with those in use among other nations.

2. Methods.

i. *Rhabdomancy* (divination by rods) appears to be referred to in Hos. 4 12, 'My people ask counsel at their "wood," and their "staff" declares unto them' (cp Herod. 4 67). The higher prophets of course forbade this; but we may perhaps assume that it was uncondemned in earlier times.

ii. *Belomancy* (divination by arrows), a development of rhabdomancy, is mentioned in Ezek. 21 23 *ff.* [19 *ff.*], where the Babylonian king is said to have stood 'at the parting of the way,' and to have 'shaken the arrows to and fro.' The doubtful point was whether he was to march from Babylon to Egypt by Jerusalem or by Rabbath-Ammon. As Pocock (quoted by Rosenmüller) long ago pointed out, belomancy was much in use among the Arabs (see also We. *Heid.*(2) 132). For the Babylonian practice see Lenormant, *La Divination*, chap. 2; as this able though sometimes uncritical writer truly points out, belomancy had but a secondary importance. Nebuchadrezzar had certainly consulted the stars and the regular omens in order to ascertain whether the right time had come for the campaign against Egypt. Arab tradition tells how Imraʾal-Kais practised belomancy before setting out against Asad. He did so 'by shuffling before the image of the god a set of arrows. These were here three in number, called respectively, "the Commanding," "the Forbidding," and "the Waiting." He drew the second, and thereupon broke the arrows, and flung them in the face of the idol.' Mohammed forbade the use of arrows, as 'an abomination of Satan's work' (Koran, Sur. 5 92). The arrows were special, pointless arrows (originally rods).

iii. The Babylonian king, however, did more than shake the sacred arrows; the passage continues, 'he looked in the liver' ('*hepatoscopy*'). (We omit the reference to the teraphim because no new point is indicated by it; the king consulted the teraphim [*singular*], by shaking the arrows *before it*, as was also done also by the heathen Arabs.) The liver, which was regarded as the chief seat of life (Prov. 7 23), was supposed to give warning of the future by its convulsive motions, when taken from the sacrificed victim (see LIVER). That an application for oracles was accompanied by sacrifices we know from the story of Balaam. Lenormant (*op. cit.* 58 *f.*) refers to two Babylonian fragments relative to the inspection of the entrails, giving some of the features which had to be watched for. The Greeks, too, practised ἡπατοσκοπία.

iv. The objects used for *lots* in Arabia were, as we have seen, pointless arrows. Among the Israelites, however, the principal objects employed were probably stones of different colours, one of which gave the affirmative, the other the negative answer to the question put (so Wellh., Bu., H. P. Smith, in connection with the classical passage, 1 S. 14 41). Other passages in the historical books in which the phrase שָׁאַל בְּ ('to inquire of') occurs should probably be explained on the analogy of this passage. Cp EPHOD, URIM AND THUMMIM, TERAPHIM.

v. Passing over such omens as Gideon's in Judg. 6 36 and Jonathan's in 1 S. 14 8 *ff.*, and reserving astrology for subsequent consideration (see STARS), we pause next at the most important of all the modes of divination that linked the Hebrews with other peoples—

(vi.) The method of *dreams* (*oneiromancy*). Jacob may have sufficient reason for making good his escape from Laban; but he will not take the decisive step without a direct revelation (Gen. 31 11-13). In other cases the divine communication is such as exceeds the power of human reason to discover; instances are the dreams of Abimelech (Gen. 20 3 6 *f.*), and especially those of Joseph (Gen. 37 5 cp 40 8 41 1 *f.*). Other noteworthy instances of divinely sent dreams are Gen. 28 12 *ff.* 31 24 Judg. 7 13 1 K. 3 5 *f.* Mt. 1 20 2 12 *ff.* 27 19. Notice E's fondness for relating dreams. The author of the speeches of Elihu also attaches great importance to dreams as a channel of divine communications (Job 33 14-16). It would almost seem as if the belief in the symbolic character of dreams should be reckoned among other revivals of primitive beliefs in the period of early Judaism (cp the dream-visions in Enoch chaps. 83-90, and the dreams in the Book of Jubilees; also Jos. *BJ* ii. 7 4 in 8 3). Men were oppressed by constant anxiety as to the future, and there was no prophet in the great old style to assuage this. They looked about, therefore, for artificial means of satisfying their curiosity. Prophets

[1] The word is no doubt the Ass. *pulug(g)u*, *puku*, *pulukku*, 'border,' 'district'; cp probably Phœn. פלג לאדך, 'district of Laodicea,' *CIS* I, no. 7. On the Heb. פ see also Dr. on 2 S. 3 29.

[2] Cp פלגות, Judg. 5 15*b* (if correct, see Moore), פלגות, בפלגות, 2 Ch. 35 5 12.

[3] *Messianic Prophecy*, 45 *et passim*.

like Isaiah, however, never refer to their dreams, and it is even a question how far the visions of which they speak are to be taken literally (see PROPHECY).

vii. On a possible divination by means of sacred garments, see DRESS, § 8.

We must now consider briefly the various terms applied to divination and diviners, and endeavour to define their application.

3. Terms.

i. קֶסֶם, *kĕsem*, a general term for divination of all kinds (cp the Ar. *kāhin*, and see PRIESTS), on the derivation of which see MAGIC, § 3 (i). Thus EV renders קֶסֶם, 'divination' (once 'witchcraft,' 1 S. 15 23 EV), קוֹסֵם, 'diviner' (1 S. 6 2 Zech. 10 2), also 'soothsayer' (Josh. 13 22 EV) and 'prudent' (Is. 3 2 AV); and ⊕ gives the more general terms μάντις, μαντεύομαι, μαντεία, μαντεῖον. Ezek. 21 6 [21], however, shows plainly enough that the word had the distinct sense of obtaining an oracle by casting lots by means of arrows (see above, § 2 [2]).[1] The one selected by chance was supposed to represent the divine decision; on the other hand, in 1 S. 28 8, Saul is made to ask the witch to divine for him by means of the *'ôb* (אוֹב); see below, § 4 (ii.); and cp MAGIC.

2. מְעוֹנֵן (*me'ônēn*). The etymology of this word is much disputed (cp Del. on Is. 2 6). Two interpretations deserve mention: (*a*) *Me'ônēn* is one who divines by observing the clouds (denom. from עָנָן), a mode of divination well known among the ancients; or perhaps, one who brings clouds, or causes storms (*aphnomancy*). In the passages in which the word occurs, however, there is nothing to suggest that the *me'ônēn* has anything to do with the clouds. (*b*) One who smites with the 'evil eye' (denom. from עַיִן), but, apart from other considerations, the Targ. rendering עָנַן appears to be decidedly against this view. In the absence of further evidence it is best to follow Ewald (*Bib. Theol.* 1 234) and WRS (*loc. cit.*; cp also Dr.), who compare the Arabic *ganna*, 'to emit a hoarse, nasal sound.' The fact that so many of the words connected with magic and divination denote low subdued mournful speaking, favours this last surmise, though there must ever remain much doubt about the exact origin and meaning. ⊕ renders by a word which means primarily to take an omen from the flight of birds, examples of which practice may be found in Arabia (cp We. *Heidt.*[2] 202 *f.*). The word is usually rendered by 'observers (once Judg. 9 37 AVmg. 'regarders') of times' (AV), or 'augurs' (RV) (Dt. 18 10 14, Lev. 19 26, 2 K. 21 6), in Is. 2 6 Mi. 5 12 [11] EV 'soothsayers' (so also Jer. 27 9 RV, where AV 'enchanter'); once (fem.) 'sorceress' (Is. 57 3). An oak near Shechem, famous in divination, bears the name 'Oak of MEONENIM' (Judg. 9 37). For other examples of sacred trees cp IDOLATRY, § 2, and see NATURE-WORSHIP.

3. נִרְשׁ (*nirsh*), 'to use enchantment' (2 K. 21 6 = 2 Ch. 33 6 Lev. 19 26); cp נַחַשׁ, 'enchantment' Nu. 23 23 24 1), or 'to divine' (Gen. 44 5 15 EV; and Gen. 30 27 RV, where AV 'to learn by experience'; cp 1 K. 20 3, 'diligently observe,' RVmg. 'take as an omen'), is probably used to include any kind of divination (WRS). In Gen. 44 5 15 the same word is used for divination by a cup[2] *i.e.*, probably by *hydromancy*, where a vessel is filled with water and the rings formed by the liquid are observed. Was נחש originally used in a special sense, and connected with נָחָשׁ, 'a serpent'? So at least Bochart, Lenormant, and Baudissin (*Studien zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 287); see SERPENT, § 1, 3, MAGIC, § 3, 3.

4. גָּזְרִין, *gāzerīn*, is found only in Daniel (2 27 4 4 [7] 5 7 11, EV 'soothsayers'), and may be rendered 'prognosticators,' properly 'those who determine [what is doubtful]'; cp Bev. *ad loc.* The root means 'to cut'; but whether the 'cutting of the heavens' by Babylonian astrologers is meant, is uncertain (see STARS, § 5). Perhaps (cp Ar. *jazara*, 'to slaughter') the *gāzerīn* originally offered a sacrifice in connection with the art (cp Vg. *haruspices*). See § 2, iii.

5. אַשָּׁף (*aššāph*) and אָשַׁף (*ăšăph*) occur in the Heb. (1 20 2 2) and the Aram. (2 10 4 7 [4], etc.) parts of Daniel respectively, and are rendered 'astrologer,' RV 'enchanter.' The word is of Assyrian origin (STARS, § 5). It is difficult to say whether גזרין and אשף and the other terms found were meant to represent a separate class, or whether the writer employed these terms indiscriminately (Bev. *Dan.* 62).

6. כַּשְׂדִּים (*kaśdīm*) in Dan. 1 4 2 10 (5 7 11) means the caste of wise men. This usage (well known from classical writers) arose after the fall of the Babylonian empire, when the only Chaldæans known were astrologers and soothsayers.

[1] Possibly the Teraphim were similarly employed; see TERAPHIM.

[2] The so-called κυλικομαντεία. Cp Joseph's divining-cup with the famous goblet of Jemshid, and see Lenormant, *La Divination*, 72-80. For a parallel Irish superstition, see B. Thiers, *Traité des superstitions*[2], Paris, 1697, 1 187 *ff.*

7. For גָּד (*Gad*) and מְנִי (*Menī*) in Is. 65 11 f., see FATE AND DESTINY. See also other terms under MAGIC.

Necromancy, to which we turn next, is, as the

4. Necromancy. logy of the word implies, divination by resort to the spirits of deceased

Three terms or expressions fall to be noticed them met with in Dt. 18 11.

i. We shall begin with that which occurs last verse, viz. דֹרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים (one who resorts with a to the dead), rendered by EV 'necromancer' clear from Is. 8 19 that this is a general d embracing the kinds of necromancy indicated two words next to be considered and other k Dr. on Dt. 18 11): the conjunction with wh introduced is simply the explanatory 'ἤτοι,' i to the Gk. epexegetic καί.

ii. שֹׁאֵל אוֹב (*shō'ēl 'ôb*), one who consults an word *'ôb* is generally found with *yiddĕ'ōnī* (see be like which, from meaning the spirit of a depa it came to stand for the person who possesse spirit and divined by its aid. The full phr אוֹב (the possessor of an *'ôb*) is found in 1 S. 28 it is applied to the 'witch of Endor.'

⊕ explains the expression by ἐγγαστρίμυθος, quist' (*i.e.*, in the OT passages, one who, 'by his voice into the ground, where the spirit was to be, made people believe that a ghost spoke him'), and Lenormant (*Div.* 161 *ff.*), Rena ET, 1 347), and others so explain the phenomen the writer of Samuel, and other biblical writ speak of this species of divination, evidently as being really what it claimed to be. Lev. 20 only possible exception.

The etymology of the word is very uncertain. O gestions may be passed by, for the field seems to be two principal views, H. P. Smith's view[1] (*Sam.* 239 not very probable. (*a*) *Ob* has been connected with *awaba*, and explained 'a soul which returns (from cp French *revenant*. So Hitz. and Kö. (on Is. 8 19), 1 504), and Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 69). also suggests a connection with אָב 'father' (note plu in *oth*). Van Hoonacker (*Exp. T.* 9 157 *ff.*) objects th 18 11 the *'ôb* is distinguished from the dead (*mēthim*) the latter clause of the verse is simply a generalisatio two foregoing clauses, this objection falls.

(*b*) The other view (Ges., Del., Di.) connects the word 'a bottle,' literally 'something hollow.' A similar Arabic (*wa'ba*) means 'a hole in a rock,' a large and de *i.e.*, something hollow.[2]

On the assumption that the fundamental idea of i is hollowness, many explanations have been sugges Van Hoonacker, as above). Of these, two may be r probably approximating most nearly to the truth.

1. Böttcher (*De inferis*, 101), Kau. (Riehm, *HWB*[2], 'beschwörer'), and Di. (on Lev. 19 31) hold that the spirit *'ôb*, on account of the hollow tone of the voice—such a might be expected to issue from any empty place. Oth for practising magic and divination lend some support view.

2. The idea of hollowness has been held to apply in place to the cave or opening in the ground out of wh spirit speaks. Among the Greeks and the Romans, ora pending on necromancy were situated among large deep which were supposed to communicate with the spirit If the Hebrew *'ôb* is parallel to the Greek chthonic dei to the Arabian *ahl al-arḍ* or 'earth-folk,' with whom have intercourse, it is conceivable that, by a metonym tained for container, and *vice versa*—the hollow cave have come to be used for the spirit that spoke out of i WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 103.

iii. יִדְּעֹנִי (*yiddĕ'ōnī*). The English word 'w by which this Hebrew term is rendered, means 'wise one,' and agrees with ⊕ γνώστης (in Dt τεραστοσκόπος), Syriac *yaddū'ā*, Arabic *'arrāf*, an Ewald's rendering 'viel-wisserisch.'

Like *'ôb*, *yiddĕ'ōnī* is used, in the first instance, f spirit of a deceased person; then it came to mea

[1] Namely, that the *'ôb* was originally a skull prepa superstitious rites for magical purposes; H. A. Redp the other hand, suggests that the *'ôb* was one who spoke a hollow mask or domino.

[2] In Job 32 19 אבות seems to mean 'bellows' (⊕ φυσητήρ [-τις ℵ*] χαλκέως).

or her that divines by such a spirit. Robertson Smith (*J. Phil.* 14 127), followed by Driver (on Dt. 18 11), distinguishes the two terms thus:

Yidde'ōni is a familiar spirit, one known to him that consults it. The *'ōb* is *any* ghost that is called up from the grave to answer questions put to it (cp 1 S. 28). The *yidde'ōni* speaks through a personal medium; that is, through the person whom it possesses. The *'ōb* speaks directly, as for example out of the grave (cp 1 S. 28). Rashi (on Dt. 18 11) says that *yidde'ōni* differs from בַּעַל אוֹב (*ba'al 'ōb*) in that he held in his mouth a bone which uttered the oracle. It is hard to establish these distinctions, the data for forming a judgment being so slight.

Is it quite certain, however, that the words are to be held as standing for distinct things? Why may we not have in them different aspects of the same spirit? So regarded, *'ōb* would convey the notion that the spirit has returned from the other world, while *yidde'ōni* would suggest that the spirit so returned is knowing, and therefore able to answer the questions of the inquirer. The fact that in all the eleven instances of its occurrence *yidde'ōni* is invariably preceded by *'ōb* is in favour of its being a mere interpretation of it. *'Ōb*, on the other hand, is often found by itself (1 S. 28 78 1 Ch. 10 13 etc.). It is probable, therefore, that these two characters are at bottom one, the 'and' in Dt. 18 11 joining *'ōb* and *yidde'ōni* in the way of a hendiadys: 'he who seeks a departed spirit that is knowing,' just as the remaining part of the verse is, as we have seen already (§ 3, i.), simply a repetition in different words of the same thought. This is in complete harmony with the usages of Hebrew parallelism. The whole compound expression might be rendered as follows:—'He who inquires of the departed spirit that is knowing, even he who seeks unto the dead.'

iv. To the expressions considered already may be added אִתִּים, *ittīm*, Is. 19 3†, EV 'charmers.' RV^mg. prefers 'whisperers'; cp Ar. *attā*, 'to emit a moaning or creaking sound'; or perhaps rather Ass. *eṭū*, 'darkness.' 𝔊 apparently renders by τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν.

Though condemned in the OT (1 S. 28 7 ff.; Is. 8 19; cp Lev. 19 31 20 6 27 Dt. 18 11), necromancy among the Israelites held its own till a late period. The leaders of religious thought were opposed to both witchcraft and necromancy; but the influence of habit and of intercourse with people around was too strong to be wholly overcome. See Schultz, *OT Theology*, 2 322 (ET). Winer[3] (*RWB s.v.* 'Todtenbeschwörer'; see references) shows that in the ancient world divination by calling back the spirits of the dead was very widespread among the Greeks, the Romans, and the other ancient nations. Cp BABYLONIA, § 31 ff., and see MAGIC.

For the literature see MAGIC. T. W. D.

DIVORCE, DIVORCEMENT (כְּרִיתוּת; ΑΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΟΝ [BNAQ]), Jer. 38 Is. 50 1. See MARRIAGE, § 6.

DIZAHAB (דִּי זָהָב, ΚΑΤΑΧΡΥΣΕΑ BAFL), *ubi auri est plurimum—i.e.*, דֵּי זָהָב [Vg.]), in the topographical description Dt. 1 1. 'If it be the name of a place in the "steppes of Moab" the situation is unknown' (Dr. in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.*); on the identifications, cp Dillmann. The explanation 'place of gold' is difficult to justify (see Dr. *Deut.*, *ad loc.*). The name corresponds to 'Me-zahab' in Gen. 36 39 (as Sayce, *Acad.* Oct. 22, 1892, and Marq. *Fund.* 10, have observed), and like ME-ZAHAB [*q.v.*] is no doubt a corruption of מצרים (מ came from מ)—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian land of Muṣri or Muṣur, which adjoined Edom (see MIZRAIM, § 2 b, and cp Che. *Or. LZ*, May 15, 1899). It was perhaps premature to identify 'Di-zahab,' before the correctness of the reading had been investigated. T. K. C.

DOCUS, RV **Dok** (ΔΩΚ [ANV]), called by Josephus Dagon (ΔΑΓΩΝ; *Ant.* xiii. 8 1; *BJ* i. 2 4), a small fortress near Jericho, in which Simon the Maccabee was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy his son-in-law (1 Macc. 16 15). The name, doubtless, still survives in the mod. *'Ain ed-Dūk*, 2½ m. N. of Jericho, where there are traces of ancient substructions and remains of a

fine aqueduct (Rob. *BR* 2 309; *PEF Mem.* 3 171 10; Baed.[3] 152; v. Kasteren, *Ev. Bibl.* 1897, p. 93 ff.).

DOD, NAMES WITH. This group of compound names comprises with certainty only Dodavah and Dodiel (see DANIEL, 1), and virtually David, Dodai, Dodo. To these Gray (*HPN* 60-63) would add אלדד (Eldad), בלדד (Bildad). In all these names he interprets דד as meaning 'uncle on the father's side,' which is no doubt a perfectly legitimate sense of דוד or דד (see 2 K. 24 17). (*a*) First, as to Eldad and Bildad. The objection to admitting that these names are compounded with the divine name Dad is obviously provisional. The god Rammān was so well-known in Canaan that we may expect to find at any rate isolated names compounded with Dad, which was one of the names of this deity (Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 68, n. 1). In the Amarna letters, it is true, the form we find in compound proper names is Addu; but the equivalence of Addu and Dadi is admitted. (*b*) Next, as to the other names. That Dod is not the name of some one special deity, is admitted; but whether it is, or is not, a term designating some degree of kinship, is disputed. It is undeniable that דוד (= Ass. *dādu*) means 'beloved,' and also, by a natural transition, 'divine patron' (cp רעה, used of God, Job 16 21). The present writer contends that it is more natural to give this second sense to Dod in the few Hebrew names compounded with it than to adopt the theory (Gray, *HPN* 60) that דד as well as עם in proper names has the sense of 'uncle' or 'kinsman.'

This is not affected by the discovery that there are some S. Arabian names compounded with *Ammi*, and some others with *Khāli*, both meaning 'uncle.' Nor need we enter into the question whether the S. Arabian name Dādi-kariba (so Hommel gives the name) really means 'My *cousin* hath blessed' (Hommel, *AHT* 85). See DODO, DODAVAH. T. K. C.

DODAI (דֹדַי, דֹדִי, § 52; but Ginsb. in 2 S. 23 9 points Kt. דֹּדִי), another form of DODO [*q.v.*], presumably shortened from a form דּוֹדַיָה: see under DODAVAH; 'Yahwè is patron' (Marquart, *Fund.* 16), 2 S. 23 9 (RV following Kt.; but AV DODO; ΣΟΥΓΕΙ [B*], ΣΩΣ. [A], ΔΟΥΔΕΙ [B^b vid. L]) and 1 Ch. 27 4 (AV and RV; ΔΩΔΕΙΑ [B*], -ΛΕΙΑ [B^b], -ΔΙΑ [A], -ΔΑΙ [L]), where the words 'Eleazar, son of,' found in 1 Ch. 11 12 are wanting, but are supplied by Kittel (*SBOT*) from 1 Ch. 11 12; see DODO (2), ELEAZAR.

DODANIM (דֹדָנִים), or RODANIM (רוֹדָנִים).

דד, Gen. 10 4, Vg. *DODANIM* (cp Pesh.), so EV, AV^mg. 'Rodanim' after ροδιοι [𝔊ADEL], and Sam.; 'רוד, 1 Ch. 1 7 AV^mg.; RV 'Rodanim' after ροδιοι [𝔊BA], but many MSS רוד, cp δωδανειμ [L]. *DODANIM* [Vg.], whence AV 'Dodanim.' In Is. 21 13 Aq. Sym. δωδανιμ for דְּדָנִים.

A son of JAVAN [*q.v.*], son of Japheth, Gen. 10 4 = 1 Ch. 1 7. The same name—*i.e.*, either Dōdān (דֹדָן) or Rōdān (רֹדָן)—should possibly be restored for 'Dedan' (דְּדָן) in Ezek. 27 15 (ροδιων [BQ; adnot. ροδιοι ορασις κρισεως Q^mg.], αραδιων [A]; so Pesh. but Aq. Sym. Theod. δαδαν). The merchants there referred to brought to Tyre the ivory and ebony which they had themselves procured from Africa or India. Two views are held.

(*a*) Stade, Cornill, Bertholet are strongly for 'Rōdān,' and naturally hold a similar opinion as to the reading in Gen. 10 4. It is, however, by no means certain that MT is not right in reading בְּנֵי דְדָן, 'sons of Dedan,' in Ezek., *l.c.*; Edom (so all [except Aq.] read for 'Aram') follows in *v.* 16. As to Gen. 10 4, the most prevalent opinion certainly is that Rōdānīm is the better reading, and that this term designates not only the Rhodians properly so-called (on whom cp. Hom. *Il.* 2 654 ff.), but also ('many islands' being also mentioned) the people of other Ægean islands. (So Di., Hal., Kau., Holzinger, Ball, G.ASm. *HG* 135.) This view is geographically plausible, but the short *o* in Ῥόδος must not be overlooked.

(*b*) Another view, so far as the name goes, is more satisfactory. The Rodanim of the text of Chronicles (if we follow most MSS and 𝔊) may be as inaccurate as the 'Diphath' which it gives for 'Riphath' (1 Ch. 16), and Dodanim itself may be incorrectly given for Dardanim (Tg. Jon., Luzzatto, Ges., Knob., Fr[illegible] Del.). The name Dardan, as inscriptions of Rameses II. show, comes down from early times; it designates properly a people of Asia Minor, not far from the Lycians (see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 354 *f.*). It is not impossible that for דודנים (Ch. reads ו) the original source of P's information read דרדנים (cp TOGARMAH), and it would be natural for writers and scholars of the Greek period (𝔊 and perhaps Ch.) to convert Dardanim into Rodanim, and to understand the Rhodians. It has been proposed elsewhere to identify another son of Javan (Tarshish, or rather Turuš) with another people mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions (see TIRAS). The author of the list used by P may have known Dardan as well as Turuš. If רדן is the correct reading in Ezek. we should perhaps pronounce it Redan, not Rodan. Recent critics may, however, have been too hasty in rejecting MT's reading Dedan. The 'islands' are not necessarily those in which the merchants spoken of resided; they may very well be the coast-lands with which Dedan had commercial dealings. Cp DEDAN, and, on Ezek. 27 15, see EBONY.

T. K. C.

DODAVAH, as AV, or rather DODAVAHU as RV (דּוֹדָוָהוּ, perhaps for דּוֹדִיָּהוּ, 'Yahwè is friend or patron,' § 47—whence come the abbreviated forms DODO, DODAI [*qq.v.*[1]]—ωδ[ε]ια [BA], ΔΟΥΔΙΟΥ [L]; *Dodoa;* Pesh. implies the reading 'Dodo'), the father of a prophet called Eliezer (2 Ch. 20 37).

T. K. C.

DODO (דּוֹדוֹ, § 52, with which cp דּוֹדַי, DODAI, and דָּוִד, DAVID). The fuller form is probably דּוֹדִיָּהוּ [cp DODAVAH], which means 'Yahwè is friend or patron' [so Marq. *Fund.* 16]. דד, *genius loci,* is rightly restored by Wi. in Am. 8 14, and there appears to be an allusion to the 'divine friend' in Is. 5 1 (where note that דודי and ידידי are parallel). The Dodah (דודה) of Ataroth is mentioned in the Mesha inscription *l.* 12. May we also compare Dudu, the name of a high Egyptian official in the Amarna tablets (*Am. Tab.* 44 45 52 15, cp Wi. *AF* 194)?

T. K. C.

1. A Bethlehemite, father of the renowned hero ELHANAN (*q.v.*); 2 S. 23 24 (δουδ[ε]ι [BL], λου. [A], 1 Ch. 11 26 (δωδω [BN], -αι [A], -δει [L]).

2. (AV following Krê; but see DODAI.) An AHOHITE (*q.v.*), father of David's warrior Eleazar, 2 S. 23 9 (υἱὸς πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ [BA], see AHOHITE, δουδει [L]); 1 Ch. 11 12 (δωδαι [BAL], -δε [N]; *patruus ejus*).

3. An ancestor of Tola of Issachar, one of the Judges, Judg. 10 1, if we should not rather follow eight cursive MSS of 𝔊 and read, for 'son of Dodo,' 'son of his (Abimelech's) uncle Kareah.' See Hollenberg, *ZATW,* 1881, p. 104 *f.* 𝔊BAL has υἱὸς πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ (so Pesh. Vg.). See TOLA.

DOE (יוֹעֵלָה), Pr. 5 19†, RV. See GOAT.

DOEG (דֹּאֵג, 1 S. 21 7 [8] 22 9, but דּוּיֵג, 1 S. 22 18 22 [Kt.], דּוֹאֵג, Ps. 52 2; ΔΩΗΚ [BNARTL], but ΔΩΗΓ, 1 S. 22 9 [A]; Jos. *Ant.* vi. 12 1, ΔΩΗΓΟΣ). An Edomite (for the reading אֲרַמִּי, 'Syrian,' presupposed [except in Ps. 52 2] by 𝔊BA [but not L] and Jos., is certainly wrong) who filled some minor post among the servants of Saul; most probably he was 'keeper of the saddle asses' (cp Judg. 10 4 1 S. 9 3 2 S. 16 2 1 Ch. 27 30), 1 S. 21 7 [8] 22 9. He had been detained (so one tradition tells us) 'before Yahwè'—*i.e.,* in the sacred precincts at Nob (or Gibeon; see NOB)—by some obscure religious prescription (see *RS*[2] 456), and had cunningly watched David in his intercourse with the priest Ahimelech (see DAVID, § 3). Soon after, he denounced the latter to the suspicious Saul, and when the king commanded his 'runners' to put Ahimelech and the other priests to

[1] See also under DANIEL, 4.

death, and they refused, it was this foreig[illegible] up his hand against them (1 S. 22 9-18).

The two passages in which Doeg's office is r[illegible] longer in their original form in MT. In 21 8 [V[illegible] 'the mightiest of the shepherds' (אַבִּיר רֹעִים), a [illegible] tion of a shepherd, and still stranger when [illegible] אַבִּיר occurs nowhere else in Hebrew narratives, 'the mightiest of the runners' (רָצִים, Grätz, Dr., [illegible] an easier but still not a natural phrase, and [illegible] rendering of 𝔊BAL in 21 7 [8], ἡγούμενος τῶν ἡμιόνων [illegible] can be little doubt that Lagarde (*Mitthell.* 3 [illegible] reading אֲבִיר עֲיָרִים, which he renders 'driver [illegible] a less natural rendering than that given above, b[illegible] Words like עִיר and אֲבִיר are flexible. For [illegible] Lagarde (*l.c.*); for the latter, see ABEL. Alm[illegible] we should also read עִירִי for עִבְרִי in 22 9 (see [illegible] jection to following 𝔊 here (*JBS* 125) falls [illegible] as soon as it is recognised that 21 7 [8] is a [illegible] narrative.

The reference to Doeg in the title of P[illegible] to the thirst of later Jewish readers for bibl[illegible] tion of their idealising view of David. Th[illegible] written for use in the temple (see *v.* 8).

DOG (כֶּלֶב), a name, of unknown origin, [illegible] all Semitic dialects; ΚΥΩΝ, *canis* [but M[illegible] Mk. 7 27 *f.* ΚΥΝΑΡΙΟΝ, *cat[illegible]* dogs of any noble type are [illegible]

1. References. in the Bible. The Israelitish kings wer[illegible] the Assyrian,[1] great hunters, and even [illegible] legend of Nimrod the hunter (but is 'hun[illegible] literally? see NIMROD) in Gen. 10 9 says no[illegible] dogs.[2] According to EV the greyhound is [illegible] in Prov. 30 31 as one of the four things [illegible] 'stately in going'; but this is doubtful (see G[illegible] HOUND). The shepherd's dog is mentioned [illegible] and dogs which guard the house may be i[illegible] Is. 56 10; but neither passage vouchsafes th[illegible] friendly words. The OT references are in [illegible] entirely to the pariah dog, such as may be s[illegible] of the 'Bible lands' to-day. They seem to [illegible] careering in packs round the city at nigh[illegible] 14 *f.*); it was dangerous to stop one of th[illegible] 26 17). Doubtless, however, they were [illegible] scavengers. They were ready to devour ev[illegible] bodies (1 K. 14 11 16 4 21 23 *f.* 2 K. 9 10 36 an[illegible] Jer. 15 3 cp 1 K. 21 19 22 38 Ps. 68 23 [24]), an[illegible] flesh that men might not eat was thrown [illegible] contrast Mt. 7 6). From Mk. 7 28 (Mt. 15 [illegible] have inferred a sympathy between men and d[illegible] time of Christ; but this is hazardous. Pa[illegible] such sympathy (Phil. 3 2), and a certain Rabbi [illegible] from keeping fierce dogs in the house, a[illegible] because they would frighten away the poo[illegible] 63 *a*). Most dogs, then, were fierce. Y[illegible] according to the Greek text, makes a compan[illegible] dog on his journeys (Tob. 5 16 11 4); see TOB[illegible]

The pariah dog referred to above is a vari[illegible] cosmopolitan dog (*Canis familiaris*), though [illegible]

2. Pariah dog. has probably been intermixed [illegible] ing with jackals or wolves. [illegible] live in comp[illegible]ies, each dog having its own lai[illegible] times two), to which it returns for rest during [illegible] Those that frequent the towns act as scavenge[illegible] on offal; but in the country they are trained [illegible] shepherds and farmers to act as sheep-dogs (cp J[illegible] Not much good, however, can be said of th[illegible] they are 'a mean, sinister, ill-conditioned gen[illegible] whose use consists in barking at intruders and [illegible] the shepherds of any possible danger.[3] In app[illegible] they resemble the Scotch collie, and are sai[illegible]

[1] On the breeds of hunting dogs known in Ass[illegible] Houghton, *TSBA* 5 52-62 ['77].

[2] On the four 'dogs' of Marduk (Merodach) see be[illegible] in some legends the Tyrian Heracles (or Melkart) is acco[illegible] by a dog (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 292).

[3] Thomson, *LB* (ed. '94), 202; cp Doughty, *Ar. D*[illegible] 537 *f.* 26.

intelligent, and sagacious when trained. Rabies is almost, or entirely, unknown among them.

3. Exegetical details. The stress laid in Judg. 7 5-7 on the way in which Gideon's three hundred drank lapping with their tongues, like dogs probably indicates that they were fierce uncivilised men (Moore, *Judges*, 202). The mention of 'dogs' in company with 'lions' in Ps. 22 as typical of the fierce enemies of pious Israel, is surprising. There is no OT parallel for the use of the pariah dogs of Eastern cities as symbolic of the enemies of Israel. In later times the Gentiles were called 'dogs' (*Yoma*, 77 *a*; *Baba Kama*, 49 *a*, etc.); but the Talmudic use has no biblical authority; Mk. 7 27 surely does not express what may be called *ha* ... doctrine. Moreover in Ps. 22 21 only lions and wild oxen are referred to. Aq., Theod., and Jer. evidently read קֶלֶבִים 'hunters'; this is a clever attempt to get over a real difficulty. In *v.* 17 (EV 16) we should certainly read לְכָאִים כְּבָרִים, and עֲדַת רֹאִים. The sense then becomes,

> Greedy lions in their strength surround me,
> A troop of wild oxen encircles me.

Similarly in *v.* 21 (EV 20) we should read לְבָדִי חַיָּתִי, and render (reading מִכְּפִיר for מִחֶרֶב),

> Snatch my soul from the young lion,
> My life from the clutch of the greedy lion.

We now pass on to a group of five passages which have been much misunderstood.

1. 2 K. 8 13 'What is thy servant, the dog [𝔊 has 'the dead dog'], that he should do this great thing?' RV, paraphrasing, 'which is but a dog.' AV incorrectly, 'Is thy servant a dog,' etc.

2. 2 S. 16 9 'Why should this dead dog [𝔊 'this cursed dog'] curse my lord the king?'

3. 2 S. 9 8 'What is thy servant that thou shouldest look upon a dead dog like me?'

4. 1 S. 24 14 [15] 'After whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog?'

5. 2 S. 3 8 'Am I a dog's head that belongeth to Judah?' (EV).

As to (1) AV is quite wrong. Hazael does not revolt in horror from the description of Elisha, but only affects to think it too great an achievement for him. 'Dog' is here an expression of servile humility towards Elisha, as in Assyrian ('we are the king's dogs,' *i.e.* his humble servants).[1] In (2) 'dead dog' (כֶּלֶב מֵת) cannot be right, as 𝔊 indicates by the substituted epithet (see above). The text must be incorrect. We want some word which will be equally suitable in (2) (3) and (4); and if possible some word which will make better sense than 'dead' (מֵת) even in (3) and (4), where it has hitherto been plausibly taken as an Oriental exaggeration. The word which we seek is טָמֵא 'unclean'; 'dead dog should be 'unclean, despised, pariah dog.' To explain his see Doughty's striking description of the treatment of their hounds by the Bedouin, who 'with blows cast out these profane creatures from the beyt.'[2] As to (5) the text is evidently not quite correct (see Klo.); there seems to be a play on the name of Caleb the dog-tribe (see 1025, n. 1; NABAL). To read 'Am I a dog's head' (omitting the next words), with Prof. H. P. Smith, can hardly be called satisfactory.

This idiom may cast light upon Dt. 23 18[19] where 'dog' appears to be applied to the class of persons elsewhere called *kĕdēšīm*. It was natural to explain the word as a term of contempt (see IDOLATRY, § 6). If, however, 'unclean dog' or some similar phrase was a common circumlocution indicative of humble deference used in addressing superiors, as *kalbu* is in Assyrian (especially in the Amarna letters), *keleb* need not, as applied to these temple servants, have been a term of contempt; it may have been their ordinary name (so *RS*(2) 292). The word appears in fact in Phœnician, applied to a class of servants (כלבם) attached to a temple of Ashtoreth in Cyprus (*CIS* I no. 86 B, l. 10).

There are not wanting indications that the dog was held in religious veneration. A river running into the sea a few miles N. of Beirût is called the Dog river (*Nahr-el-Kelb*, *Lycus flumen*), and al-Nadîm informs us that the dog was sacred among the Harranians. 'They offered sacrificial gifts to it, and in certain mysteries dogs were solemnly declared to be the brothers of the mystæ.'[3] This seems to be connected with primitive Babylonian mythology; 'my lord with the dogs' (a divine title at

4. The dog in religion.

[1] The explanation of RV, therefore, is not quite correct.
[2] *Ar. Des.* 1 377.
[3] *RS*(2) 291, referring to *Fihrist*, 326, and other passages.

Harran) points to Mudhar, and 'is four dogs. It is possible that the dog may have been among the animals worshipped by the earliest Semites as a totem' (see, *e.g.*, among some N. American Indians and in Java). Robertson Smith refers to Justin (18 5 10), who states that Hamilcar forbade the Carthaginians to sacrifice human victims and to eat the flesh of dogs (in a religious meal, it is implied). There seems also to be an allusion to something of this kind in post-exilic Palestine to a custom, chiefly prevalent perhaps among the mixed Samaritan population,[1] of sacrificing the dog[2] on certain occasions (Is. 66 3).

T. K. C. § 3.

DOLEFUL CREATURES (אִיִּים), Is. 13 21; see JACKAL.

DOMINIONS (ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ), or rather 'lordships,' Col. 1 16; cp 1 Ph. 1 21; Jude 8; 2 Pet. 2 10. See ANGEL, § 1.

DOOR (דֶּלֶת, ΘΥΡΑ,[4] ΘΥΡΩΜΑ, etc. [BAFL], perhaps from דָּלָה, 'to swing, or cp Ass. *ṣalālu*, 'to bolt, bar').

The Hebrew *dĕleth* is used of the doors of a room (Judg. 3 23, *pl.*), of a gate (1 S. 4 13 [14]), and even of the gate itself (Dt. 3 5, EV 'valves'). The difference between *petaḥ*, which (LATTICE, § 2 [7]), and *dĕleth*, is clearly illustrated by Gen. 1 16, where Lot stands in the *petaḥ* to keep back the men of Sodom from approaching the *dĕleth* (cp also 1 K. 6 31). For שַׁעַר 'door' Ex. 35 17, Job 38 17 AV) see GATE.

However necessary for ventilation doorways were in the East (see LATTICE, § 1), the doors themselves were not employed so much as in less tropical regions. 'The lock was doubtless like those now in use in the East, so constructed that the bolt (מְנָעוּל, Cant. 5 5, Neh. 3 3 etc., RV; 'lock,' AV) was shot by the hand or by a thong; the key (מַפְתֵּחַ, 'opener') was only used for unlocking the door' (Moore, *SBOT* [Eng.], *Judges*, 60). For descriptions of keys and locks, see Wilk., *Ant. Eg.* 1 353; Moore, *Judg.* 99; Che. *Is. SBOT*, ET, 159 *f.*

The Hebrew terms for the component parts of the doorway are (1) סַף, *saph*, the threshold (πρόθυρον, πυλών, etc., αὐλή [BN*A], Jer. 35 4, ὁδὸς *ib.* N* 'Q, σταθμός Aq. Sym. Theod.), also סִפּוֹן 1 S. 5 4 *f.*; see THRESHOLD, and cp TEMPLE. (2) מְזוּזָה, *mĕzūzāh*, door post, Dt. 6 9 11 20; on derivation cp Schwally, *ZDMG* 52 136 *f.*; see FRONTLETS. (3) מִשְׁקוֹף, *mašqōph*, lintel, Ex. 12 7, 22 *ff.* (φλιά [BALI]; cp MH שִׁקּוּף). (4) צִיר, *ṣîr*, hinge, Prov. 26 14 στρόφιγξ; cp also pl. פְּתוֹת 1 K. 7 50 (if correct, θυρώματα [BAL]). See GATE.

DOPHKAH (דָּפְקָה; ΡΑΦΑΚΑ [BAFL], -ΑΝ [A after εἰς in *v.* 12]), one of the stages in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 12 *f.*). See WANDERINGS, § 12.

DOR (דּוֹר, ΔΩΡ [BAL]; Josh. 12 23, ΕΛΔΩΜ [B], αδδωρ [A]; Judg. 1 27 and 1 Ch. 7 29 δωρα [L]; also written דֹּאר, cp Ph. דאר below, Josh. 17 11, δωρ [Bab mg.]), more fully **Naphath-dor** (1 K. 4 11 RVmg.: נָפַת דֹּאר; νεφαδδωρ [A], represented by ανα φαβει αυηρ [B], and βαβαναη ο νετωφατι αυηρ [L]; Josh. 12 23 RVmg נ' דור ν ου φενεδδωρ [B, for variants see Sw.] τ. ναφεδδωρ [A], τ. [ν]αφαδδωρ [L]), and **Naphoth Dor** (Josh. 11 2 RVmg., נָפוֹת דּוֹר, φεναεδδωρ [B], ναφεδωρ [A*], -θδ. [AIFL]), the modern *Tanṭurah*,[5] lay on the Mediterranean coast about mid-

[1] There is still, however, some obscurity. Compare also such proper names as כלבא, כלבאלם (Phœn.), כלבא, כליבת, כליבו, כלבו (Nab. and Sin. inscr.), כַּלְבָּא (Cur. *Anc. Syr. Doc.* 156), *Kalb.*, plur. *Kilāb Aklub*, and dim. *Kulaib* among Ar. tribal names, and the Heb. כָּלֵב (cp *Kin.* 200, *Journ. Phil.* 9 89; though Nöld, *ZDMG*, 1886, 164, n. 1, throws doubt on the identification of Caleb and כֶּלֶב; see NAMES, § 88).
[2] See Che. *Intr. Is.* 367, and cp *RS*(2) 357, and (on breaking the neck) ... *ib.* 309 *f.*
[3] Note that both the Sam. text and the Sam. Targum of Ex. 22 31 omit the contemptuous reference to the dog, and ... simply of casting away.
[4] θυρα is the usual word in NT; cp Acts 5 19 23 etc.
[5] On the origin of the name cp Ges. *Thes.* 331.

way between the promontory of Carmel and Cæsarea, at a distance of about eight miles from the latter.

The fuller form of the name is explained by Sym. as the παραλια of Dor, or as Δωρ η παραλια (cp *OS*[2] 115[22] 250[1] *ἡ παραλία δωρ τοῦ ναφαθ*, 142[14] 283[4] *παλαιδω ναφθδωρ*); it probably includes the undulating plain of Sharon lying inland. The exact meaning of נָפַת (RV height, AV region, coast, border, country) is as well as that of Dor is very uncertain.[1] Outside the OT the shorter form of the name is usual. It is frequently mentioned by Greek writers and appears as δῶρος, δωρα (δωρα in 1 Macc. 15[11] 11[16] AV. **Dora**), also δωρα (Polyb.), *Doram* (Pliny), and *Thora* (Lab. Peut.). In Ass. *Du-ur* (by the side of Megiddo) occurs only once, in a geographical list (2 R. 53, no. 4, *l.* 57). The meaning of the name is obscure (see EN-DOR, and for HAMMATH-DOR see HAMMATH).

2. OT and other references, etc.

Dor is first mentioned in the Pap. Golenischeff (temp. Hrihor, *circa* 1050 B.C.), where *Dora* belongs to the *Takara*, a race which entered Palestine along with the *Purusati*, and occupied the sea-coast (cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 388, and see CAPHTOR, §§ 2, 4; PHILISTINES).[2] Their prince bears the name Ba-d-ira, which appears to represent a theophorous name (Abd-il, 'servant of El' or Bodel). That Dor continued to remain in the hands of a non-Israelite people seems highly probable.

Later writers, with Deuteronomic sympathies, supposed that Dor joined the northern coalition against Joshua (Josh. 11 2), and they include its king among those who fell (*ib.* 12 23). In the same spirit Dor is assigned to Manasseh (Josh. 17 11; cp 1 Ch. 7 29).[3] A more historical view is presented in Judg. 1 27, where Beth-shean, Ibleam, Megiddo, and Dor (in MT the order is disturbed) form a belt of Canaanite towns stretching from E. to W., which must have separated Ephraim from the more northerly tribes. In the time of Solomon, it is true, the 'heights of Dor' was under one of his commissaries; but it is hardly probable that the town of Dor was itself included (1 K. 4 11; see BEN-ABINADAB).

3. Later history.

For the next few centuries Dor drops out of Jewish history. It was well known, however, to the Greeks, the earliest authority in which the name occurs being Hecataeus of Miletus (*circa* 500 B.C.). It is not improbable that it ought to be identified with the Δῶρος which, in the fifth century, was tributary to the Athenians (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δῶρος), and this agrees with the view that the *Takara* (the earliest known occupants of Dor) were from Asia Minor, and, therefore, might have been in close touch with Greece. At the beginning of the fourth century Eshmunazar relates that Dor (דאר) and Joppa (יפו), rich corn-lands (ארצת דגן) in the field of Sharon (בשר שרן), were handed over to Sidon by the king of Persia (Artaxerxes Mnemon?), probably (as Schlottmann conjectured) in return for their help in the battles of Cnidus (394) and Citium (386).[4] Hence perhaps arose the belief of later Greek geographers that Dor was originally a Phœnician colony. It successfully resisted two sieges, one by Antiochus the Great (ANTIOCHUS, 1) during his war with Ptolemy Philopator in 219 B.C. (Polyb. 5 66), and the second by Antiochus Sidetes (ANTIOCHUS, 5) in 139-8 B.C., when the siege was raised in consequence of the flight of Trypho (1 Macc. 15 11 *ff.*). It was afterwards held along with Strato's tower (CÆSAREA, § 1) by a tyrant named Zoilus, on whose subjugation by Ptolemy Lathyrus it became part of the Hasmonæan dominions (Jos. *Ant.*

[1] Wholly obscure is שׁלשת נפת Josh. 17 11 which 𝔊 (τὸ τρίτον τῆς μαφετα [B], . . . ναφεθα [A], . . . νοφεθ [L]) treats as a place-name (note that 𝔊B gives only *three* names). Sym. here again has αἱ τρεῖς παραλιαι. Slav. Ostrogothic adds the gloss τρία κλίτη.

[2] On the identification of the *Takara* town Dor with the Ass. *Zakkalu* (4 R 34 no. 2, *l.* 45); see Hommel, *PSBA* 17 203 (95); *AHT* 236.

[3] The passage in Josh. is hardly sound; Addis corrects after Judg. 1 27. See also ASHER, § 3.

[4] For Eshmunazar's inscription, cp Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars* (68), and see *CIS* I, no. 3. Skylax assigns Dor to Sidon and Ashkelon to Tyre during the Persian period.

xiii. 12 24). From Pompey's time it was Roman rule. Gabinius restored the town (59 B.C.), and it enjoyed autonomy under (*Ant.* xiv 4 4; xv 5 1). It possessed a synagog (*Ant.* xiv 6 4). At a comparatively ear this its prosperity declined, and in the th (*OS* 115[22] 114[26]) it was already deser scarcely anything was left but its ruins, stil an object of admiration and the m former greatness (cp Plin. 5 17 *memoria u* to at least the seventh century it continu name to an episcopal see.[1] Its prosperity due to the abundance of the purple yield its rocky coast, and to its favourable posit (*Ant.* xv. 9 6). The modern village consis a few hovels.

The ancient remains which lie to the modern village are inconsiderable (*Bliss PEF Mem.* 26 *ff.*), the most conspicuous former travellers, being the ruins of a to time of the Crusaders) which crowns a rock The tower (el-Burj; cp Pirgul [πύργος] de Chartres) has since collapsed (*PEFQ*, 18

DORCAS (Δορκας [Tr WH], *lit.*, 'gaz the Greek name of the Christian disciple (μ Joppa, whom Peter, by prayer, raised fro (Acts 9 36 40). She was manifestly a Jewess name being simply a translation of that by was known in Aramaic, Ṭabitha (טביתא, *lit.* = Heb. צבי; see GAZELLE). A handm Gamaliel was called Tabitha (*Wayyikra R.*

In the so-called *Acts of Prochorus*, dating fro middle of the fifth century, Tabitha figures as th John and Prochorus during their three days' stay their way to Egypt.

DORYMENES (ΔΟΡΥΜΕΝΗΣ [ANV]; i ΔΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ [V]), father of Ptolemy M PTOLEMY]; 1 Macc. 3 38, 2 Macc. 4 45.

DOSITHEUS (ΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΣ [B*AV], ΔΟΣ. [

1. A captain under Judas the Maccabee; he and officer Sosipater had Timotheus in their power after before Carnion, but allowed themselves to be persu him off (2 Macc. 12 19 24).

2. A mounted soldier who distinguished himself in brave though unsuccessful attempt to take Gorgi (2 Macc. 12 35).

3. A renegade Jew in the camp of Ptolemy Philopat 1 3).

4. 'Said to be a priest and Levite,' who, with his so carried to Egypt the (translated) letter of Mordecai the feast of Purim (Esth. 11 1, 𝔊; Δοσιθεος [A], Δωσ

DOTEA (ΔΩΤΕΑ [A]), Judith. 3 9 AV[mg.]; AV RV DOTHAN. See DOTHAN.

DOTHAN (דֹתָן, Gen. 37 17, 2 K. 6 13, and דת 37 17 [NAMES, § 107]; Di. (*in loc.*) thinks the latter modification of the former. This is doubtful (cp Ba. *c.*); but in any case the termination ן- is very ancient, in the Palestine lists of Thotmes III., sixteenth cen *tu-ti-y-na* (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 86). It is possible, that דותן is merely a defective form of דרן [Δωθαειμ [B in Judith 3 9, Δωταιμ [BR]; Δωτεα [A]; Eusebius has Jerome *Dothaimi*]).

Eusebius placed it 12 R. m. N. of Sebaste (Sa The site was identified by Van de Velde[2] (1 364 *Tell Dōthan* 10 m. N. of Sebastiyeh. It is mound lying on the S. of a plain, sometimes called (Judith 4 5 [6], τὸ πεδίον τὸ πλησίον Δωθαειμ. **Dot** and sometimes called Sahl 'Arrabeh, which lie 500 feet above sea-level, and drains to the Mediter by the Wādy Selhab, afterwards Wādy 'Abu Nār connected with Esdraelon by the wide descending of Bel'ameh, the ancient IBLEAM [*q.v.*]. Thus it

[1] Βαρώχιος Δώρων ἐπίσκοπος is mentioned in the Act Council of Constantinople (381 A.D.)

[2] See, further, for coinage, etc., Schür. *GJV*, § 23, i. 1 22]. Rabbi Parchi had noted it in the fourteenth c see Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, 2 434).

the great caravan road from Damascus and Gilead to Egypt, which is still in use, as it was when the story of Joseph and the company of Ishmaelite traders passing Dothan with spices from Gilead for Egypt was written (GASm. *HG* 151 *f.* 356). Van de Velde found the remains of a Jewish road crossing from Esdraelon to Sharon. At the S. foot of the Tell is a fountain called El-Hafireh; there is a second fountain and two large cisterns (cp *the cistern* into which Joseph's brethren are said to have lowered him). There is very fine pasturage on the surrounding plain, which the present writer found covered with flocks, some of them belonging to a camp of nomad Arabs. From its site on so ancient a road through the country, and near the mouth of the main pass from the N. into the hills of Samaria, the Tell must always have been a military position of importance; note the description in 2 K. 6 13 *ff.*, and the frequent mention of it in the Book of Judith (advance of Holofernes). Cp *PEFMem.* 2 169 215; Thomson, *LB.*, ed. 1877, p. 466 *f.*; Buhl, *Pal.* 24 *f.*, 102, 107. G. A. S.

DOUGH. For Nu. 15 20 *f.* Neh. 10 37 [38] (עֲרִיסָה; RVmg. 'coarse meal'), see FOOD, § 1, and for 2 S. 13 8 RV (לָשׁ), cp BREAD, § 1.

DOVE. The word dove is somewhat loosely applied to certain members of the suborder *Columbæ* or pigeons; and, as no sharp distinction can be drawn, it is proposed to treat the doves and pigeons together in this article.

1. Hebrew terms. Three Heb. words come under consideration: (1) יוֹנָה, *yônâh*, probably derived from its mournful note (περιστερά [𝔊]). (2) תּוֹר, *tôr* (probably onomatopœtic, cp Lat. *turtur*; τρυγών [𝔊]), EV 'turtle-dove'; and (3) גּוֹזָל, *gôzâl*, EV 'young pigeon' (Gen. 15 9, תּוֹר, περιστερά [ADL]), properly any young bird; cp Dt. 32 11 (with reference to the נֶשֶׁר).

Apart from its occurrence in P and Gen. 15 9 (see below), תּוֹר is found only in Cant. 2 12 (where allusion is made to its 'voice'), in Jer. 8 7 (a migratory bird; cp § 4 [v.] below; EV in both 'turtle'), and in Ps. 74 19 (not 𝔊). In the last-quoted passage תּוֹר, as the harmless, timid dove (cp Hos. 7 11 11 11 Mt. 10 16), is usually thought to be symbolical of Israel. The text-reading, however, is doubtful.[1] Elsewhere it is to the יונה ('dove') that Israel is compared (see JONAH, ii. § 3). This is the most common term, which appears notably in the Deluge-story, Gen. 8 8-12 (DELUGE, § 17). Allusion is made in Ps. 55 6 [7] to its plumage, in Is. 38 14 59 11 to its mournful note.[2] Its gentle nature makes the dove a favourite simile or term of endearment in love poems (Cant. 1 15 4 1 5 2 12 6 9). That doves were domesticated among the Hebrews may be inferred from Is. 60 8 (see FOWLS, § 5), and it is of interest to recall that carrier-pigeons were well known in Egypt, and that at the coronation ceremony four were let fly to carry the tidings of the newly-made king to the four corners of the earth (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 3 320).

2. Scripture references.

Are there reasons for supposing that among the Hebrews the dove ever enjoyed a reputation for sanctity? Conclusive evidence in support of this view is absent; but it is remarkable that the dove, although a 'clean' bird, is never mentioned in the OT as an article of diet. It was a favourite food of the Egyptians, and is commonly eaten in Palestine at the present day. Moreover, we have to note that the תור and גוזל are mentioned in an old covenant ceremony by E (Gen. 15 9), and that in P's legislation 'turtle-doves' (תורים) and 'young pigeons' (בְּנֵי יוֹנָה) are frequent sacrificial victims in ceremonies which,

3. Sacred character.

[1] 'Deliver not the soul of thy turtle-dove' is a strange expression. Sym. Tg. Jer. find an allusion to the Law (Tg. 'the souls of the teachers of thy Law'); but 𝔊 Pesh. read יחידה; so Gunkel, Che.: 'Deliver not the soul which praises thee, becomes the sense.

[2] Cp also Nah. 2 7 [8]: see the text of Ezek. 7 16 see Co.

however, do *not* involve a sacrificial meal (Lev 5 7 12 etc., in NT Lk. 2 24).[1] This exceptional treatment of the dove suggests that originally the Hebrews were wont to ascribe to the bird a sacrosanct character, similar to that which it has obtained among other branches of the Semites. In Palestine the dove was sacred with the Phœnicians and Philistines, and on this superstition is based the common Jewish accusations against the Samaritans that they were worshippers of the dove. There were holy doves at Mecca (the custom is hardly indigenous), and according to Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 54 cp 14) doves were taboo to the Syrians, he who touched them remaining unclean a whole day.[2] On the symbolism of the dove in NT (Mt. 3 16 etc.) and in early Christian times, see Smith's *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, s.v.

The following species occur in Palestine

4. Species. (i.) *Columba palumbus*, the ring-dove or wood-pigeon, common in England and throughout most of Europe. Large flocks of these assemble in the winter months and do much damage by feeding on the young shoots of cultivated plants; some migrate in the autumn, but many pass the winter in Palestine. (ii.) *C. oenas*, the stock-dove, smaller and darker than the above and rare in Palestine; unlike *C. palumbus* it does not build on trees but lays its eggs in holes or in burrows. (iii.) *C. livia*, the rock-dove, is abundant on the coast and uplands; it is the parent stock from which the domesticated varieties have been derived. (iv.) *C. schimperi*, closely allied to the preceding, which it takes the place of, in the interior and along the Jordan valley. It is elsewhere found in Egypt and in Abyssinia. It nests in caves and fissures of the rock (cp Jer. 48 28). (v.) *Turtur communis*, the turtle-dove, which probably represents תּוֹר (§ 1); is a migratory species whose return is very [illegible] (Cant. 2 12) about the beginning of April, when they become very plentiful and are to be found in every tree and shrub. This species is the most abundant of all the *Columbæ* in Palestine. (vi.) *T. risorius*, the Barbary or collared dove, which extends from Constantinople to India. Around the Dead Sea this species is a permanent resident, being found as a rule in small flocks of eight or ten. (vii.) *T. senegalensis*, the palm turtle-dove, has been regarded by Tristram as the turtle-dove of the Bible. It lives amongst the courtyards of houses in Jerusalem and seems to be half tame; it especially frequents palm groves.

A. F. S.—S. A. C.

DOVE'S DUNG (חרי יונים or חרי יונים Kt. [Ginsb.], דְּבְיוֹנִים,[3] Kr.; κοπρος περιστερων [BAL]). In a graphic account of the siege of Samaria, side by side with 'an ass's head' appears 'the fourth part of a kab of dove's dung' (*ḥarê yônîm*) as a food only to be bought at a very high price (2 K. 6 25). Much has been written to account for this strange-sounding detail; Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4 4) even suggested that the dung was a substitute for salt! The reference to it, however, is doubtless due to an error of an ancient scribe, which is precisely analogous to one in Ps. 123 4 (MT).

In that passage a questionable word (rendered in EV 'the proud') is represented in the mg. as being really two words, one of which is יונים. It is more than probable that 'an ass's head' (ראש חמר) should be חֲמֵר עֲדָשִׁים, 'a homer of lentils,' and 'doves' dung' (חרי יונים) should be חֲרוּבִים, 'pods of the carob tree' (see HUSKS). That the ancients agreed with MT and that the correctness of the reading can be defended (see Post in Hastings' *BD*, s.v.) by observation of the habits of pigeons is no reason why we should acquiesce in it; similarly we might defend the painful figure of the 'snail' in Ps. 58 8 [9] (see SNAIL, 2). For the attempts of modern writers to mitigate the unpleasantness of the expression 'dove's dung' by finding some plant which might have been so called, see articles in Smith's and Hastings' dictionaries. Two illustrative passages (2 K. 18 27 Is. 1 20) have, we may believe, been recovered by similar corrections of the text, one certain, the other highly probable. See HUSKS.

F. C. C.

[1] In NT times doves for such purposes were sold in the temple itself (Mt. 21 12 Mk. 11 15 Jn. 2 14 16).

[2] On the whole subject see Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 11 and WRS *Kin.* 196 *f.*; *RS*(2) 219 n. 2, 294, etc. Cp also, for 'dove' oracles, Frazer, *Paus.* 4 149 *f.* The white dove was especially venerated; Tibullus, 1 7: 'alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro.'

[3] This is a euphemistic substitute. Some authorities recognise יונים, 'doves,' as an element in the phrase (so Kön. *Lehrgeb.* 2 102); others take י to be simply a termination (Ginsb. *Introd.* 346, 'decayed leaves').

[4] Such 'unclean' food was not likely to be exposed for sale even during a siege. And why specially the head?

DOWRY. For Gen. 34 12 Ex. 22 17 [16] 1 S. 18 25† (מֹהַר, *mōhar*; φερνή; *dos* [in S. *apparatus*]), see MARRIAGE, § 1. For Gen. 30 20† (זֵבֶד, *zebed*), see ZEBULUN.

DRACHM, RV **Drachma** (Δραχμή). Tob. 5 14 2 Macc. 4 19 10 20 12 43. See MONEY.

DRAG (מְכֵרָה). Hab. 1 15 *f.* See FISH, § 3.

DRAGON (תַּנִּין, Δράκων).

For Dt. 32 33 RV Ps. 91 13 (RV 'serpent') see SERPENT, § 1 11; and for Ps. 148 7 (RVmg 'sea-monsters' or 'waterspouts'), SERPENT, § 3 (*f*) n. For the 'dragons' (תַּנִּים, תַּנִּין, תְּנוּת [sing. תַּנִּין]: in Lam. 4 3 AV 'sea-monsters,' AVmg 'sea-calves') of Mal. 1 3 etc. see JACKALS (so RV).

In addition to the passages in which the term *tannin* is used of a natural species of animals (such as Gen. 1 21 RV 'sea-monsters,' AV WHALE [*q.v.*]; Ex. 7 9 *f.* RV SERPENT [*q.v.*]) there are various longer or shorter passages in which a mythological or semi-mythological explanation of the term may be reasonably supposed. Some of these have been, with more or less fulness, treated elsewhere, and may therefore be here considered more briefly.

1. Mythological allusions in OT and NT.

The passages are as follows (for discussion, see § 3 (*f*)–(*n*)): Is. 27 1 (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3 (*f*)). (*b*) Ps. 91 13 (see RAHAB); (*c*) Jer. 51 34 (see JONAH, ii. § 4); (*d*) Ezek. 29 3-9, 'I will attack thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, thou great dragon,[1] which lieest in the midst of thy streams, which hast said, Mine are the streams,[2] I have made them. I will put hooks in thy jaws, and cause the fish of thy streams to stick to thy scales. I will bring thee up out of thy streams . . . I will hurl thee into the desert, thee and all the fish of thy streams; upon the open country shalt thou fall; thou shalt not be taken up nor gathered. . . .' (*e*) Ezek. 32 2, '. . . as for thee, thou wast like the dragon[3] in the sea, thou didst break forth with thy streams, didst trouble the water with thy feet, and didst foul its streams. Thus saith Yahwè, I will spread my net over thee, and bring thee up into my snare. I will lay thy flesh upon the mountains, and fill the valley with thy corruption.[4] . . . I will cover the heavens at thy setting, and clothe its stars in mourning. . . .' (*f*) Job 7 12, 'Am I the sea or the dragon,[5] that thou settest watchers against me?' (*g*) Neh. 2 13, 'before the dragon-well.' These are probably all the passages in the Hebrew OT; for Ps. 44 19 [20], referred to by Gunkel in this connection, is certainly corrupt; but (*h*) Esth. 10 7 [4] 11 6 [5], (*i*) Bel and the Dragon, and (*k*) Ps. Sol. 2 28-34 have to be grouped with them (see § 3).

The NT references are all in Revelation, viz., in (*m*) 12 3-17, (*n*) 13 2 4 11, (*o*) 16 13, (*p*) 20 2; cp 12 9.

These last require to be treated separately, but with due cognisance of that old Babylonian dragon-myth, uncomprehended fragments of which circulated in the eschatological tradition of ANTICHRIST (*q.v.*). The dragon which sought to devour the child of the woman is the very same development of Babylonian mythology which lies at the base of Jer. 51 34. From a Jewish point of view the woman (cp Mic. 4 10) is either the earthly or the heavenly Zion, and the dragon (originally Tiamat) with its seven heads[6] is Armilos, or רשיעא ('the wicked one'; cp 2 Thess. 2 3 8), *i.e.*, Rome, the new Babylon, which is identified with 'the ancient serpent,' נחש דקדמיתא (cp Rev. 12 9, and see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 218). The storming of heaven by the dragon is also Babylonian; it is the primeval rebellion of Tiamat (see CREATION, § 2) transferred to the latter days[6] (cp Eph. 6 12, the spiritual hosts of wickedness ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις). The additions of the apocalyptic writer do not concern us here.[7] On the affinities of Rev. 12 4 to a Greek myth see HELLENISM, § 8.

2. NT references.

[1] Reading תַּנִּין for תַּנִּים of MT.

[2] Reading יארים (Ⓖ Gunkel).

[3] תַּנִּין (AV 'whale,' RV 'sea-monster').

[4] Reading רִקְמָה (Symm., Pesh., Rödiger, Gunkel).

[5] Cp the 'great serpent of seven heads' in a primitive Sumerian poem (Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 282).

[6] Cp Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, 9 (note on chap. 1); Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, 1 *ff.* (the latter cited by Bousset).

[7] Cp Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, 173, and the same writer's commentary on the Apocalypse; see also APOCALYPSE, § 41.

We pass on to (*h*) Esth. 10 7 [4] 11 6. Two dr[agons] to fight against the 'righteous people,' *i.e.*, [illegible] 51 34). These are interpre[illegible] Mordecai and Amaw, and [illegible] of this is that they fight toge[illegible] contended with Haman [illegible] a late modification of an uncomprehended [illegible] The connection of the dragons with water is [illegible] of the Tiamat myth. The writer, however, de[illegible] it, and explained the 'much water' of Esther [illegible] Dragon strikes us at once by its Babylonian [illegible] it is Daniel, not a god, who kills the Dragon, [illegible] natural to Haggadic stories, to which, as Kah[illegible] story belongs. No trace remains of the old my[illegible] is found in Jer. 51 34. (*i*) Ps. Sol. 2 28-34 [illegible] fate of Bunjaw, the profaner of the temple, [illegible] hyperbolical if it were not obviously coloured by [illegible] tradition.

3. In OT Apocryph.

Resuming the consideration of (*a*)–(*k*) [illegible] notice that the two Leviathans and the [illegible] Sea are distinctly mythi[illegible] two former, differentiatio[illegible] the latter, Kingu, Tiamat [illegible] they are identified by the apocalyptist (see [illegible] with the three great powers hostile to [illegible] Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt. The refe[illegible] sea confirms the mythological origin of the [illegible] for Tiamat is the personification of the prin[illegible] On Yahwe's sword see Gen. 3 24, and [illegible] weapon, called in Creation tablet iv. [illegible] 'storm' (cp *ib.* 30 39). As to (*b*), note a[illegible] conquered monsters (Rahab and the Drag[illegible] connection with the sea in v. 10. The old [illegible] plied to the passage of the Israelites throu[illegible] Sea; but the application would have been in[illegible] not the destruction of Rahab and the [illegible] equivalent to the subjugation of the sea. [illegible] does not say, but obviously supposes, that [illegible] Pharaoh are in some sense identical, just [illegible] 12 the impious power of Rome is identifi[illegible] Dragon. The 'shattering' of Rahab is re[illegible] the Babylonian myth.

4. OT allusions considered.

Of (*c*) nothing more need now be [illegible] but (*d*) and (*e*) require to be clearly interpr[illegible] not to an ordinary crocodile that Pharaoh is [illegible] The 'hyperbolical' language would, in th[illegible] intolerable. It is the despotic and blasphem[illegible] Tiāmat. The blasphemy is at once explain[illegible] remember that Tiāmat was originally a divi[illegible] older in fact than the gods. The denial o[illegible] Pharaoh is of course explicable out of mere[illegible] ness; but it is a worthier supposition that w[illegible] a somewhat pale reflection of the outrages [illegible] the body of Tiamat by the young sun-god Mar[illegible] 'hook' reminds us of Job 41 1 [40 25] (Levia[illegible] net, of a striking detail in Creation-tablet i[illegible] 112.[2] The 'setting' of the dragon implies tha[illegible] a constellation identified with the dragon (cp [illegible] *Dawn of Astronomy*, 137, 146). In (*f*) the [illegible] tion of 'sea' and 'dragon,' and the occ[illegible] references elsewhere in Job to Rahab and [illegible] sufficiently prove the mythological affinitie[illegible] passage. The Dragon was, according to o[illegible] version of the old myth, not destroyed, but [illegible] confinement (cp Job 38 41). Cp the stress [illegible] 38 8-11 Ps. 104 9 33 6 [7] 65 7 *f.* on the long-p[illegible] gation of the sea by Yahwe.

One passage only remains (*g*). The term [illegible] well' suggests a different class of myths [illegible] which the supernatural serpent is a friend[illegible] Primitive sanctuaries were often at wells (Ex[illegible] and serpents love moist places.[3] Serpents, too

[1] Rashi, on Is. 27 1, remarks that the 'coiled' [illegible] encompasses the earth (מקיף את כל העולם). Cp [illegible] *ZDMG* 31 275. The 'coils' of the Egyptian Leviath[illegible] were in heaven (Book of Hades, *KP* 12 13). Apōpi [illegible] mately identical with Tiāmat; but the details of the [illegible] Egyptian.

[2] Cp Lyon, *JBL* 14 132.

[3] Schick and Baldensperger (*PEFQ* [illegible], p. 23; [illegible] state that long worms and serpents abound in and

emblems of healing (cp Nu. 21 9), and sacred wells are often also healing wells. The intermittent character of St. Mary's Well (connected with the lower Pool of Siloah) is accounted for in folklore by the story that a great dragon who lies there makes the water gush forth in his sleep. Cp also the dragon myth connected with the Orontes, the serpent's pool, Jos. *BJ* v. 32, and the serpent myths of the ancient Arabs (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 131, 171), and see ZOHELETH.

Thus we have two views of the dragon represented, as a friendly and as a hostile being. Into the wider subject suggested by this [illegible] we cannot enter now (cp SERPENT). It is more important to consider the question, How came these only half-understood myths, represented by Behemoth, Leviathan, Rahab, and the inclusive appellation Dragon, to be so prominent? We have already seen that they are not of native Palestinian growth, but (apart from the myth of the Dragon's Well) of Babylonian origin. Not that every important Dragon-myth in Asiatic countries must necessarily be derived ultimately from Babylon—this would be an unscientific theory—but that for the myths now under consideration the evidence points unmistakably to a Babylonian origin. If we ask how these myths came to be so prominent, the answer is that a great revival of mythology took place among the Jews, and Babylonian influences, in exilic and post-exilic times, Jewish folklore became more assimilated to that of the other nations, and the leaders of religion permitted what they could not prevent, with the object of impressing an orthodox stamp on popular beliefs. This has long since been noticed, especially by the present writer in a series of works (see also CREATION, § 23), where it is pointed out that the Dragon-myth comes from pre-Semitic (Babylonian) times, and where several explanations are indicated as perhaps equally historical.[1] Like other interpreters who used the mythological clue, however he was not clear enough as to the nature of the conflict between the God of light and the serpent, referred to in Job 9 13, Is. 51 9 etc.[2] Continued study of the new cuneiform material has done much to clear up his difficulties, one of which may be expressed thus. The Babylonian epic spoke of Tiâmat as having been destroyed by the God of light, whereas certain biblical passages appeared to describe the dragon as still existing 'in the sea,' as capable of being 'aroused' by magicians, and as destined to be slain by Yahwè's sword. Hence it seemed as if there was a Hebrew myth (of non-Hebraic origin) which represented the war between the God of light and the serpent of darkness as still going on, and Egyptian parallels seemed to teach us how to conceive of this.[3] The defeat and destruction of the gigantic serpent Apōpi and his helpers, when chaos gave way to order and darkness to light, was not absolute and final. They still seemed to the Egyptians to menace the order of nature, and in his daily voyage the sun is threatened by the serpent, and has a time of anguish. When they see this, human folk seek to frighten the monster by a loud clamour, and so to help the sun. The sun's boatmen, too, have recourse to prayers and spear-thrusts. At last, paralysed and wounded, Apōpi sinks back into the abyss. Gunkel, however, has shown[4] for the first time that Babylonian

8. Babylonian origin of myth.

Bukeet es-Sultan; the latter writer suggests that this may have helped to fix the name to the Lake City.

[1] For a Phœnician dragon-myth, see Damasc. *De prim. princ.*, 125, and Eus. *Præep. Ev.* 110 (ap. Lenormant, *Les Origines*, [illegible] 551).

[2] *Proph. Is.* 115 2 31; *Job and Solomon*, 76–78; cp *Crit. Rev.*, July 1895, p. 262.

[3] *Job and Solomon*, 76. cp Maspero, *op. cit.* 90 *f.* 159. *Book of the Dead*, 15 39; *Book of Hades*, transl. by Lefébure, *RP*, 12 12.

[4] *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 41–69. This is not the place to discuss the points in which the present writer differs from Gunkel (see *Crit. Rev.*, 1895, p. 256 *ff.*), whose general view of the earlier period of Israelitish belief is perhaps too much in advance of the [illegible] place.

mythology will account for all the details of the biblical descriptions which an accurate exegesis will admit. We need not suppose a reference to the myth of the daily struggle between the Light-god and the serpent. The Tiâmat story, as known to the Jews, was briefly this: At the commencement of creation, Tiâmat was according to some, destroyed, according others, completely subdued and confined in the ocean which encompasses the earth. Without God's permission he can here forth do nothing. Only the angelic powers, commissioned by God to keep watch over Leviathan, can 'arouse' him, and even they 'shudder' as they do so (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN). This form of the story became popular in later biblical times, because it met the requirements of apocalyptic writing. It was a necessity of biblical [illegible] to anticipate a return of the 'first things,' of Paradise and its beauty. Evil seemed to have been intensified, the reign of Tiâmat was renewed, as it were, upon the earth. A deliverance as great as that wrought by Yahwè (a greater Marduk) of old must therefore be anticipated, and the struggle which would precede it would be as severe as that which took place at the creation. Then would 'the old things pass away, and all things become new.' It is not improbable, as Budge long ago pointed out (*PSBA*, [illegible] 6), that Tiâmat in course of time acquired a symbolic meaning, certainly the serpent of Egyptian, and not less of Jewish, belief acquired one. The moralisation of the old dragon-myth is recorded in the mysterious but fascinating story of ANTICHRIST [*q.v.*]. On the twofold representation of Tiâmat (dragon and serpent), see SERPENT, § 3.

6. Later biblical times.

For the dragon-myths of non-Semitic peoples frequently adduced to illustrate Job 38, it is not necessary to enter. The Semitic material has been growing to such a considerable mass that it is wise to restrict ourselves at present to this. Otherwise we might discuss a striking passage in *The Times*, Jan. 24, 1898, on the cry for alms in Hindu quarters for the recovery of the moon from the jaws of the dragon Rahu, Jan. 22, 1898, was the cause of a lunar eclipse. (cp ECLIPSE, § 2).

The fullest English investigation of the different forms taken by the mythic dragon is to be found in W. H. Ward's article 'Bel and the Dragon' (*Am. Journal of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, Jan. 1898, p. 94 *ff.*).

7. Literature.

In early Babylonian art the dragon does not represent Tiâmat the chaos-dragon, but a destructive demon of pestilence or tornado. The sex of the dragon is not as a rule indicated in the primitive representations, even when the dragon is given together with a god (or goddess); an exception however is figured by Ward, in which the dragon appears to be male. In the Assyrian period, to which the representations of the conflict between Marduk and the Dragon belong, the dragon is of the male sex, which reminds us that the evil serpent Ahriman in Persian mythology is male. It is very possible that in the oldest Babylonian representations the dragon was female (cp DEEP, THE). With regard to the view (implied in parts of the OT) that the chaos-dragon was not slain, but only subdued by the Light-god, we may compare some Babylonian cylinders, older than Hammurabi, which represent the dragon as harnessed in a chariot and driven by Bel while a goddess stands on his back and wields the thunderbolt; or else the god stands on the back of the dragon. The Assyrian representations do not, it is true, show that the dragon was slain; but the natural supposition is that he conflict tended to his destruction.

See also Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Ch.*; Toy, *Judaism and Christian.*, 1 [illegible] 118, [illegible] (1899), 7[illegible]; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*; Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*; Wiedemann, *Religion der alten Ägypter*; pp. 36–37 [illegible]; Budge, *The Dwellers on the Nile*, 1886, A. Smythe Palmer, *Babylonian Influence on the Bible*, 1897.

T. K. C.

DRAGON WELL עין התנין. ΠΗΓΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΚΩΝ [BNA], Π. ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ [L]; *fons draconis*; عين الحكم). Neh. 2 13†. For topography see GIHON, JERUSALEM, and for folklore see DRAGON, § 4 (*g*).

DRAM, RV DARIC. The rendering of two late Hebrew words: (*a*) אדרכנים, 1 Ch. 29 7, Ezra 8 27†—*i.e.*, apparently ΔΑΡΕΙΚΟΣ (Syr. ܕܪܝܟܘܢ. MH דרכון, pl. דרכונות [Hoffmann]; or cp Ass. *darīku* (pl. *darīkanu*) 'piece of money' Muss-Arnolt; and (*b*) דרכמונים,

darkemōnīm, Ezra 2 69 Neh. 7 70 *ff.*, †apparently ΔΡΑΧΜΗ.[1] Possibly a loan-word (Asiatic) in both Heb. and Gr., see Ew. *GGA*, 1855, 1392 *ff.*; 1856, 798; and cp *BDB*, s.v.

The Vss. give δραχμαί [L], *denkōna* [Pesh. except 1 Ch.], *solidus* [Vg., in Neh. *drachma*]. But in 1 Ch. χρυσοῦς [BA], δραχμαί [HP '93], דרכן, Targ. (see Lag. *Hag.* 23), Pesh. apparently confounded א with אנך 'lead.' In Ezra 8 27 εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν χαμαιείμ [B] . . . δραχμὰς [AL] agree in presupposing דרכי כסנים, *i.e.*, *b*; so 1 Esd. 8 57 [56] BAL om. Ezra 2 69 μνᾶς [BA] 1 Esd. 5 45 [44] μνᾶς [BAL]. Neh 7 70-72 BNA om., but νομίσματος [Sixt.] *v.* 71 and νομισμασιν [N^c.a] *v.* 72.

According to the commonly accepted view *a* and *b* are identical and mean 'darics.' Against this two objections may be urged: (1) the כ in *b* is left unexplained, and (2) the form *a*, which alone supports this meaning, is untrustworthy. In 1 Ch. it is doubtful (ואדרכנים רבו may be a gloss: the amount of gold has been already mentioned), and in Ezra 8 27 the better reading is דרכמונים (see above). The form דרכמון (δραχμή) is preferable, not for this reason alone, but also on account of its identity with the Phœn. דרכמנם (pl.),[2] which, as the analogy from Gk. inscriptions shows, must represent δραχμαί. The occurrence of this Gk. (or Asiatic?) word in Ezra-Neh. is due perhaps to repeated glosses. cp Ezra 8 27 with 1 Esd. 8 57 and observe that in some of the passages (above) BA omit. See further MONEY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.[3] S. A. C.

DREAMS (חֲלֹמוֹת), Zech. 10 2, etc.; see DIVINATION, § 2 (vi.).

DRESS. A complete discussion of the subject of ancient Israelitish dress (including toilet and ornaments) is impossible with our present limited knowledge. It is true, the Assyrian and Egyptian artists had keen eyes for costume; but trustworthy representations of Israelites are unfortunately few. It might be tempting to fill up this lacuna by noting the usages of dress in the modern East. This, however, would be an uncritical procedure. We might presume on obtaining more than analogies from the customs of the present; but common sense shows that to look for a Hebrew equivalent to every modern garment would be unnatural. Consequently, in spite of the scantiness of detail in the OT, we must base our conceptions upon OT evidence (viewed in the light of criticism) treated by the comparative method.

There are several general terms in Hebrew for 'dress,' 'garments,' 'attire.' It is needful to give details, as there are distinctions of some importance which could not be brought out otherwise.

1. General terms.

1. בֶּגֶד, *bĕgēd* (cp perh. Ar. *bigād*; we cannot assume a root meaning 'to cover'; the verb בגד known to us means 'to deal treacherously'; it is perhaps a verb denom.),[4] may be used for a garment of any kind 'from the filthy clothing of the leper to the holy robes of the priest,' for 'the simplest covering of the poor as well as the costly raiment of the rich and noble' [*BDB*]; for women's dress (Dt. 24 17; cp Gen. 38 14), for royal robes (1 K. 22 30), and apparently once for the outer robe or MANTLE (2 K. 9 13); also for the coverlet of a bed (1 S. 19 13 1 K. 1 1), and for the covering of the tabernacle furniture (Nu. 4 6-14 P.).

2. גֵלוֹם, *gēlōm*, Ezek. 27 24, AV 'clothes,' RV 'wrappings,' mg. 'bales.' Prof. Cheyne writes: 'The existence of an old Hebrew root גלם "to roll together" is not proved by 2 K. 2 8 Ps. 139 16; both passages are very doubtful, and can be emended with much advantage. גלום plainly = גלין in Is. 3 23, which Peiser identi Bab. *gulinu*, a kind of garment' (*ZATW* [97 Cp CHRIST.

3. כְּלִי, *kĕlī*, a word of the widest signification the German *Zeug*) used of garments in Dt. 22 5 Lev. 13 49 (כ׳ עור).

4. כְּסוּת, *kĕsūth*, 'covering,' Ex. 21 10 22 restored by Graetz, Ball, and Cheyne in Gen. 49 לְבוּשׁ בית, περιβολή, *pallium*), and by Cheyne in Prov. 7 10 (MT שית,[2] EV 'garment,' 'attire' כְּסָיָה Is. 23 18 (EV 'clothing'); see AWNING.

5. לְבוּשׁ, *lĕbūsh* (the root לבש 'to wear, put found in all the Semitic languages), a general te so frequent as 1.); used of the dress or (2 S. 1 24 Prov. 31 22), etc. Cognates are בְּלֻבוּשׁ 10 22 (EV 'vestment') etc., and תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת Is. 'clothing.'

We turn now to the Hebrew terms denoting pa articles of dress. It is one of the defects of t that the same English word is ofte to represent several distinct Hebrew and that, *vice versa*, the same Hebre is rendered by different English words (promiscu This is due partly to the difficulty of finding an equivalent for many of the Hebrew terms, partly ignorance of their precise meaning, and the unce of tradition as represented by the versions, Rabb exegesis,[3] etc.

2. Special terms.

Of the numerous Hebrew terms denoting artic dress, those referring to the feet are discussed SHOE. For the various head-dresses (צָנִיף, פְּאֵר, etc TURBAN. One of the special terms for garments about the body is אֵזוֹר, *ĕzōr*, 'kilt' or 'loin-cloth GIRDLE).[4] Out of this an evolutionary proces brought breeches (cp Ar. *miʿzar*), which, how among the Hebrews appear first as a late pr garment (viz. כְּסָנִים); see BREECHES. For the ord under-garment worn next the skin (כֻּתֹּנֶת), see T The over-garment (corresponding roughly to the ἱμάτιον and Roman *tunica*) varied in size, in shape, in richness, and had several distinct names (*sim* etc.), for which see MANTLE.

Certain classes and certain occasions required sp dresses. The clothing of ambassadors is called (*mĕdawwīm*?), 2 S. 10 4 = 1 Ch. 19 4, 'garments.' A kindred word '*mad*' (

3. Special garments.

middah, if the text of Ps. 133 2 is corre is used of the priestly garb in Lev. 6 10 [3], Ps (ἔνδυμα); of the outer garment of the warrior (p only)[6] in Judg. 3 16 (EV 'raiment'), 1 S. 4 12 'clothes'), 17 38 (AV 'armour,' RV 'apparel'), (AV 'garments,' RV 'apparel'), and 2 S. 20 8 'garment,' RV 'apparel of war')[7]; ⊕[VAL] in passages μανδύας, except 1 S. 4 12, where ἱμάτια. *mad* of the warrior was perhaps some stiff garn which was a (poor) substitute for a coat of mail Ps. 109 18 *mad* is used of the dress of the wicked tyr

[1] Cp, *e.g.*, Torrey, *Comp. Ezr. Neh.* 18: 'the one obviously corresponding to δαρεικός, the other to δραχμή.'

[2] A Phœnician inscription of the first century B.C. from the Piræus: see Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. Nordsem. Epigr.* 160.

[3] See also Meyer, *Entst.* 196 *f.*, Prince, *Daniel*, 205 (90). From Ezra 2 69 (Neh. 7 70-72 [see ⊕1]) compared with 1 Esd. 5 45 it would seem that 61 דרכמנים = 1 μνᾶ (cp the royal maneh of 60 shekels). In ⊕, however, the Heb. שְׁקֶל is represented by δίδραχμον, and δραχμή represents the בֶּקַע or half-shekel; cp Gen. 24 22 Ex. 38 26.

[4] So Gerber, *Hebr. Verb. Denom.* 2 *f.* The verb בגד is found only in E, and later. See, *e.g.*, Ex. 21 7 Judg. 9 23; 1 S. 14 13 is probably no exception.

[1] Others cp Ph. סרת and Heb. סְכוּת (Ex. 34 33 where reads כִּסְבַּת).

[2] Others vocalise שִׁית (*ZDMG* 37 535; properly 'that wh is set' upon one).

[3] So for the obscure Aram. מִטְרָא (Dan. 3 21 Krē) we find remarkable variant renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'tunics' (R and 'turbans' (RVmg.).

[4] We may compare the *sak* of camel's or goat's hair whi like other primitive garments, long continued worn a gar mourning. The *sak* was perhaps identical with the kilt of ancient Egyptians, for which see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.*(2) 2 322.

[5] Che. (*Ps.*(2)) reads עַל־פְּנֵי הַכֵּן יָר, 'on the surface of desert.'

[6] On 2 S. 20 8 see next note.

[7] In 2 S. 20 8 מדיו should probably be cancelled; note the Pas so often placed in doubtful passages. Read לְבוּשׁ כְּלִי Löhr and cp We. *ad loc.* For other views see Klo., H. P. S

who is cursed (but the whole passage is in disorder; see Che. *Ps.*[2]). In the Talm מרא is a robe distinctive of the *Nasi'* or prince. On the priestly head dress, see MITRE; the priests in later times indulged in sumptuous apparel.[1] In Talmudic times Rabbis wore a special dress, and were crowned until the death of Eliezer b. Azarya (*Tosifta, Sotah*, 15). In Babylonia a golden ordination robe was used at the [illegible] of the Rabbinical dignity. A festive [illegible] at the creation of an Elder (*zaken*); [illegible] special mantle, the Exilarch a girdle." [illegible] regalia see CORONATION, CROWN, [illegible] warrior's dress we can add very litt[illegible] the military boot (מאמן) in Is. 9 4 [illegible]; and [illegible] the distinctive outer garment (*maddim*) of the [illegible] and to his shoes, has been conjectured in Nah. 2 17 [*a*].[3] See also HELMET. For bridal attire (cp Is. 49 18 61 10, ἐνδυμα γάμου Mt. 22 11) see MARRIAGE, § 3, and for the garb of mourning (כעטה אבל Is. 61 3, בגדי א[illegible] 2 S. 14 2), see MOURNING CUSTOMS.

With the exception of the swaddling-clothes of the new-born babe (*ḥithullah*, Job 38 9; cp verb in Ezek. 16 4; σπαργανον, Wisd. 7 4; cp Lk. 2 7 12), children seem to have had no distinctive dress. The boy Samuel wore a small *me'il* (see MANTLE), and if the lad Joseph possessed a special *kuttoneth* (see TUNIC), it was regarded by the narrator in Genesis as exceptional. In Talmudic times boys wore a peculiar shirt (חליק דינוקא *Shabb.* 1 34 *a*).[4]

In ancient times, dress depended to a large extent on climatic considerations. The simplest and most primitive covering was the loin-cloth (see GIRDLE), a valuable safeguard in tropical climates, adopted perhaps for this reason rather than from the feeling of shame to which its origin was afterwards traced (Gen. 3 7). The use of sandals in early times was not looked upon as an absolute necessity (see SHOES), and although the TURBAN in some form or other may be old, the custom of wearing the hair long was for very many a sufficient protection for the head.

4. History.

It is impossible to say how early the ordinary Israelite assumed the two garments (tunic and mantle) which became the common attire of both sexes. The garments of the women probably differed in length and in colour from those of the men (Dt. 22 5 leaves no doubt as to the fact that there was some distinction. Several terms are common to the dress of both sexes (*beged, kuttoneth, simlah*, etc.); for some distinctive terms see VAIL, and cp TUNIC, MANTLE. The Jewish prisoners pictured on the marble-reliefs of Sennacherib are bareheaded and wear short-sleeved tunics reaching to the ankles. This costume differs so markedly from the Assyrian, that the artist seems to have been drawing from life. Jehu's tribute-bearers on Shalmaneser's obelisk wear Assyrian dress and headgear, due probably to the conventionality of the artist. The Syrian envoy in a wall painting in the tomb of Hui at el Kab wears a dress so unlike the Egyptian that we seem once more in presence of an authentic record. The over-garment of this envoy, which is long and narrow, and is folded close to the body, is of blue and dark-red material richly ornamented; he has yellow underclothes with narrow sleeves and wears tight breeches. In the OT, however, there is no indication that such a costume

[1] The exact meaning of בגדי השרת Ex. 31 10 35 19 39 41 † (AV 'cloths of service,' RV 'finely wrought garments') is very uncertain; see Di.-Ry. *ad loc.*, Ges.(13). It is possible that the words are a gloss to בגדי הקדש (*Ibid.*), for which cp Ex. 28 4 Lev. 16 32, and the enumeration in Lev. 16 4.

[2] Cp Brull, *Trachten der Juden* (Einleitung).

[3] Che. *JBL* 17 106 (98), where כדיו or כדיו is detected in the obscure מאדים, and מתנעלים, 'put on their shoes,' in מרגלים.

[4] Possibly the Israelite boys shaved their hair and only left curls hanging over the ear. This was done in ancient Egypt, and the custom prevails at the present time among the Jewish boys of Yemen.

was excl prevalent among the I[illegible] For [illegible] of attire it would not be [illegible] to [illegible] the dress of the Sinai to Bedouin [illegible] WMM [illegible] and the [illegible] simplicity [illegible] doubtless marked [illegible] the Hebrew[1] [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] Sey[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

officiating in the temple, in ritual purifications, and so forth. Rubbing the body with sand or sherds was also practised. Unguents prepared by female slaves (1 S. 8 13) or by male professionals (רוקח) were used after washing (Ru. 3 3 Amos 6 6 etc.)[1]; see ANOINTING, § 2, CONFECTIONARIES. After the Hellenistic period such festal customs became more and more elaborate.

The eye-lids of women were painted to make the eyes larger, *kohl* being used for the purpose (see PAINT). It is doubtful whether *henna* dye was placed on nails and toes.

6. OT allusions. The references in the EV to dress are so frequent and the symbolical usages so familiar that a passing glance at them may suffice. Food and clothing are naturally regarded as the two great necessaries of life (*e.g.*, Gen. 28 20 1 Tim. 6 8). An outfit is called עֲרֹךְ בְּגָדִים (Judg. 17 10). In Talmudic times it consisted of eighteen pieces (Jer. *Shabb.* 15). Clothes were made by the women (Prov. 31 22 Acts 9 39), but references to sewing are few (תפר, Gen. 3 7 Job 16 15 Eccles. 3 7 Ezek. 13 18, ἐπιρράπτω Mk. 2 21).

Clothes were presented in token of friendship (1 S. 18 4; see WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 335), as a proof of affection (Gen. 45 22), and as a gift of honour (1 K. 10 25; cp Am. Tab. 2 70). Garments were rent (פרם, קרע) as a sign of grief, of despair, of indignation, etc. (see MOURNING CUSTOMS). Shaking the clothes was a sign of renunciation and abhorrence (Acts 18 6; cp Neh. 5 13). Promotion was often accompanied by the assumption of robes of dignity (cp Is. 22 21). So Eleazar takes the robes of Aaron (Nu. 20 28), and Elisha the mantle of Elijah (2 K. 2); see also CORONATION. Conversely, disrobing might be equivalent to dismissal (2 Macc. 4 38). Rich people doubtless had large wardrobes; the royal wardrobe (or was it the wardrobe of the temple?) had a special 'keeper' (1 K. 22 14). The danger to such collections from moths (see MOTH) and from the so-called 'plague of leprosy' (see LEPROSY) was no doubt an urgent one. The simile of a worn-out garment (בלה, cp Dt. 8 4) is often employed (cp Is. 50 9 51 6 Ps. 102 26 [27]). Rags are called קְרָעִים (Prov. 23 21 EV); cp also בְּלוֹי הַסְּחָבוֹת, בְּלוֹי סְלָחִים 'old cast clouts and old rotten rags' (Jer. 38 11 *f.* RV), all apparently containing the idea of something rent (cp ῥάκος Mt. 9 16 Mk. 2 21).

7. Legal usages. To cast a garment over a woman was in Arabia equivalent to claiming her.[2] Robertson Smith (*Kin.* 87) cites a case from Ṭabarī where the heir by throwing his dress over the widow claimed the right to marry her under the dowry paid by her husband, or to give her in marriage and take the dowry. This explains Ruth's words (Ruth 3 9) and the use of 'garment' to designate a woman or wife in Mal. 2 16 (*Kin.* 87, 269). A benevolent law, found already in the Book of the Covenant, enacts that every garment retained by a creditor in pledge shall be returned before sunset (Ex. 22 26); the necessity of this law appears from Am. 2 8 Ezek. 18 7 16; see PLEDGE.

D's injunction 'a man shall not put on the *simlah* of a woman,' 'a woman shall not wear the appurtenances (כלי) of a man' (Dt. 22 5) may have been designed as a safeguard against impropriety; but more probably it was directed against the simulated changes of sex which were so prevalent and demoralising in Syrian heathenism.[3] Quite obscure, on the other hand, is the law prohibiting the layman from wearing garments made of a mixture of linen and wool (שעטנז, Dt. 22 11

[1] Amos (6 6, see Dr. *ad loc.*) speaks of 'the chief ointments' (EV), or rather 'the best of oils.'

[2] Hence some explain כבגדו בה in Ex. 21 8 to mean that the master could not sell his female slave 'seeing that (he had placed) his garment (*beged*) over her.' See SLAVERY.

[3] See Dr. *ad loc.*, Frazer, *Paus.* 3 197, ASHTORETH, § 2. It may be doubted whether in ancient times dressing boys as girls was due, as among later Orientals, to a desire to avert the evil eye.

Lev. 19 19; see LINEN, 7, n. 1). Such garme worn by the priests;[1] and the law, which the term itself, be of foreign origin, is at a later than Ezek. 44 18. Another law, which laymen to wear tassels or twisted threads skirt of their *simlah*, seems to go back to sacred custom (see FRINGES). See, further, S

Garments had to be changed or purified occasion of a religious observance (cp Gen. 19 10) or before a feast (cp

8. Dress and Religion. 'changes,' חֲלִיצוֹת, 'festal rol see MANTLE). Primarily, all festive occasions are sacred occasions, a is therefore no real difference between best clot holy clothes. When a garment comes in cont anything partaking of a sacred nature it becomes and, once 'holy,' it must never be worn save o occasions.[2] This is why in early Arabia certa were performed naked or in garments borrow the sanctuary (We. *Heid.*[2] 56, 110). The san ciple illustrates the command of Jehu to '*bri* vestments for all the worshippers of Baal'; the ve were in the custody of the keeper of the *meltāhā* 10 22; text perhaps corrupt: see VESTRY). That rites among the Hebrews were performed in naked condition seems not improbable. The itself was once perhaps nothing more than a loi (cp 2 S. 6 14 16 20, and see EPHOD, § 1).[3]

Elijah's kilt (*'ēzōr*) of skin and the prophet's cus 'hairy mantle' (see MANTLE)—in later times falsely assumed (Zech. 13 4)—remind us of the of the Palmētum who were dressed in skins (Stra 4 18; for other analogies see *RS*[2] 437 *f.*);[4] but t always a tendency in cults to return to ancient in the performance of sacred rites, and, as Rob Smith has shown, later priestly ritual is only a de ment of what was originally observed by all worsh when every man was his own priest. The dressi worshippers in skins of the sacred kind (cp worshipping as kinsm the victim and of the god, and in this connectio suggestive to remember that the eponyms of the L and Joseph tribes are the 'wild-cow' (Leah) an 'ewe' (Rachel) respectively. See LEAH, RACHE

Again, we note that clothing may be looked up forming so far part of a man as to serve as a vehi personal connection. The clothes thus tend to be identified with the owner, as in the custom alluded Ruth 3 9 above. The Arab seizes hold of the garm of the man whose protection he seeks, and 'pluck my garments from thine' in the older literature m 'put an end to our attachment.' So a man deposit with a god a garment or merely a shred and even to the present day rag-offerings are t seen upon the sacred trees of Syria and on the tomb Mohammedan saints. They are not gifts in the ordi sense, but pledges of the connection between worshi and object or person worshipped (*RS*[2] 335 *f.*). garments are offered to sacred objects, to wells 177), but more particularly to trees and idols NATURE WORSHIP).[5] So 2 K. 23 7 speaks of the wo who wove tunics (so Klo.) for the ashērah. The cus is not confined to the Semitic world, and instance

[1] This is distinctly asserted by Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 11. 'To for a blessing on the flax and sheep,' says Maimonides. prohibition in the case of laymen was re-enacted under Frankish emperors (*Capitularium*, 646). It is just possible the law aimed at marking more distinctly the priest from layman.

[2] Cp Lev. 6 27 Hag. 2 12, and, on the contagion of holin cp Ezek. 44 19 and see CLEAN, § 2. On Is. 65 5 (where p the Pi'el) see *RS*[2] 451, n. 1.

[3] Verse 14*b*, however, may be an addition. For Ex. 20 26 BREECHES, 3.

[4] In Zeph. 1 8 the wearing of 'strange garments' (לבוש נכרי) is associated with foreign worship (cp *v.* 9).

[5] Cp Bertholet, *Israel. Vorstellungen v. Zustand nach Tode* ('99).

draped images in Greece are collected by Frazer (*Paus.* 2574 *f.*). 'The Greek images,' he observes, 'which are historically known to have worn real clothes seem generally to have been remarkable for their great antiquity.' The custom does not seem to be indigenous; it was probably borrowed from the East.[1] The counterpart of the custom of offering a garment to the sanctified object is the wearing of something which has been in contact with it. At the present day in Palestine the man who hangs a rag upon a sacred tree takes away, as a preservative against evil, one of the rags that have been sanctified by hanging there for some time (see *PEFQ*, 1893, p. 204). The custom of wearing sacred relics as charms is clearly parallel. Now, just as the priests had their special garments, so particular vestments were used for purposes of divination. Thus a magician wears the clothes of Er-ṭi—*i.e.*, Eridu, a town mentioned often in Babylonian incantations (Del. *Ass. HWB* 371*b*). Another instance of the wearing of special dress is cited by Friedrich Delitzsch in Baer's *Ezek.* p. xiii. An important parallel to this custom appears in Ezekiel's denunciation of the false prophetesses[2] and the divination to which they resorted (Ezek. 13 17-23). Two special articles are mentioned: (*a*) כְּסָתוֹת, *kĕsāthōth*, 'bands' or fetters'[3] worn upon the arms (cp the use of FRONTLETS [*q.v.*]), and (*b*) מִסְפָּחוֹת, 'long mantles' (ἐπιβόλαια [BAQ], περιβ. [A *v.* 21], Pesh. *taksīthā*, *mā'nā*, EV incorrectly KERCHIEFS), which were placed over the head of the diviner.[4] It becomes very tempting to conjecture that these garments were not merely special garments, but the garments actually worn by the deity or sacred object itself, since it is plausible to infer that they would be held to be permeated with the sanctity of the deified object and that supernatural power might be thus imparted to the wearer.[5] It is true, the link is still missing to connect the diviner's garb with that of the clothed image; but such a conjecture as this would seem to explain how the use of 'Ephod,' as an article of divination, in its twofold sense of image and garment (in which it has been clothed), might have arisen (cp Bertholet on Ezek. 13 18); see EPHOD.

See Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, i. ch. 5; Nowack, *HA*, § 20; Benzinger, *HA*, § 16; and the special articles referred to in the course of this summary I. A.—S. A. C.

DRINK OFFERING (נֶסֶךְ), Gen. 35 14; see SACRIFICE; cp RITUAL, § 1.

DROMEDARY. The word כִּרְכָּרוֹת, *kirkāroth*, is rendered 'dromedaries' in Is. 66 20, RV^mg. (so Boch., Ges., Che., Di., Duhm.; cp כרכר 'to whirl about' and EV 'swift beasts'). The rendering 'panniers' (cp μετὰ σκιαδίων [BNAQ]; Sym. ἐν φορείοις) has little in its favour.

For Jer. 2 23 (בִּכְרָה) and Is. 60 6 (*id.* plur.)—EV 'dromedary,' RV^mg. correctly 'young camel'—see CAMEL, § 1, n. For 1 K. 4 28 [5 8] (רֶכֶשׁ) and Esth. 8 10 (בְּנֵי הָרַכָּשִׁים) see HORSE, § 1 [4].

DRUSILLA (Δρουσίλλα [Ti. WH]), Acts 24 24. See HERODIAN FAMILY, 10.

DUKE had not yet become a title when the AV was made, but was still employed in its literal sense of any *dux* or chief: cp *Hen. V.* iii. 2 23: 'Be merciful, great *duke* (viz., Fluellen), to men of mould.' With but two

[1] The brazen statue in Elis bears the title of Satrap and seems to be of Eastern origin (Frazer, 2 575).

[2] The importance of women in divination will not be overlooked. One notes how frequently the Grecian images, above referred to, represent goddesses.

[3] See CUTTINGS, § 7, n.; but כ might also mean garments, cp Ass. *kasitu*.

[4] It is surely wrong to suppose that the mantles were worn by the *enquirer*. We have to read the fem. suffix in מכסה (*v.* 21*a*; cp the fem. suffix in כסתות *v.* 20*a*); there is a similar error in עובכם *v.* 19*b*. כל־קוסמה (*v.* 18) should probably be emended to כָּל־קֹסֵם, 'every diviner.'

[5] Cp *RS*(2) 438 and see SACRIFICE. This may have given rise to the figure 'robe of righteousness' and other well-known usages, cp also Job 29 14, 'I put on truth and it clothed me (וילבשני)'—*i.e.*, became, as it were, incarnate in me.

exceptions (see 1, below) this now misleading term has given place in RV to a more modern equivalent.

1. אלוף[1] (ἡγεμών [BAL]), a title applied to the Edomite 'chiefs' (so RV^mg. only) in Gen. 36 15 *ff.* 1 Ch. 1 51 *ff.* (cp Ex. 15 15 EV, and see EDOM, § 4); but also (rarely) to the 'chieftains' (so RV) of Judah (Zech. 9 7 12 5,[2] Ꙗ χιλίαρχοι, AV 'governors'). The tribal subdivision of which the *'alliph* is the head is called אֶלֶף *'eleph*.

2. נָסִיךְ, in pl., of the 'dukes (RV 'princes') of Sihon (Josh. 13 21). Elsewhere the word is always translated 'princes' or 'principal men' (Ps. 83 11 [12] Ezek. 32 30 Mic. 5 4 [5]).

DULCIMER (סוּמְפֹנְיָה), Dan. 3 5 10 15; see MUSIC, § 4 (*e*).

DUMAH (דּוּמָה). 1. In Gen. 25 14 (ἰδουμα[ν] [ADE], δουμα [L]) and 1 Ch. 1 30 (ἰδουμα [BAL]) Dumah appears as a son of Ishmael. The form ἰδουμα = אדומה suggests comparison with Adumu, the 'fortress of the land of Aribi' (*KB* 2 131), which, as Esar-haddon tells us, Sennacherib had conquered.

2. If the Dumah of Gen. is the same as Adumu, it may be tempting to suppose with Winckler (*AT Unt.* 37) that the heading 'oracle of Dumah' (Is. 21 11) also refers to this 'fortress.' The prophecy itself, however, seems to forbid this; it begins 'One calleth to me out of Seir.' More probably not Adumu but Udumu,[3] *i.e.* Edom, is meant (Che. *Proph. Is.* 1 130); in other words, 'Dumah' is a corruption of 'Edom' (τῆς Ἰδουμαίας [BNAQ; see Sw.]), facilitated perhaps by the neighbourhood of Massa (*maššā*, *v.* 11, being misunderstood) and Tema (*v.* 14); see Gen. 25 14 *f.* It is a less probable view that 'Dumah' ('silence'—*i.e.*, desolation) is a mystical name for Edom (Ꙗ τῆς Ἰδουμαιάς). See also ISHMAEL, § 4 (4), EDOM (footnote on name of Edom).

3. There is another (apparently) enigmatical heading in Is. 21 1 ('Oracle of the wilderness of the sea'), which should probably be emended into 'Oracle of Chaldæa' (משא כשדים; see *SBOT*). Both headings are undoubtedly late.

4. In Josh. 15 52† the reading followed by EV is found in some MSS and edd. (see Ginsb.), and being supported by the *OS* (δουμα; see below) is very probably more correct than the Rumah of MT (רוּמָה [Bä. p. 86, Gi.]; so Pesh. and Ꙗ, ρεμνα [B] ρουμα [AL]). In favour of this is the fact that the name is assigned to a town in the hill country of Judah, mentioned in the same group with Hebron and Beth-tappuah. For there is still a place called *ed-Dōmeh*, 2190 ft. above the sea-level, 10 m. SW. from Hebron and 12 SE. from Beit-Jibrin, a position which coincides nearly with the definition of Jer. and Eus. (*OS* 116 4 250 68), 'a very large village now in the Daroma,' 17 m. southward from Eleutheropolis. T. K. C.

DUNGEON (הַבּוֹר), Gen. 40 15 41 14; **Dungeon House** (בֵּית הַבּוֹר), Jer. 37 16; see PRISON.

DUNG-GATE (שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפּוֹת [Bä. Gi.]; Neh. 3 13 הָאַשְׁפֹּת [Bä.]), Neh. 2 13 3 13 *f.* 12 31. See JERUSALEM.

DURA (דּוּרָא, τοῦ περιβολου [Ꙗ], περιβολον [Syr. mg.], Δεειρα [Theod.] = דּוּרָא), the name of a plain 'in the province of Babylon' where Nebuchadrezzar's golden image was set up (Dan. 3 1). If the word is Aram., it should mean 'dwelling-place' or 'village'; but Ꙗ's rendering, even if a guess, may suggest that the name had come down from old Babylonian times and means 'wall.' In fact, three localities are mentioned in the tablets as bearing the name Dūru,

[1] In all the passages quoted there may have been a confusion between אֵיוּף and אֶלֶף.

[2] In Zech. written defectively אֶלֶף. The St. Petersburg MS, however, points אַלֻּף.

[3] Udumu, as Wi. now reads (but cp *GI* 1 189), was the name of a city in the land of Gar, which may be identical with the Adumu of Esar-haddon, and from this city the land of Udumu may have derived its name. Still the remark in the text appears to be sound.

'wall' or 'walled town' (Del. *Par.* 216), and several Babylonian cities had names compounded with Dur.[1] That the writer of the narrative knew any of these places, appears improbable. Possibly the old name Dūru had attached itself in his time to the plain adjacent to the remains of the walls of Babylon. At any rate, the scene of the dedication of the image must in the writer's mind have been close to Babylon.

T. K. C.

DUST (עָפָר), Gen. 2 7 18 27 etc. See ASHES.

DWARF, mentioned among those who were forbidden access to the temple (Lev. 21 20), is the EV

[1] Oppert finds an echo of Dura in the *Nahr Dur* and the *Tilāl Dūrā* (*Expéd. en Mésop.* [62] 1 238).

for דַּק, which has been variously rendered (ΕΦΗΛΟΣ [ⲂⲀⲔⲈⲖ], *lippus*, 'blear-eyed' [Vg. sighted,' 'weak-eyed,' 'affected with a catarac cp Targ. Jer.). The literal meaning of the 'shrunk,' 'withered' (Ges., Kn., Ke.), se natural.

DYED ATTIRE (טְבוּלִים), Ezek. 23 15 EV 'dyed turbans'; see TURBAN.

DYED GARMENTS. For Judg. 5 30 RVmg see COLOURS, col. 860, n. 2; and for Is. 63 1 AV (ib., § 10.

DYES. See COLOURS, § 13 ff.

DYSENTERY (ΔΥϹΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ), Acts 28 8 'bloody flux.' See DISEASES, 9, and cp EME

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y rendered 'freckled' -eyed' [Vg.]), 'short- th a cataract' (Rabb., ning of the word, viz. , Ke.), seems most

ek. 23 15 EV; RVmg.

g. 5 ; RVmg. (צְבָעִים) Is. 63 1 AV (קָמוּץ) see

Acts 28 8 RV; AV nd cp EMERODS.